

Reprinted 1983

©
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
1983

Price : Rs. 90.00

Printed at Pearl Offset Press, 5/33 Kirti Nagar Industrial Area New Delhi-110015

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

Vol. XVIII. 1925-26.

EDITED BY

Rao BAHADUR H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.,

GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA,

AND

HIRANANDA SASTRI, M A , M O L , D.Litt.,

GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA

CALCUTTA

MANAGER, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA CENTRAL PUBLICATION BRANCH.

BOMBAY BRITISH INDIA PRESS

LONDON KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH,
TRÜBNER & Co

NEW YORK WESTERMANN & Co
CHICAGO S D PEET.

PARIS E LEROUX

CONTENTS.

<u>S No.</u>		<u>Pages</u>
Contents		(iii) (iv)
No. 2	Bahur plates of Nripatungavarman : By prof E. Hultzsch, Ph d. Balle	5 - 15
No 4	Kanyakumari Inscription of Vira- Rajendra-Deva - By the late T. A Govinda Rao, M A , Trivandrum.	21 - 55
No. 8	Nidur Inscription of Kulottunga-Chola by K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, B. A	64 - 69
No 9	A Note on Manigramattar occurring in Tamil Inscriptions - by the late T. A, Gopinatha Rao, M A.	69 - 73
No 14	Pattattalmangalam Grant of Nandivarman. by K. V Subrahmanya Ayyer, B. A.	115 - 124
No. 17	Srirangam Copper-Plates of Devaraya II - Saka - Samvat 1356 By S. V. Visvanathan, M. A Mannargudi and the late T. A Gopinatha Rao	138 - 145
No 18	The Vayalur Pillar Inscription of Rajasimha II - By H. Krishna Sastri	145 - 152
No 21	Two Copper - plate Grants of Krishnadevaraya - by the late T A. Gopinatha Rao.	160 - 169
No 38	Polonnaruva Inscription of Vijayabahu I - by S. Paranavitana	330 - 338
No. 40	Peruncyl Record of Kulasekhara- Koyiladhikari - by A. S Ramanatha Ayyar.	340 - 345

CONTENTS.

The names of contributors are arranged alphabetically.

	Page
K. AMRITA RAO —	
<i>See</i> T. A. Gopinatha Rao and K. Amrita Rao.	
R. D. BANERJI —	
No 39 Junagadh inscription of Jivadaman (I)	339
L. D. BARNETT —	
No 7 Vappaghoshavata grant of Jayanaga	60
„ 22 Inscriptions of Huli	170
✓ 30 The Mungur plate of Devapaladeva Samvat 33	304
D. R. BHANDARKAR —	
No 26 Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha I Saka Samvat 793	235
NALINIKANTA BHATTASALI —	
✓ No 11 The Ghugrahati copper plate inscription of Samacharadeva	74
K. N. DIKSHIT —	
No 37 Inscription on a Vishnu Image from Deopani	320
W. B. DISKALKAR —	
No 35 Betma plates of Bhojadeva [Vikrama] Samvat 1076	320
T. A. GOPINATHA RAO —	
No 4 Kanyakumari inscription of Vira-Rajendra deva	21
„ 9 A Note on Mangramattar occurring in Tamil inscriptions	69
T. A. GOPINATHA RAO AND K. AMRITA RAO —	
No 21 Two copper plate grants of Krishnadevaraya	
A.—Of Saka Samvat 1436	160
B.—Of Saka Samvat 1450	165
HIRALAL —	
No 20 Four Bhanja copper-plate grants	282
HIRANANDA SASTRI —	
No 19 Brahmi inscription on a wooden pillar from Kurari	152
E. HULTZSCH —	
No 1 Kondanaguru grant of Indravarman	1
„ 2 Bahur plates of Nripatungavarman	5
„ 5 Niduparu grant of Jayasimha I	55
„ 6. Ipur plates of Vishnuvardhana III	59
„ 25 Vemalurpadu plates of Ammaraja II	226
„ 27 Kopparam plates of Pulakesin II	257
„ 31 Tekkali plates of Danarnava's son Indravarman	307
„ 32 Tekkali plates of Rajendravarman's son Devendravarman	311
„ 33 Penukaparu grant of Jayasimha II	313
STEN KONOW —	
No. 28 The So called Takht-i-Bahı inscription of the year 103	261
H. KRISHNA SASTRI —	
No 18. The Vayalur pillar inscription of Rajasimha II	145
„ 34 The Kodavali rock inscription of Chandasati the second year of reign	310
C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU —	
No. 41. Garavapadu grant of Ganapatideva Saka Samvat 1182	343

	PAGE
R C MAJUMDAR —	
No 12 Jojhpur inscription of Pratihara Bauha V S 894	87
„ 13 The Gwalior prasasti of the Gurjara-Pratihara king Bhola	99
V NATESA AYLAR —	
No 3 An inscribed relic casket from Kurram	16
„ 10 Inscribed Buddhist Image from Gopalpur	73
S PARANAVITANA —	
No 38 Polonnaruwa inscription of Vijayabahu I	330
A S PAMAYATHA AYYAR —	
No 40 Peruntiyil record of Kulasekhara-Koyiladikari	340
DAYA RAM SAHNI —	
No 15 Deogarh rock inscription of Svamibhata	125
„ 16 A Kalachuri stone inscription from Kasia	128
„ 20 Three Brahmi inscriptions from Kosam	158
„ 23 Don Buzurg plates of Govindachandra [Vikrama]-Samvat 1176	218
„ 24 Chhatarpur copper-plate inscription of Govindachandradeva of Kanauj [Vikrama]- Samvat 1177	224
K V SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR —	
No 8 Nidur inscription of Kulottunga-Chola	64
„ 14 Pattattalmangalam grant of Nandivarman	116
MADHO SARUP VATS —	
No 36. Unpublished votive inscriptions in the Chaitya Cave at Karle	325
S. V. VISVANATHA AND T. A. GOPINATHA RAO —	
No 17 Srirangam copper-plates of Devaraya II Saka-Samvat 1356	138
INDEX	357
Title-page, Contents, Lists of Plates, and Additions and Corrections	i x

LIST OF PLATES.

No	1	Kondanaguru Grant of Indravarman	between pages	2 & 3
"	2	Bahur Plates of Nripatungavarman, 1a 11b	" "	10 & 11
"	3	" " " " 1va-v	to face page	12
"	4	Inscribed Rane Casket from Kurram the 21st (?) year	between pages	18 & 19
"	5	Kanyakumari Inscription of Virā-Rajendra the 7th year, I	" "	31 & 35
"	6	" " " " " " " II	" "	38 & 39
"	7	" " " " " " " III	" "	44 & 45
"	8	Niduparu Grant of Jayasimha I	" "	56 & 57
"	9	Ipur Plates of Vishnuvardhana III	to face page	60
"	10	Vappaghoshia vata Grant of Jayanaga	" " "	63
"	11	Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihara Bauka Vikrama Samvat 894	" " "	96
"	12	Pattattalmangalam Plates of Nandivarman	between pages	120 & 121
"	13	Rock Inscription of Svamihata from Deogarh	to face page	126
"	14	A Kalachuri Stone Inscription from Kasia	" " "	132
"	15	Srirangam Plates of Devaraja II Vikrama Samvat 1356	between pages	142 & 143
"	16	Vayalur Pillar Inscription of Rajasimha II	" "	150 & 151
"	17	Wooden Pillar with a Brahmi Inscription from Kirari	to face page	154
"	18	Brahmi Inscription on a wooden pillar from Kirari	between pages	156 & 157
"	19	Three Brahmi Inscriptions from Kosam	to face page	160
"	20	Srirangam Copper plate Grant of Krishnadeva Raya S S 1436	between pages	162 & 163
"	21	Huh Stone Inscription of the reigns of Somesvara I and Jagadekamalla II Saka 966 and 1067	to face page	174
"	22	Huh Stone Inscription of the reign of Vikramaditya VI Saka 1029	" " "	197
"	23	Huh Stone Inscription of the reign of Bijjala Saka 1084	" " "	214
"	24	Vemalurpadu Plates of Ammaraja II	between pages	230 & 231
"	25	Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarsha I Saka Samvat 793	" "	248 & 249
"	26	Koppuram Plates of Pulakesin II	to face page	259
"	27	Takht-i-Bahai Inscription the year 103, being year 26 of Gudufara Four Bhanja Copper-Plate Grants —	" " "	282
"	28	H—Ganjam Plates of Netribhannajadeva	between pages	292 & 293
"	29	I—Ganjam Plates of Netribhannajadeva, with damaged seal	" "	294 & 295
"	30	J—Ganjam Plates of Vidyadharabhanjajadeva	" "	296 & 297
"	31	K—Antirigam Plates of Yasabhanjajadeva	" "	298 & 299
"	32	Mungir Plate of Devapala the 33rd year A—Obverse	to face page	304
"	33	Mungir Plate of Devapala the 33rd year B—Reverse	" " "	306
"	34	Tekkah Plates of Danarnava's son Indravarman	between pages	310 & 311
"	35	Tekkah Plates of Rajendravarman's son Devendravarman	" "	312 & 313
"	36	Pennakapuru Grant of Jayasimha II	" "	316 & 317
"	37	Kodavah Rock Inscription of Chandasati the second year of reign	to face page	318
"	38	Betma Plates of Bhojadeva [Vikrama] Samvat 1076	between pages	322 & 323
"	39	Unpublished Votive Inscriptions in the Chaitya Cave at Karle (I)	" "	326 & 327
"	40	" " " " " " " (II)	" "	328 & 329
"	41	Deopani Vishnu Image Inscription	" "	330 & 331
"	42	Polonnaruwa Inscription of Vijayabahu I	to face page	337
"	43	Junagadh Inscription of Jivadaman (I)	" " "	340
"	44	Peruncyl record of Kulasekhara Koyiladhikari	" " "	344
"	45	Garavapadu Grant of Ganapatideva Saka 1182	between pages	350 & 351

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 2, l 23 — *For Bōl read Bōl*
- „ 6, l 30 — *For ellaiunnum read ellaiunnum*
- „ 10, text l 11 — *For brindam read vṛindam*
- „ 13, translation of v 10 — *For toir ght read to right*
- „ 16, l 2 in para beginning with “ The Palæography ” — *For Shāh-jī-kī-dherī read Shāh-jī-kī-dhērī*
- „ 17, l 2 of translation — *For (Uttarasena ?) read (Uttarasēna ?).*
- „ 18, l 4 of Notes — *For -dherī, read -dhērī.*
- „ 21, l 3 — *For Komareī read Komar*
- „ „ l 7 from bottom — *For (pṛāsas) read (aṇuprāsas)*
- „ 22, l. 1 — *For am aturer read a maturer*
- „ 23, l. 13 — *For been read born*
- „ 26, l 16 — *For Śāṅkara- read Śaṅkara-.*
- „ 27, l 4 from bottom — *For Gangavāti read Gangavātī.*
- „ 28, item 29 — *For Kalavaḥ read Kalavah*
- „ 29, item 22 — *For Kaḍāra read Kadāram*
- „ 30, l. 7 from bottom — *For nscription read inscription.*
- „ „ item 27 — *For Parani read -pParani*
- „ 32, f. n 1 — *Omit the first ‘ and ’*
- „ 33, f. n 11 — *For यद्विषय read यद्विषयः*
- „ 35, text l 84 — *For पृथुर्द्विषय read पृथुर्द्विषयः*
- „ 36, „ l 116 — *Insert “ (३) ” after वृ*
- „ 40, f n 8 — *Insert “ ? ” at the end*
- „ 49, translation of v 12 — *For king read kings*
- „ „ f n 1 — *Omit the hyphen between Rāja and pārampariyam and for Śōlan read Śōlan ~*
- „ 51, f n 6 — *For Kalinga° read Kalinga°*
- „ 59, text l 2 — *For -gu- read -ga-*
- „ 61, l 13 from the bottom — *For Mayurabhaṇja read Mayūrabhaṇja*
- „ „ l 10 „ „ „ *For ākshayanī read ākshayanī*
- „ 62, l 16 — *For Amala- read Āmala-.*
- „ 64, l 3 — *For Bhara° read Bhara°*
- „ „ f n 1 — *For amil read Tamil*
- „ 67, l 15 from the bottom — *For Chhandas-śāstra read Chkandas śāstra.*
- „ „ l 7 „ „ — *For village and Mīlālālāī read village and Mīlālālāī*

- 1st 76, f. r. 6 — *Insert*] at the end
 „ 81, l. 3 from the bottom — *For Nāhār read Nīhār*
 „ 83, f. n. 2 — *Omit* the 'a' at the end of the line
 „ 83 l. 19 — *For - read -*
 „ 92, l. r. 1 l. 2 — *For Hiwen read Huen*
 „ 93, l. 10 — *Insert* ' , ' after Marmad
 „ 113, f. n. 1, l. 3 — *For -Nīśārū read -Nīlī āra*
 „ 114, f. r. 5 & 6 — *For ender read render, and for ns cription read n scription*
 „ 116 l. 17 — *For -r śhtrā read -rśhtrā*
 „ 117, l. 15 — *For ghātālayar read Ghata¹ayar*
 „ „ p. n. line — *Insert* π between fr and π
 „ 118, l. 23 — *Insert* 'r' between 'sepā and 'atēd'
 „ „ f. n. 2 — *For* 53 *read* 511
 „ „ f. n. 3 — *For* IX *read* XI
 „ 119 l. 10 — *For* tves *read* stōtes
 „ 121 l. 11 — *For* विमल वसुध वर वदाम् *read* विमला वसुध वरवदाम्
 „ 120 text l. 10 — *For* 'fīrā^o *read* 'fīrā^o
 „ 124, a and numbers 4, 6, 9 and 10 of the table — *For* Irīdhīdara, Fnūr, 51, 52, Sīnda^o and Śādanga^o *read* Irīdhīdara, Fnūr, 52, 53, Sīnda^o and Śādanga^o respectively.
 „ 150, l. 21 — *For* 'undoubted' and 'thts' *read* 'undoubted' and 'thus' respectively.
 „ 151, f. n. 2 — *For* वृ *read* वृ
 „ 156, ll. 5 & 17 — *For* Nāchbikrorchch and śhānapati *read* Nāchbikrorchch and śhānapati respectively
 „ 150 l. 1 — *For* Muslimāns *read* Muslimāns
 „ 151, f. n. 10 — *For* २४ *read* २४ and *for* २४ *read* २४
 „ „ „ 21 — *For* २४ *read* २४
 „ 151 „ „ „ *For* २४
 „ 151 l. 17 — *For* śhānapati *read* śhānapati
 „ „ „ 11 — *For* Kāya *read* Kāya
 „ 151 l. 17 — *For* 'to' *read* 'to'.
 „ 151 l. 17 — *For* 'to' *read* 'to'.

- Page 194, f n 2 —For 'th' read 'the'
- „ 198, f n 3 —For Kāhdāsa read Kāhdāsa
- „ 199, f n 3, l 3 —For 'sten' read 'stem'.
- „ 206, l 1 of translation of J —For 'he' read 'the'
- „ 217, f n 4 —For 'appaya-' read 'Appaya-'
- „ 218, l 5 —For Bijjanadēva read Bijjanadēva
- „ „ translation of ll 38 43 —For dharmīta read dharmmīta
- „ 219, f. n 1 —For 'सि° read 'स°.
- „ 222, f n 4 —For Kamauli read Kamauli
- „ 223, f. n 1 —Insert [at the beginning
- „ 228, ll 14 and 17 —For Andekī read Andēkī
- „ 231, l 20 — „ „
- „ 235, l 6 from bottom —For Gōvinda III read Gōvinda III,
- „ 240, l 4 from the bottom —For Amōgh varsha read Amōghavarsha
- „ 244, text l 12 —For रात्र्यासिदेक read रात्र्यासिदेक.
- „ 250, text l 64 —For रुरि° read रुरि°
- „ 253, translation of v 21 —For Kōśala read Kōśala
- „ „ „ „ v 29 —For Jgaattunga read Jagattunga
- „ 275, l 8 from the bottom —For full read full
- „ 285, f n 3 —For , read and commence a new sentence with 'The'
- „ 287, l 9 —For Āmōghakalaśa read Amōghakalaśa.
- „ „ f n line 5 from the bottom —For सुगमन read सुगमेन
- „ 289, ll 11 and 42 —For Baripada and Binka read Baripadā and Binkā respectively
- „ 291, f n 2 —For Bhanja and Daspalla read Bhañja and Daspallā respectively
- „ 292, para 1 —Close the quotation at the end of the penultimate sentence and omit the quotation mark at the end of the para
- „ 293, ll 1 and 12 —For स read स
- „ 294, text l 21 —For सुत अग्नि° read सुत । (तोऽग्नि°) and for अपरगोलज read अपर[] गोलज-
- „ „ „ l 23 —For गुह्य (अ) अग्नि° read गुह्य अ(ग्नि°)
- „ „ f n 4 —For Auchadēva read Aichadēva
- „ 297, f n 10 —For Matre read Metre
- „ 305, text l 8 —For sva dharmm | read sva-dharmm |
- „ 314, f n 5 —For Bōlu read Bōl and omit 'Vcl XVIII'.
- „ 318, f n 4 —For Hathigumpha read Hāthigumphā
- „ 321, l 6 from bottom —For Delha read Dīlha
- „ 322, l. 4 —For , read and omit the rest of the paragraph
- „ 324, l 4 from bottom —For Delha read Dīlha
- „ 325, text l 2 —For Vitasa[m*]ga° read Chitasa Ga° [N G Majumdār].

-
- Page 326, translation of No I —For ' Vitasamgata ' read ' Chita of the Gatas ' [N G. Majumdār].
- „ „ text of No V —For Chu[la]pūtukasa read Chulapitukasa
- „ 327, l 2 —After ' clear ' add [Chulapitukasa means ' of the father's younger brother, i e ,
uncle ' —Ed]
- „ „ translation of No V —For " Agila, a resident of Chulapētu (?) " read " his uncle
- (Prakrit *Chula*°-Sanskrit *Kshudra*°) Agila " [N P Chakravartī]
- „ „ „ VI —For Chulayakha read " Yakha (Yaksha) the Junior (Kshudra-
Yaksha) "
- „ 328, No XI, text and translation —For " Mahamatā " read " Mahāmitā (Mahāmitrā) ".—
Ed
- „ „ translation of No XII —For " Dharmadēvī " read " Dharmalēvā (Dharmalēva) ".—
Ed
- „ 336, l 24 —For Polonnaruva read Polonnarava
-

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOLUME XVIII

No 1—KONDANAGURU GRANT OF INDRAVARMAN

By PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D , HALLE (SAALE)

Ink impressions of this inscription were sent to me by Rao Bahadur H Krishna Sastri, along with the following description of the original plates

"This set of five copper-plates was received from Pendyala Subrahmanya Sastri, National College, Masulipatam, through the President, District Board, Godavari, in June 1921. The plates are held together by a circular ring rivetted into the back of a circular seal, on the countersunk surface of which are cut, in relief, a crescent, the word śrī-Tyāgadhēnu, and an expanding lotus-flower of six petals. The plates bear writing on eight faces in all, the first and last plates having writing only on their inner sides, and have no raised rims. They measure about 7" in breadth, and a little less than 2' in height. The ring-hole is bored at a distance of about $\frac{1}{8}$ " from the left margin of the plates and measures about $\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter. The ring has a diameter of about 4", and the seal is a little more than 2" in diameter. The plates, with the ring and seal, weigh 100 tolas. The ring was cut in this office."

The writing on the plates is on the whole in a state of very good preservation. The alphabet resembles that of other early Eastern Chalukya inscriptions. The secondary forms of *i* and *ī* are not always clearly distinguished. The Jihvāmūliya occurs in *yakḥ-kaśchid* (l 30). A final form of *m* is frequently used, one of *t* is found in *prādāt* (l 18) and *vasēt* (l 34), one of *n* in *rāja[r*]śhīn* (l 26), and one of *l* in *-Bōl* (four times in l 28 f, and once in l 37).

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose, but three verses of Vēda-Vyāsa are quoted in lines 31-35. The Telugu plural *-Bōl* occurs four times in line 28 f, and once in line 37. Lingual *l* is used also in *Chalukyānām* (l 6), *-yugaḷaḥ* (l 16), and in the Telugu village-name *Vellekkī* (l 29). The Telugu *r* occurs in the two village-names *Oherupūru* (l 20) and *Irralū[r]* (l 22). The vowel *ri* after consonants is generally expressed by the syllable *ri*. After *r*, consonants (except sibilants) are doubled, and *dh* is doubled before *y* in *maddhyē* (l 21). In *-vakṣa-sthāśya* (l 9 f) *s* is elided before *sth*. In line 28 the group *ñj* is employed instead of *jñ* in *viñjāpanayā* and *āñjāpti* (for *ājñāpti*). In line 21 the adjective *nuv[ā*]śin* seems to be used in the sense of 'lying, situated'.

The inscription records the grant of the village of Kondanagūru to the Brāhmana Chendiśarman by the Mahārāja Indravarman, surnamed śrī-Tyāgadhēnu,² i.e. 'the (celestial) cow in liberality,' who was a son of the Mahārāja Vishnuvardhana and a grandson of the Mahārāja Kirtivarman, and who belonged to the family of the Chalukyas. The donor's father, Vishnuvardhana, has to be identified with Vishnuvardhana I, the founder of the

¹ [The inscription has been reviewed in the *Epigraphical Report* for 1922, App A, No 2, and p 96—Ed.]

² The same surname forms the legend on the seal of this grant which is reproduced on the back of Plate of the Niduparu grant of Jayasimha I, *infra*

Eastern Chalukya dynasty, who is known to have been the younger son of the Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman I. Consequently, Indravarman must be the actual name of the younger son of Vishnuvardhana I, who is called Indra-Bhattāraka or Indrarāja in the inscriptions of his successors, and who, according to later tradition, reigned only for seven days.¹

The grant seems to have been made at the request of a chief named Kondivarman, and the executor of the grant seems to have been Indravarman's eldest son, who likewise bore the name Indravarman. From other inscriptions we know only of a single son of Indra-Bhattāraka or Indrarāja, who succeeded to the throne as Vishnuvardhana II.

Line 28 f contains four signatures of witnesses of the grant, each of which consists of the name of some village, followed by the word *Bōl*. In the opinion of Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri, *Bōl* (for *Bōyalu*) is the Telugu plural of *Bōya*. In the Chendalūr plates of A.D. 673, *Bōya* occurs five times, and is once replaced by the Sanskrit word *vāstāyā*, 'a resident, inhabitant'.² The same must be the meaning of the word *Bōya* in a grant of Vishnuvardhana II, where a large number of donees are mentioned by name and are stated to have been *Bōyas*, i.e. 'residents,' of certain villages.³ In the Chendalūr plates of A.D. 673 the actual names of the donees are omitted, and the expression 'resident of such and such a village' is employed in the place of the donee's proper name. Similarly, the donee's grandfather, Durgasārman, receives in the subjoined grant the epithet 'Irralū[r]-Bōya by name' (l. 22). It might be concluded from this that *Bōya* is the designation of a village clerk (*Karnam*). But this possibility is excluded by the fact that in the above-mentioned grant of Vishnuvardhana II two different individuals, Vennisārman and Chāmundiśārman, are stated to have been *Mārata-Bōya*, i.e. 'a resident of Mārata'.⁴ In a grant of Bhīma I the donee (or his grandfather) is styled *Ummarakanthi-Bōl*,⁵ i.e. 'a resident of Ummarakanthi'. This use of the plural *Bōl* suggests that the term *Bōl* in *Ālapāka-Bōl*, etc. (l. 28 f), and in *Chōda-Bōl* (l. 37) will have to be explained as the honorific plural of *Bōya*, 'a resident, inhabitant'.

Lines 19-21 contain the names of four villages which formed the boundaries of the village granted, Kondanagūru. The boundary in the South was Cherupūru (l. 20). This village is perhaps identical with Cherupūra in the Plakisi district, which, according to Dr. Fleet,⁷ was probably an older form of Chipurupalle in the present Vizagapatam District. The remaining village-names I am unable to identify.

TEXT.⁸

First Plate, Second Side

- 1 Svasth⁹[||*] Srijmatām(tām) sakala-bhuvana-samstūyamāna-Mā[na]vya sagō-
- 2 tr[ā*]nām(nām) Hārīti-putrānām(nām), svāmi-Mahāsēna-p[ā*]d-ānudhyā-
- 3 tām(nām) Kausiki-vara-prasāda-labdha-rājy[ā*]nām bhagavan-Nārāyana pra-
- 4 sāda-samāsādita-varāha-lāñchhan-ēkshana-kshana-vaśīkrī(krī)t-āsēsha.

¹ See above, Vol. VIII, p. 16 and note 9.

² See my remarks, above, Vol. VIII, p. 238.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 187 f.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 188, text lines 41 and 50.

⁵ Above, Vol. V, p. 129, text line 25 f.

⁶ This is the actual reading of the Chipurupalle plates of Vishnuvardhana I, see above, Vol. IX, p. 318, and cf. Vol. XII, p. 133.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 15; 98.

⁸ From ink impressions supplied by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri.

⁹ This word is entered by the writer on the left side of line 2.

i

2
4

11a

6
8

11b

10
12

111a

14
16

Second Plate, First Side

- 5 mahibhṛitām[=]*aśvamēdh-ārabhṛitā-sāna-pavitrīkṛ(ka)ta-mūnasa-[śarīrā]^u
 6 nām(nām) sva-yaśō-vishayīkṛ(ka)ta-trailōkyānām(nām) Chalukyānām(nām) ku-
 7 lam=ala[m]kṛ(ka)tya nija-jauṃanah(nā?) virājamānāh(nah?) śī-Kī[r*]ttivarmma-
 mahā-
 8 rājasya naptū śri-Vishṇuvarddhana-mahāīājah¹ rana-mukha-ga(śa)ta-ripu-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 9 vijaya-samupalabdha-Śri-vadhū-nivāsāyamāna-vipula-vaksha-sthala-
 10 sya putrah śakti-traya-samadhigata-mahā-khyāti-vibhūti[h] tri-²
 11 vargga-sēvā-nipunah Purāṇapurusha iva bahu-lōka-stu-
 12 taḥ Purāṇātir=iva bhūta gana-pryah dvitīya iva Makaradhvajah

Third Plate, First Side

- 13 pañchama iva lōkapālah Pradhagrāsuta³ iva satya-sandhah śarā(ra)t-kāla iva
 14 kṛta-bandhujiv-ōtsavah pūrvv-āchalēndra⁴ iva mitr-ōday-ānukūla-
 15 mahimā mahipati-makuta-taṭa-ghatita-mahārātma-marīchi-mā-
 16 ṇjari-raṇjita-charan-āravinda-yugalāh śr-Īndrava[r*]mma-mahārājah Tyā-
 17 gadhēny-āpara-nāmadhēyah⁵ udaka-pūrvvakam sarvva-karā(ra)-parihār-ōpētam

Third Plate, Second Side

- 18 brahmad[ō*]yikṛtya Kondanagūru-nāma-grāma-grāmam prādāt [i*] Tasya grāmasya
 19 dig-vibhāgā[h*] | Uttarataḥ Mujumhūrū-nāma-grāma[h] [i*] Pūrvvataḥ Paḡunūru-
 nāma-grā-
 20 mah [i*] Dakshina-vibhāg-[ā*]vasthataḥ Cheṇupūru-nāma-grāmā[h] [i*] Pāschimataḥ
 Irbba-
 21 [i]i-nāma-gr[ā*]mah [i*] Ētśhām grām[ā]nām mādध्यem⁶ niv[ā*]si kritah [i*]
 Vājasanēya-cha-
 22 rapusya Du[r*]ggaśa[r*]mmanah(nō) Brahma-vihita-karmma-nīratasya Īṇṇalū[r]-
 Bōya-nāma-

Fourth Plate, First Side


- 23 [brāhmana]sya pautrāya⁷ abhijana-vidyā-vri(vri)ttavataḥ(tō) Bhāradvāja-sagōtra-
 24 sya Vishṇuśarmmanah putrāya vēdavid-vipra-samstūyamāna-charitāya
 25 Chendiśarmmanō mātāpitrōr=ātmanas=cha punyō(ny-ā)vāptayē(ya) iti cha [i*]
 26 Bhāvinō rāja[r*]shin yathōpachāra-purassaram(raṃ) sammānayati [i*] Āryyā⁸
 27 hū-va[m]śa-gagana-tilaka-bhūti-Ko[nḍi]varmmanā mahārājasy=āgra-suta I-

¹ Read -mahārājasya² Read -vibhūti=tri-³ Read Prith-āgra-suta (i.e. Yudhishtīra)⁴ The syllable lē is corrected by the writer from lō⁵ Read -mahārājasya=Tyāgadhēny-āpara-nāmadhēyah⁶ Cancel this anuvāra.⁷ Read pautrāya=ādhyatma

Fourth Plate, Second Side.

- 28 ndravarmanana namadhēya¹ vñjāpanayā tasy=ājñaptirōvam² Ālapāka-Bōl
 29 . . ppi-Bōl³ Sōmayājula-Vellekka-Bōl Mārata-Bōl [*] Api cha mōhāl=lobhā-
 30 d=vā yaḥ=kaśchid=viḡhna-karttāra⁴ sa pañcha-mahāpātaka-yuktō bhaviṣhyatī
 iti⁵ cha [*]
 31 Vēda-Vyā[sa*]sya ślōk[ā*]ś=ch=ātra [*] Nighnatō bha[r*]tri(tri)-gō-vipra-bāla-
 yōshut-ta-
 32 pasvinah [*] yā gatus=sā bhavēt=rittam⁶ harata[h*] śāsan-ānktām [|| 1 ||*]
 Shashthumma⁶ varsha-sa-

Fifth Plate, First Side

- 33 hā(ha)srām svarggē tishthatī bhūmi-da[h*] | ākshēptā ch=ānumant[ā*] cha
 tāny=ēva na-
 34 rakē vasēt [|| 2 ||*] Bahubhur=vva[su*]dhā dattā bahubhūś=ch=ānupālītā [*]
 yasya-ya-
 35 sya yadā bhūmi[s=*]tasya-tasya tadā phalam[|| 3 ||*] Iti Kanakarāma-likhī-
 36 tē śā śa (ra) nē chatushashthyāśah⁷ [*] Ētēshā nāmānām ēkaik-āśah⁸ 
 37 . . [pālvā]kamli=ēk-āmśa[n] [*] Chōda-Bōl⁹ tri(tri)ty-ā[m*]śam [||*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

The Mahārāja Indravarman, whose other name was Tyāgadhēnu (l 16 f), adorned the family of the Chalukyas (l 6 f), was a grandson of the Mahārāja Kirtivarman (l 7 f), and was a son of the Mahārāja Vishnuvardhana¹⁰ (ll 8-10). He granted the village¹¹ of Kondanagūru (l 18) to Chendiśarman (l 25), son of Vishnuśarman of the Bhāradvāja gōtra (l 23 f) and grandson of Durgāśarman, (also) called Irālū[r]-Bōya, of the Vājasanēya charana (ll 21-23). The boundaries of the village granted were in the North, Mujumnūru; in the East, Pagunūru; in the South, Cherupūru, and in the West, Irbba[l]i (ll 18-21).

The grant seems to have been made at the instance of a chief named Kondivarman, who belonged to the family of Āryyāhū(?), and at whose request the Mahārāja's (viz Indravarman's) eldest son, who, (like his father), bore the name Indravarman, was appointed executor (ājñapti) of this (grant)¹². Line 28 f seems to contain the names of four witnesses of the grant, preceded by the particle ēvam, 'thus,' viz Ālapāka-Bōl,¹³ . ppi-Bōl, Sōmayājula-Vellekka-Bōl, and Mārata-Bōl¹⁴.

¹ Read perhaps *Indratarmma-nāmadhēyō*

² Read *Paritā*

³ Read *bhatīd=rittam*

⁴ Read *chaśuśhashthy-ānśāh*

⁵ A point or dash is engraved between *bō* and *l*

¹⁰ The genitive *-raksha sthalasya* in line 9 f. proves that the nominative *-mahārājah* in line 8 must be a mistake of the clerk who drafted the grant, for *-mahā-ājasya*

¹¹ The text reads *grāma-grāma*, 'village of villages,' i. e. 'a large village' (?) or 'a chief village' (?). The same expression occurs in another Eastern Chalukya grant, see *Ind Ant*, Vol. XIII, p. 133, text line 18.

¹² The purpose of the passage from which I derive these statements (ll 26-28) is uncertain. If my correction *Indratarmma-nāmadhēyō* is accepted, it would still be necessary either to supply after *Kondivarmanā* the word *krīṣṭā* qualifying the instrumental *vñjāpanayā*, or to read *Konditarmmanō*.

¹³ *Bōl* is the honorific plural of *Bōya*, 'a resident, inhabitant', see my remarks on p. 2 above.

¹⁴ The epithet *Mārata-Bōya* is applied to two of the donees in a grant of Vishnuvardhana II, see *Ind Ant*, Vol. VII, p. 183, text lines 41 and 50. In l. 60 of that grant, *samprāpta* must be corrected into *samprattah*.

(This) edict (*śāsana*) was written by Kanakarāma (l 35 f). The village granted was divided into 64 shares, of which each of the donees¹ received one share (l 36). The last line (37) contains the names of two further recipients of shares, of whom the first, whose name is doubtful, received one share, and the other, named Chōda-Bōl, one-third share

No. 2.—BAHUR PLATES OF NRIPATUNGAVARMAN.

By PROFESSOR E. HOLTZSCH, PH.D., HALLE (SAALF).

As stated by M. Julien Vinson, this inscription is engraved on five copper-plates which were discovered by M. Jules Delafon² in 1879 'at a depth of about one metre, in the middle of a structure of bricks, at six metres south of the pagoda of Bāhūr, an important locality on the south of Pondicherry, from which it is 23.5 kilometres distant'. The plates are now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. They measure about 91.5 millimetres in height, 201.9 mm in breadth, and 4.1 mm in thickness, and weigh altogether 3106 grammes. There is the usual ring-hole, 13.5 mm in diameter, at a distance of 9-10 mm from the left margin of each plate, but the ring which must have been originally passed through the holes and borne the royal seal, has not been recovered. 'It had surely been broken long ago, for the first side of the third plate and the second side of the second one are in worse condition than the other sides. They were no doubt on the outside of the set. This allows us to conclude that the document has been buried with carelessness or in impatient haste'. I am deriving all these details from M. Vinson's article 'Le collège de Bahour au IX^e siècle',³ in which he furnished a tentative transcript and translation of the inscription. Years ago I had published a few remarks on it,⁴ based on a transcript which had been prepared by a Tamil pandit and supplied to me by M. Delafon. This transcript has been recently printed in full, with some additional remarks, by Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri.⁵ The historical importance of the record now induces me to re-edit it from a set of photographs which M. Vinson had been good enough to send me in 1905. The photographs are not quite perfect and distinct, but nearly every detail of the text can be made out from them with certainty.

The languages of the inscription are Sanskrit and Tamil, and the alphabets are Grantha and Tamil, respectively. There are 32 Sanskrit verses (ll 1-45 and 74-77), the rest of the text is in Tamil prose (ll 45-74 and 78 f). Grantha letters are occasionally used also in the Tamil portion (*Nri*, l 45, *mma*, l 46, *brahmadēya*, l 50, *vidyāsthā*, ll 51, 71, *vidyābhōga*, ll 52, 71 f, *hā* and *iyavaste(śthai)*, l 72, *sarvaparīhā*, *brahma* and *dattī*, l 73, *Uditōdaya* and *dē*, l 78, *Nripatunga*, l 78), and the Tamil syllable *rai* occurs in a Sanskrit verse (l 34), while the purely Tamil name *Nilaitāngi* is written in Grantha letters (*Nilaitāmg=īti*, l 30). In the Sanskrit portion, the secondary form of *i* is not distinguished from that of *ī*, nor that of *ri* from that of *ra*, nor *p* from *v*. In the Tamil portion, the length of initial *ē* and *ō* is not marked in *ēr* (l 72) and *ōdai* (l 69). The secondary forms of *i*, *ē*, *ō* are the same as those of *ī*, *e*, *o*. The length of the vowel *ā* is marked in *ār*, *Vāyūr*, *Uṭattūr*, *ōrūr*, *ōnūr*, and *pūśi*, but the *mū* of *mmūṇṇūrum* (l 50) does not differ in shape from *mu*, and from the *lu* of *-pālun=* (l 68).

¹ The names of the 64 shareholders are not specified, but the latter are alluded to by the pronoun *ētē*, 'these,' which implies that they were assembled in the king's presence when he made the grant. For similar instances of the use of the pronoun *ēta* see above, Vol IX, p 59, note 6. The unnamed donees perhaps consisted of the chief donee Chendisarman and his relatives, and of the four persons who were mentioned as witnesses of the grant in line 28 f.

² To the same gentleman we owe the discovery of the Kāsakuḍi plates of Nandivarman (S I I, Vol II, No 78).

³ *Mémoires Orientaux* (Paris, 1905), pp 211-263.

⁴ Above, Vol IV, p 180 f.

⁵ S I I, Vol II, pp 513-517.

All these defective spellings are well known from many other Tamil inscriptions¹. They were not intended to imply actual differences of pronunciation, but are only due to the yet imperfect development of the old Tamil alphabet. In my transcript, I have, therefore, substituted the long vowels wherever they are required. In the Sanskrit portion, a final form of *m* is frequently employed (ll 11, 12, 13, etc.) Virāma is expressed by a vertical dash after *n* (ll 10, 29 (?), 35 (?), 40, 41) but seems to be omitted generally after final *t* (ll 4, 5, 26, 29, 30, 45), where I have tacitly supplied it. Superscribed *r* has the same shape as Virāma, but is represented by a point in *nirbabbau* (l 16) and *-pūriaka[m]* (l 32). In the Tamil portion, Virāma is expressed only in two instances by a vertical dash in *tan* (l. 48), and by a point (*pulli*) in *im* (l 50). In the Sanskrit portion, the end of a verse is marked indiscriminately by various signs of punctuation, consisting of one or more of five different elements (|, ||, —, 0—), but which I have in every case replaced by the usual mark (||). The end of the first half of a verse is marked by a horizontal line (—) only in five instances (ll 13, 15, 17, 26, 30). At the end of the two Tamil passages, two other signs of punctuation are employed, viz ||0— (l 74) and |0— (l 79).

The orthography of the Sanskrit portion calls for a few remarks. Tamil pronunciation is responsible for the forms *Tantivarmman* (ll 14, 18) for *Dantivarmman*, and *rēbha* (l 33) for *rēpha*, and *agātha* (l. 37) is meant for *aqāḍha*. The group *lsh* is replaced by *tsh* in *varatsha* (l 9 f), *tshṃāpāla-* (l 14 f), *-didritshayā* (l 17), and *Latshmīr-* (l 20). The Sandhi rules are disregarded in *pālanāt=bhūmim* (l 15), *ṛitavān=sūtra-* (l 45), *siarggam=imānēna* (l. 13), and *labdham=vidyā-* (l. 35). Visarga is dropped, not only, as optionally permitted, in *-tēja sthiti-* (l 3) and *dāsa sthānasya* (l 44), but also in *ta sriyam-* (l 1) and *rājña sri°* (ll, 21, 42). Consonants are doubled after *r*, with four exceptions (*Śrī-bhartiś-*, l 3, *nirbabbau*, l 16, and *Dhū[r*]yati=rjata°*, l. 36)². Double *t* is simplified before *v* in *datiā* (l 39) and *tatra* (l. 45). The Tamil of the grant portion is on the whole correct. The only mistakes in it are °*pākamum* (l 49) for °*pākkamum*, *natti* and *vidutḥa* (l 53) for *nātti* and *vidulḥa*, *vidunda* (l 56) for *viḍutta*, *ūmam* (l 67) for *ūrum*, *vyasteyum* (l 72 f) for *vyavasthāyum*, and a few other slips in the two last lines of the inscription. The genitive affix *in* is joined to *ellai*, 'a boundary,' without Sandhi in *ellaiin* (ll 58, 63, 64 f, 65, 66), and its final *n* is doubled before the conjunctive affix *um* in *ellaūnnum* (ll 58, 59, 60, 61). Similarly the past relative participle *āyina* is spelt *āina* (l. 62). For the past gerund *āy* we have *āyi* (l 72, and twice in l 73), which is an archaic form, *mēyi* (l 68) for *mēy*, 'to graze', and *Neliāyppālham* (l 59 f) for *Neliāyppālham*.

The metres of the Sanskrit portion are *Drutavilambita* (verses 1, 7), *Vasantatilakā* (15, 31), *Āryā* (32), and *Anushtubh* (3-6, 8-14, 16-30). The metre of verse 2 is *Praharshini*, but its fourth Pāda is *Anushtubh*, and in each of the two first Pādas the tenth and eleventh syllables of the *Praharshini* metre are missing. I am unable to correct and translate this verse in a satisfactory manner.

The Tamil portion of the inscription records a grant of three villages, and the Sanskrit portion preceding it professes to be a eulogy (*prastāva*, l 45) celebrating the donor. The Tamil and the Sanskrit versions supplement and corroborate each other, and have both to be considered together. The grant was made in the eighth year (ll 46, 51) of the reign of king (*kō*) *Vijaya-Nripātungavarman* (l 45 f), or simply *Nripātungavarman* (l 74 f), *Nripātunga* (ll. 24, 25, 32), or *Tungavarman* (l. 42), who boasted of the title 'lord of the three worlds' (l 22 f, 41 f). Verses 2-15 contain the following genealogical account of this king. From the lotus-flower arising from Vishnu's navel was produced *Brahmā*, from him, *Angiras*, from him, *Bṛhaspati*, from him, *Samyu*, from him, *Bharadvāja*, from him, *Drōṇa*, from him, *Aśvatthāman*, and from him, king *Pallava* (verse 6). The same mythical pedigree is found at the begin-

¹ Cf. S. I. I., Vol. I, Preface, p. v. f.

² In *carsāṇād-* (l 15 f) the doubling of the sibilant is prohibited by Pāṇini, VIII, 4, 49.

ning of several inscriptions of the Pallava kings of Kāñchi. Next we are told that from the family of Pallava 'arose a group (of kings) commencing with Vimāla and Konkanika' (verse 7), and that, 'after Vimāla, etc., had gone to heaven' (verse 8), there was Dantivarman (verse 9), whose son was Nandivarman (verse 12). As I have suggested on a former occasion,¹ the 'group (of kings) commencing with Vimāla and Konkanika', which is sandwiched between the mythical king Pallava and the historical king Dantivarman, probably owes its mention to the desire of claiming for the latter connection with the Western Gāṅgā kings, whose ancestor is believed to have been Konkan.² The queen of Nandivarman, Śāṅkhā by name, was both in the Rāshtrakūta family (verse 13) and bore to him the donor of this grant, Nripatunga (verse 15). Of him verse 16 tells us that he supplied a Pāṇḍya king, whose proper name is not disclosed, with an army, and that he defeated some enemies, who are not specified either, on the further bank of the Arichit river. The name of this river must be a Sanskritized form of Ariśil, a branch of the Kāvēri which enters the sea at Kāraikkāl (Kāṭikāl).³ It may be concluded from verse 16 that Nripatunga allied himself with a Pāṇḍya king and undertook an expedition into the dominions of the Chōla king. The two names Dantivarman and Nripatunga occur also among the Rāshtrakūta kings, with whom Nandivarman became actually connected through his queen Śāṅkhā, and Dantivarman is perhaps identical with Dāntiga, the ruler of Kāñchi who was defeated by the Rāshtrakūta king Govinda III in A.D. 804.⁴ Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri has shown quite recently that the Vēlūrpālayam plates of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman and the Tandantōṭṭam plates of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman probably belong to the reign of Nripatunga's father Nandivarman.⁵

According to the Tamil portion, the grant was made at the request of Vēśālī pērarayan (l. 46), i.e. 'the great chief of Vēśālī.' The Sanskrit portion supplies his proper name, Mār-tāṇḍa (l. 27 f.), and his surname, Nalātāṅgi⁶ (l. 30), and calls him, with a play on his name Mār-tāṇḍa, 'the sun of the Vēśālī family' (l. 27 f.). From other inscriptions we learn that Vēśālīpādī was the name of a province, of which Vāgūr-nādu, i.e. the country round Bāhur, formed a subdivision.⁷ Evidently Mār-tāṇḍa was a hereditary chief of this province. He claimed descent from the family of Kuru (ll. 27, 31 f., 43), the mythical ancestor of the heroes of the *Mahābhārata*. At his own request (ll. 32, 46 f.), he had received three villages in his own province (*rāshṭra*) from king Nripatunga (verse 21). This probably means nothing but that his sovereign accorded him permission to give away these three villages, and explains two apparently conflicting statements, viz. that, in verses 23, 26, and 29, Mār-tāṇḍa is represented as the actual donor, while, in verse 31, Nripatungavarman claims the merit of having made the grant himself.

The executor (*ājāpti* in Sanskrit, ll. 32, 39, and 41, or *āhatti* in Tamil, l. 47) of the grant was Uttamaśīla (l. 41), the minister (*mantrin*) of king Tungavarman (l. 42), i.e. of Nripatunga. He had the title Vidēlvīdugu-Kādūpattī-Tamīla-pērarayan (l. 47), i.e. 'the great chief of the Tamilians of Vidēlvīdugu-Kādūpattī.' As Kādūpattī is a synonym of Pallava,⁸ Uttamaśīla's title suggests that Vidēlvīdugu, i.e. 'the crashing thunderbolt,' was a surname of the Pallava king Nripatunga. The same word Vidēlvīdugu seems to have been a surname of his father Nandivarman. For an inscription of king Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman and of his feudatory, the Bāna chief Vikramāditya, at Tiruvallam⁹ records the grant of a village named Vidēlvīdugu-Vikkīramāditta-chaturvēdimangalaṁ. The first member of this compound word

¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 181.

² Cf. above, Vol. III, p. 164, n. 3, and S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 98 f.

³ S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 52, n. 8.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 127.

⁵ S. I. I., Vol. II, pp. 506 f., 518.

⁶ This Tamil name is paraphrased in Sanskrit by *lōkānām nilayaḥ* (l. 29).

⁷ See M. Vinsan's article, p. 284 f., and Venkayya's Preface to S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 27.

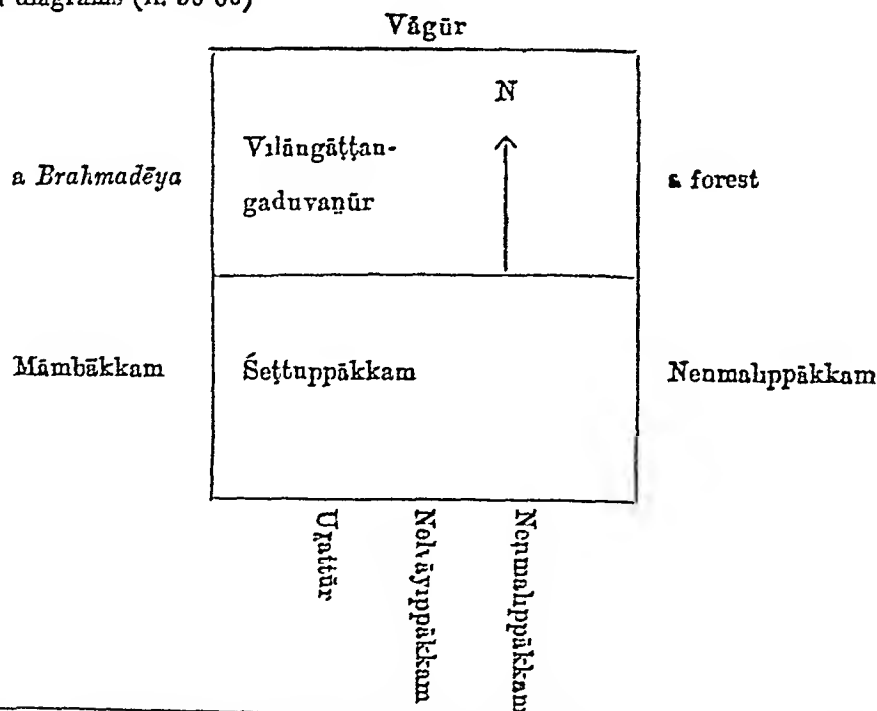
⁸ See above, Vol. VII, p. 26, n. 7, and J. R. A. S., 1913, p. 527.

⁹ S. I. I., Vol. III, No. 43.

must refer to Nṛpatunga's father Nandivarman,¹ and the second one to the Bāṇa chief Vikramāditya. The executor (*ānatti*) of the Tiruvallam grant was Kādupaṭṭi-Tamila-pṛa[rā]jap, which may be taken as a title either of Uttamaśila himself, or of another minister who preceded him in office during the reign of Nandivarman.

The recipients of the grant were the residents of a 'seat of learning' (*vidyā-sthāna*), or college, at Vāgūr (ll 51 f, 71, see also ll 35 37 f, 38 f, and 41 of the Sanskrit portion), i.e. Bāhūr, where the plates were discovered by M. Delafon. As M. Vinson remarks,² the modern form looks like a learned corruption, deriving the ancient name Vāgūr from the Sanskrit *bāhu*, 'an arm,' instead of the Tamil *vāgu*, 'beauty.' The grant was to be a *vidyā-bhōga* (ll 52, 71 f), i.e. a source of revenue for the promotion of learning. This is perhaps the earliest case on record of a university scholarship or educational endowment.

As in the Leyden plates (a scholarly transcript, translation, and analysis of which still remain a desideratum), the official routine observed in this grant was as follows. The three villages having been granted to the Vāgūr college, an order (*tirumugam*, l. 54) communicating this fact and calling for a report (*aṟaiyēlai*, ll. 53, 55, 56) was issued to the headmen of Kīlveḷi-Vāgūr-nāḍu, (a subdivision of the district) of Aruvā-nāḍu³ (l. 48). Having read the order, the headmen of the *nāḍu* reverently placed it on their heads and circumambulated the limits of the villages granted. Line 40 of the Sanskrit portion suggests that, as in the case of the Leyden plates, they were accompanied by an elephant whose hoofprints marked the boundaries, on which they raised stones and planted milk-bush (ll. 53, 55). The names of the three villages were Śettuppākkam,⁴ Vilāngāṭṭan-gaduvaṇūr, and Iraippunaichchēri (ll. 48 50). According to the report submitted by the headmen of the *nāḍu*, their boundaries were as shown in the two subjoined diagrams (ll. 56 66).

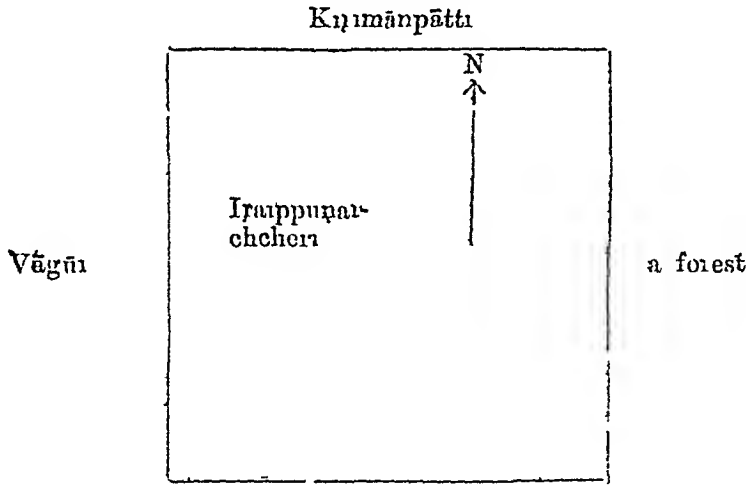


¹ Just as his name is given here and in other inscriptions in the fuller form of *kō Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman*, his son Nṛpatungavarman calls himself also *kō Vijaya-Nṛpatungavikramavarman*, see above, Vol. IV, p. 180 ff. and Vol. VII, p. 140.

² Cf. Venkayya's Preface to S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 27. According to the Tamil dictionaries, Aruvā-nāḍu is one of the two districts in which common Tamil (*Kodun-Tamiḻ*) is spoken, the second being Aruvā vaḍatalai nāḍu.

³ Spelt *Chettuppākkam* in Grantha (l. 32 f).

⁴ See his article, p. 236.



Neiṇṇṭṭuṇṇu

M. Vinson¹ has consulted a local map and tells us that, besides Vāgūi (Bāhūi), two of these village-names survive to the present day. Kṛimānpāṭṭi is now represented by Kṛimāmbakkam, 6 kilometres north-east of Bāhūi, and Vilāṅgāttangaduvaṇṇi is perhaps connected with Kaduvaṇṇūr, 5 kilometres west of Bāhūi. I hope my Brahmin friends in Madras will find an opportunity for making enquiries on the spot, and will succeed in identifying a few more of the village-names which are registered in the detailed description of the boundaries of the grant.

In verse 30 we are told that the Sanskrit *pravastī*, which forms the first portion of the inscription, was composed by Nāgaya, a servant of the Vāgūi college. At the end of the whole document, its writer informs us of his name and parentage in a Sanskrit verse (32) and in Tamil prose (l 78 f). He was a goldsmith (*suvarṇakṛt* or, in Tamil, *tattāṇ*), named Nṛipatunga (l 77, 79),—evidently after his sovereign,—a hereditary servant of the Pallava family, the son of Mādēvi-perundattān, and the grandson of Uditōdaya-perundattān of Kil-Paiṇṇāram near Kachchīpēdu (Conjeevaram). The name, or rather the title, of his father means 'the great goldsmith (by appointment) to the chief queen'. Similarly, the name of his grandfather would mean 'the great goldsmith (by appointment) to (king) Uditōdaya,' and Uditōdaya (l 78) or Uditōdita (l 76) may have been a surname of one of the immediate predecessors of king Nṛipatungavarman. Uditōdita is actually known to have been one of the numerous *virūdas* of Rājāsīmha, an earlier Pallava king of Kāñchi². From this king it may be supposed to have descended to one of the predecessors of Nṛipatungavarman.

TEXT³

First Plate, First Side

- 1 Svasti śūi[h ||*] Disatu va[h*] śriyam=ambuja-lōchanas=tīdaśa-maṭṭi-mghri=
 2 shta-pad-āmbujah [i*] sakala-lōka-bhayamkara-rākshasa-pasama-nēti=a-
 3 jē(jō) Madha(dhu)-sūdanah || [l ||*] Śrī-bhartuś=śayana parasya nētrē jat=
 tējē[h*] sṭhiti-laya-sū-

¹ See his article, p 235 f² S 1 I, Vol I, p. 15, 6th niche³ From a set of photographs supplied by M. Julien Vinson⁴ Read perhaps =bhīti=śījan

- 4 ti-hētuh [i*] tan-nābhēr=ajani samasta-bhjam=abhjam=Ātmayōnis=tatō-bhavat || [2 ||*]
 5 A[m*]girās=tata utpannō loka-nāthach-chaturmmukhāt [i*] Bṛhaspatīs=tatō
 6 mantri Śakrasya Vala bhūdinah || [3 ||*] Tataś=Śanyus=tatō jē(ja)jñō
 Bharadvāja sa-
 7 māvayah [i*] tatō Drōnō mah ēshvāsas=samarō Śakra-vikramah || [4 ||*] Tata
 8 Drōnān=mahā-bāhus=sarvva-yu[d*]dha viśūradah [i*] Aśvatthāmā kul-āmēṇa sampa-
 9 bhūva Pinākinah || [5 ||*] Aśvatthāmnas=tatō rājā Pallav-ākhyō babhūva
 u(jah) [i*] ra-

First Plate, Second Side

- 10 ratsha(ksha) nava-khanda-sthān=bhūpatin=sa-kṛshivalūn || [6 ||*] Vimala-Komkaṇik-
 ādi ta-
 11 d-anvayād=ajani brndam=ari-pramad-ānatam [i*] nihita śāsanam=anya-nṛpīshv=api
 12 priyatamañ=jaya-ghōsham=anāratam || [7 ||*] Bhuktā bhuvam sva-viryōpa
 chatus [sā]-
 13 gara-mckhalām | tata[h*] svarggam=vimānēna¹ gatīshu Vimal-ādīshu || [8 ||*] Ā-
 14 sit=Parandara-samō rājā² drpa(dha)-bhaktir=Mmura dvīpi(sh) [i*] Ta(Da)ntivatmmā
 mahā-[b]āhuh tshmā(kshmā)-
 15 pāla-makut-ānatah || [9 ||*] Dharmmēṇa pālanāt(d)=bhūmim Kalāv=api yugō
 nṛpah | va-
 16 rshanād=api dānasya parjanya iva nṛbabhau || [10 ||*] Ātmanō bandi-yukt-
 ā[nām]³ Ya-
 17 m-ālaya-didṛtsha(ksha)yā | pāthcyam=iva kṛtv=ārīn=pandāni⁴ viśa[sā*]iṇja yaḥ
 || [11 ||*] Nandi-
 18 varmmā mahā-bāhus=sa jātō⁵ Ta(Da)ntiva[r*]mmanah [i*] samarē vījā .
 bhūmīr=asahāyē-

Second Plate, First Side

- 19 na yēna sah || [12 ||*] Āsich=Chhankh-āhvayā dēvi tanv-amgi Nāndivarmmmanah
 [i*] Rāshtra-
 20 kūta-[ku*]lē jātā Latshmi(ksbmi)r=iva Mura-dvīshah || [13 ||*] Kshamāvatī
 dharitr=iva mā[tri*]-vaj=jagatah
 21 priyā [i*] babhau Śamkh āhvayā dēvi rājā[h*] śrīr=iva rūpini || [14 ||*]
 Tasyām
 22 [ba]bhūva mati-kānti-kal-ādīmatyām=mānyah kulēna gunavān=bhuvana-tray-ē-
 23 śah [i*] utpadyamāna-tapanādhīpa-tulya-tējā jushnuh kalavān=samarē⁶
 24 Nṛpatumgadēvah || [15 ||*] Yat-prasād-ā[r*]jūtā sēnā Pāndyēna samarē purā [i*]
 25 pārē-Rachit=sa rāj-āgnir=ddadāha rīpu-samhatim || [16 ||*] Nṛpatumga itī khyātō
 26 bālō=pi bhuvan-ēśvarah | khyātō na kēvalam=bhūmāv=amushminn=api Rāma-vat
 27 || [17 ||*] Tasy-ōpakāra-samyuktō rājānah Kuru-kul-odbhavah [i*] Vēśālī-vamśa-Mā-

¹ Read *svarggam vimānēna*

² To satisfy the metre, this word must be cancelled

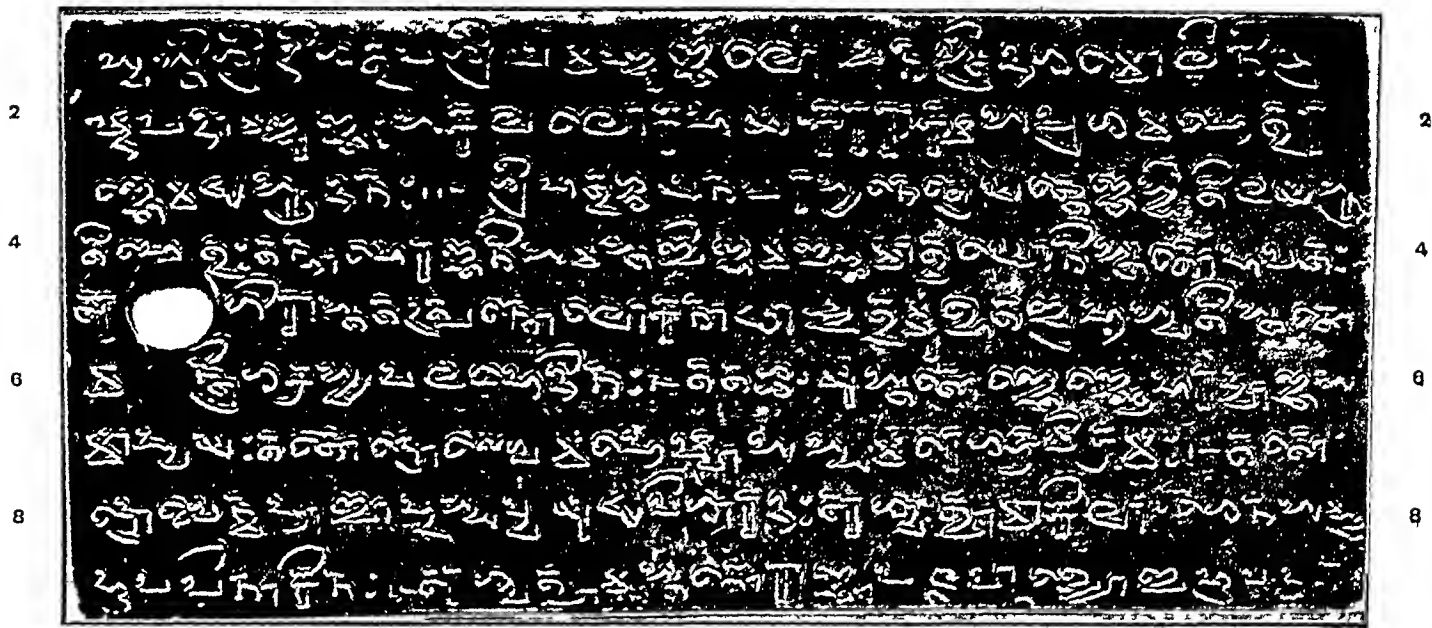
³ Read *perbaj s yult ānyān=*

⁴ Read *pe-l aps=kāndāni*

⁵ Read *samyitō*

⁶ Instead of the last syllable of *kalāvān*, the metre requires a short syllable, read perhaps *kulāpa samarē*

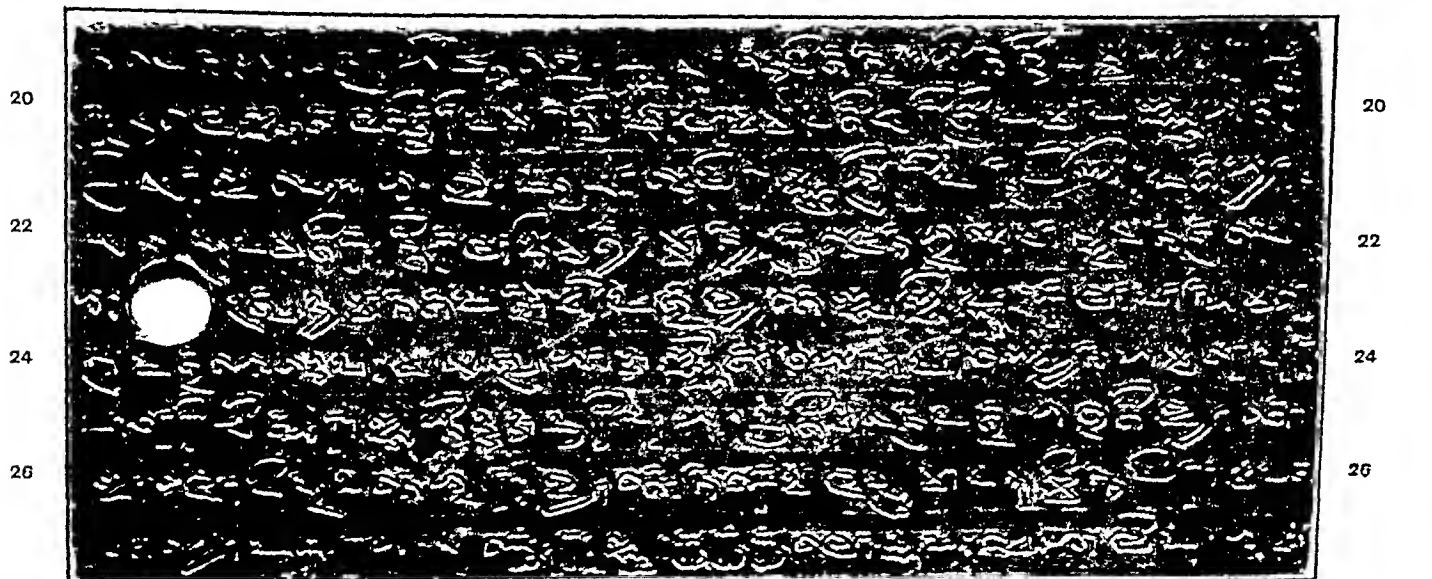
1 a



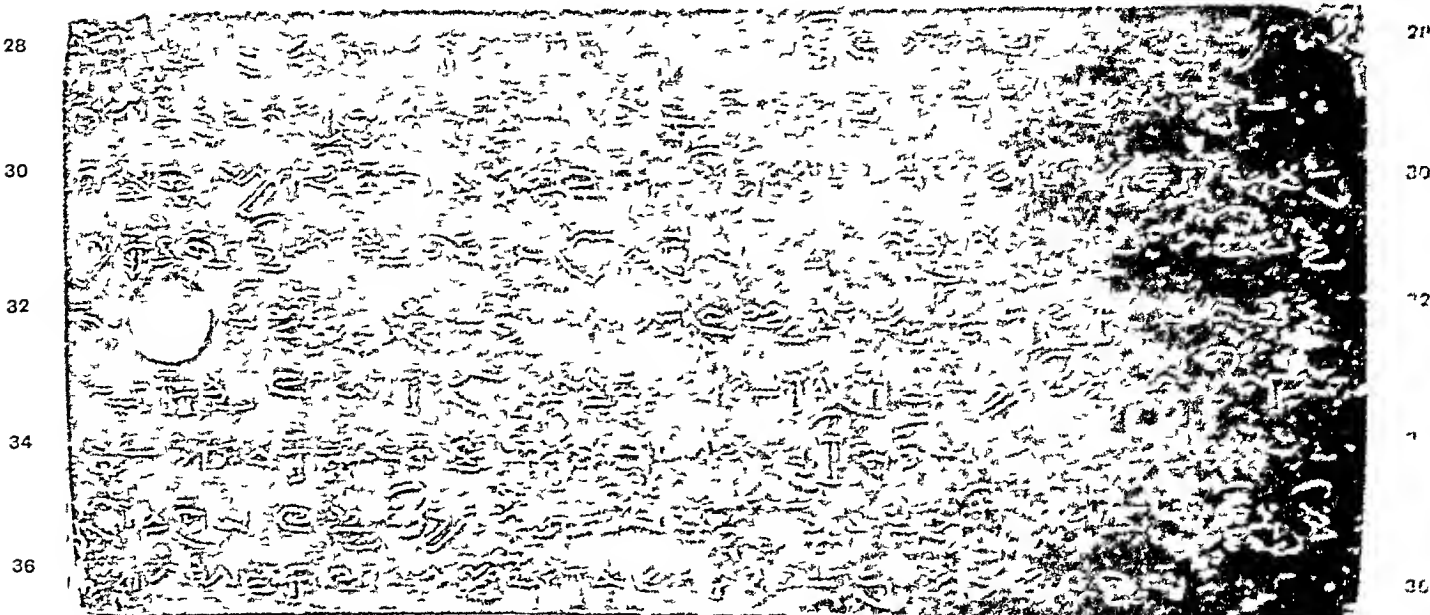
1 b



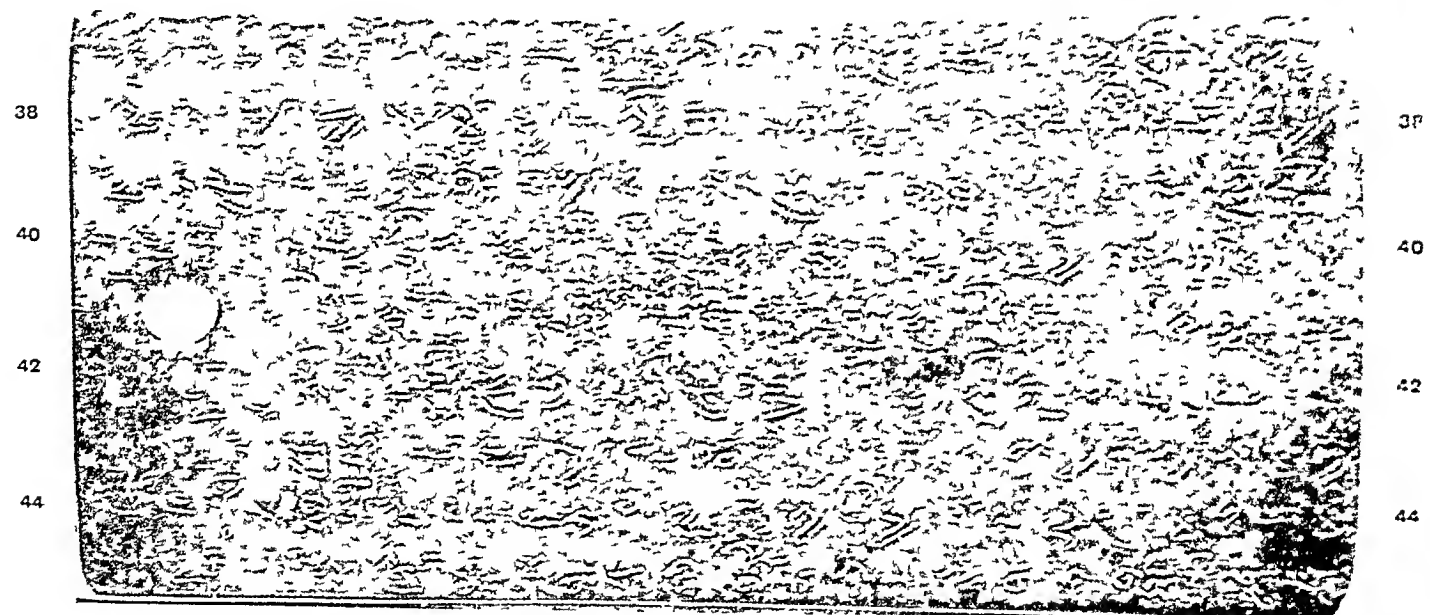
2 a



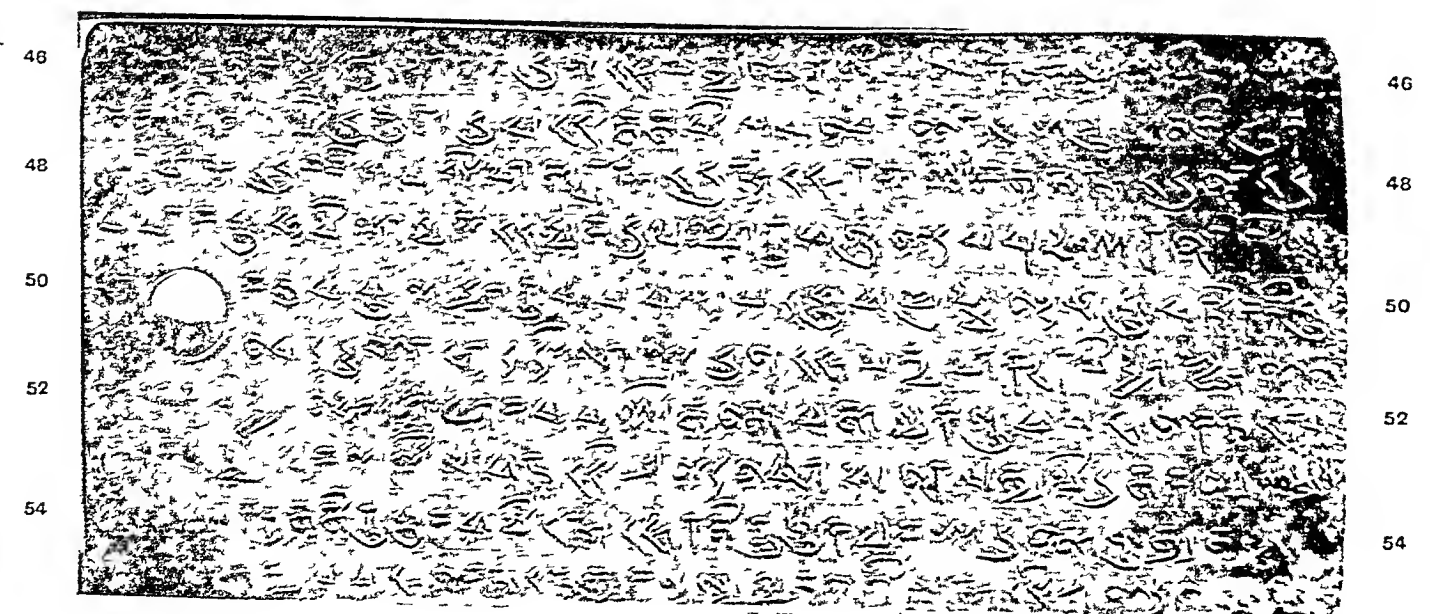
n b



m a



m b



Second Plate, Second Side

- 28 rttāndah prajānām śaraṇē ratah || [18 ||*] Śaśi-vat=talakō lōkē gēmbhīryy-
ādan¹
- 29 samudra-vat [i*] sū[i*]yya-vad=rakshanāl=lōkān² lōkānān=niḷayō nripah || [19 ||*]
- 30 Tasmāt=tasy=ōchitan=nāma Nilaitāmg=iti dēva-vat | athavā sutarān=nāma-pra-
31 tyakshatvād=visām=patēh || [20 ||*] Grāma-trayam sva-rāshṭrē sah³ Kuru-vamśa-
vivarddha-
- 32 nah [i*] vijñā[pya] Nripatumg-ōśāl=labdham=ājñapti-pūrvvaka[m] || [21 ||*] Ohettu-
33 ppākkam=phal-ādhāram grāmam=ēkam=ath=āparam [i*] giāmah(mam), Vidyā-
vilāmg-ādi-iēbh(ph)-ā-
- 34 nta-pada-nāmaka[m] || [22 ||*] Tasmād=Iraippunaichchērin=tritiyam sarvva-[sampa]dam
[i*] ēvam
- 35 grāma-trayam labdham=vidyā-sthānāya⁴ dattavān || [23 ||*] Mandākinim
samāyāntim=ūrmu-
- 36 vēga-samākulām [i*] sa [ba]bhāra yathē dēvo Dhū[r*]jaṭṭr=jaṭṭay=akayā || [24 ||*]

Third Plate, First Side

- 37 Vidyā-nadi tath=āg[ā]thā(dhā) ⁵chaturddīśa-gaṇ-ākulā, [i*] Vāgū[r]-grāma-jush[ām]
38 sthānam. vyāpya yasmād=vyavasthitā || [25 ||*] Tat=sthānam=ēvam vidushām, vidyā-
39 sthānam=prachakshatē [i*] tēbhyaḥ datvā(ttva) sa bhūpālō grāmān=ājñapti-
40 pūrvvakān || [26 ||*] Hasti-sañchūrī-simāntān=ātmānam=bahu-manyatē [i*] yuktān=sa
41 rvva-[pa]rihārair=akarativēna rakshitān || [27 ||*] Ājñaptir=Uttamēśilas=trailō-
42 ky-ōśvara-pūptah [i*] mantri Bṛhaspati-prakhyō rājñā[h*] śrīTumg-
va[r*]mmanah || [28 ||*]
- 43 Āgāminah prajāpālān=yāchatē Kuru-nandanah [i*] dha[rmma*]sy=antasya sāmānyā-
44 t=pālaniya iti svayam || [29 ||*] Dāsa[h*] sthānasya vidyāyā Vāgūr-grāma-
jushām=a-
- 45 yam⁶ [i*] kṛtavān(ñ)=śāstra-tatva(ttva)-jñah praśastin=Nāgayas=su[kṛi*]t || [30 ||*]
Kō Viśaya-Nri-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 46 patongavarmmarku yāndu ettāvadū Vēśali-ppēraraiyan vinnap-
47 pattāl Vidēlvidugu-Kādūpatti-Ttamiḷa-ppēraraiyan ānatta āga
48 Aruvā-nāttu=Kk[ī]vali-Vāgūr-nāttu nāttār -kānga [i*] Tam-nāttu Settu-
49 ppā[k*]kamum Vilāngāttangaduvanūrum Iraippunaichchēriyu-
50 m=āga munnūrum palayav-aṇamum brahmādēyamum=nikk[ī] mu-
51 n perārāi māṇṇi yāndu ettāvadū Vāgūr vidyāsthānat-
52 tārkku vidyābhōgam=āga=ppanittōm [i*] Tāngalum padāgai naḍan-
53 du kallum kalliyum n[ā*]tti aṇaiyolai śeydu vidutka(kka)v=ēṇṇu
54 nāttārkku=ttirumugam vīda [i*] Nāttār tirumugan=gapdu toludu talai-
55 [k]ku vaittu=ppadāgai naḍandu kallum=galliyu=nāttī aṇai[yolai]

¹ The second part of the au of -adan is engraved at the beginning of the next line² Read =lōkāmīl=³ Read sa⁴ Read labdham=vidyā-⁵ [Read pñāp[ī]r. — Ed.]⁶ The reading = smām would be more suitable.⁷ [This word may be read as vidutaga — Ed.]

Fourth Plate, First Side.

- 56 śeydu nāttār vidunda(tta) araiyōlai=ppadi nilattukk=ellai [*] Vilā
 57 ngāttangaduvaṇūrkkun=Jettuppākkattukkum=āga irandu ūrkku=gi-
 58 l-pārk=ellai kattu ellaiṇṇnm Nenmalippākkattu ellaiṇ
 59 mērkun=den-pārk=ellai Nenmalippākkatt=ellaiṇṇun=Nelvā-
 60 yippākkatt=ellaiṇṇnm Urattūr=ellaikku vadakkum mēl-pā-
 61 rk=ellai Mambākkatt=ellaiṇṇnm iv-Vilāngāttāngaduvaṇū-
 62 r-ppār=piramadēyam=āina arubadu śeṇuvakk-kkūlakkum vada-pārk=ellai Vā-
 63 gūr=ellaiṇ=reṇkum [*] Iraippunaichchērikk=ellai kīl-pārk=ellai natta-
 64 m ulitta kattuṇ mērkun=den-pārk=ellai Neruṇṇiṇṇumbin ellai-
 65 iṇ vadaku=mēl-pārk=ellai Vāgūr=ellaiṇ kīlakkum vada-pārk=ellai

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 66 Kīrmānpātti ellaiṇ=reṇkum=āga ivv-iśaitta-peru-nāṅg-ellai-
 67 gahūm=agappatta nilaṇ nīr-nīlaṇṇum pnnēyyum ūmam¹ ūr-irukkaiyu=
 68 maṇaiyu=maṇai-ppadappn=maṇṇun=ganṇu=mēyi pāṇnā=gulamun=gottagā[ra]-
 69 mun=gīdangun=gēṇiyūn=gādun=galarum ōdaiyum ndaippum nilitta ni[r]
 70 pūśi nedum paramb=erindu ndnmb=ōḍi āmai tavalndad=e[lla]-
 71 m un-nīlaṇ=oliv-ṇṇi Vāgūr vidyāsthāpattārkkun vidyā[bhō].²
 72 bhōgam=āyi Vāgūrōḍē ēṇ Vāgūr perṇa pariḥāramum vṇavaste(sthai)[yu]-
 73 m perṇu sarvva-pariḥāram=āyi brahmadēyam=āyi=pparadatti śeṇṇa-
 74 du || Pṇṇyam samam kṇitavatām parirakshatāñ=cha tad=rakshat=ēti nṇipatur=Nṇṇi-
 75 patungavarmmā [*] āgāminah kṣhītipatūn=pranamaty=ajasram mūrddhṇā
 Mukunda-chara[n-ām]-

Fifth Plate, First Side

- 76 buja-śekharaṇa || [31 ||*] Uditōḍita-kala-tilaka[h*] sṇvarṇnakṇit=sarvva-[śāstra]-
 77 nūhnātah [*] alikhan=Nṇipatumg-ākhyaḥ Pallaṇa-kūḷa mūla-bhṇityō=tra || [32 ||*]
 78 Kacheṇipēttu Kīl-Paiśarattu Uditōḍaya-peru[n*]dattā[n*] magan Mādēvi-
 peru[n*]dattā-
 79 n magan(n) Nṇipatumga[n*] eḷattu ||

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Hail! Prosperity!

(Verse 1) Let Madhu's destroyer (Vishnu) grant you prosperity, the lotus-eyed one, whose lotus-feet are rubbed by the diadems of the gods (bowing to him), the unborn one, (who became) the means of the destruction of demons that terrified the whole world!

(Verse 2) In the eye of the sleeping husband of Śrī (Vishnu) was produced the luminary (i.e. the Sun?), (which is) the means of duration, destruction, and production From his

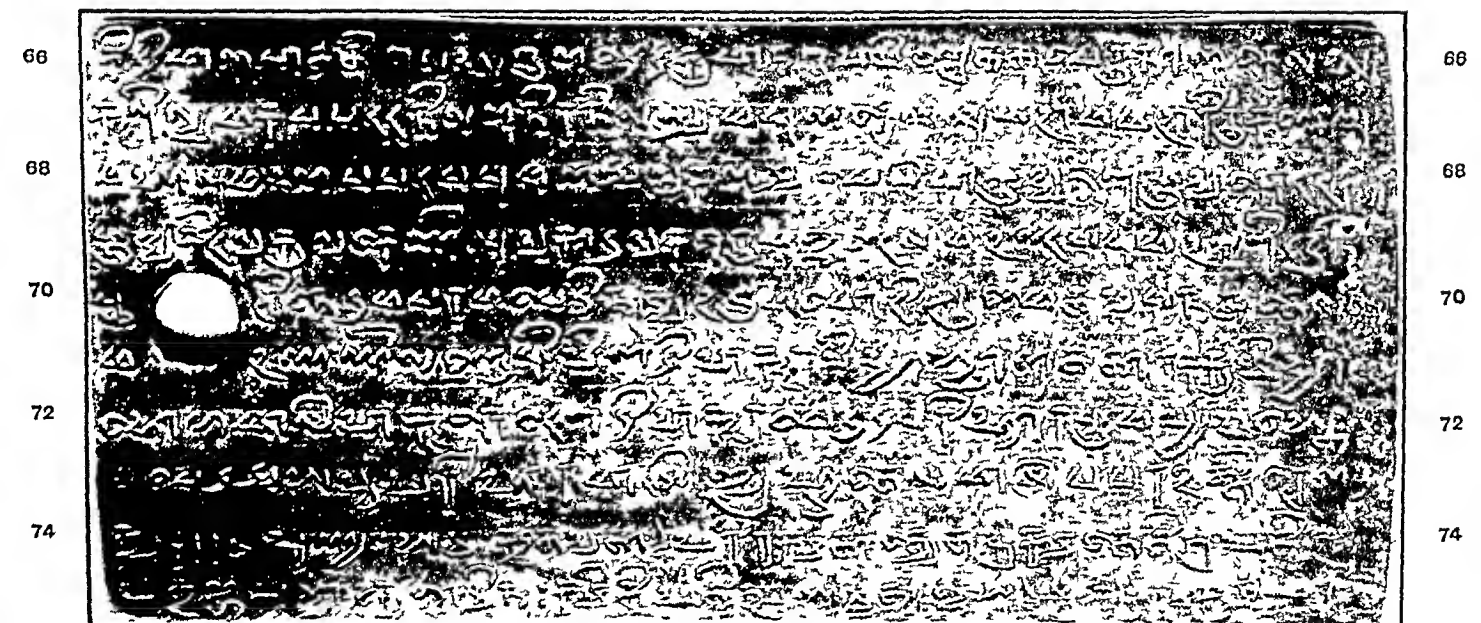
¹ Read *śrur*

² Cancel the bracketed syllable

17 a



17 b



18



(Vishnu's) navcl arose a lotus-flower, the germ of all From this (flower) the self-born one (Brahmā) was produced

(Verse 3) From this four-mouthed lord of the world, Angiras was born, (and) from the latter, Brihaspati, the minister of Śakra (Indra), the splitter of (the demon) Vala

(Verse 4) From him was born Śamyu, from him, he who was named Bharadvāja, from him, the great archer Diṣṇa, whose valour equalled that of Śakra in battle

(Verse 5) From this Diṣṇa was produced, it is said, by a portion of Pinākin (Śiva) the long armed Asvatthāman, who was skilled in all fights

(Verse 6) From this Asvatthāman was born a king named Pallava, who ruled the kings residing in the nine continents, together with the ploughmen

(Verse 7) From his family arose a group (of kings) commencing with Vimala and Konkanka, which was bowed to by the wives of enemies, which imposed commands even on other rulers of men, which was much beloved, (and) which continually shouted 'victory.'

(Verse 8 f) Then, after Vimala, etc, having enjoyed by their own valour the earth girt by the four oceans, had gone to heaven on aerial cars, there was the long-armed (king) Dantivarman, who resembled Purandara (Indra), showed him devotion to Mura's foe (Vishnu), (and) was bowed to by the diadems of the rulers of the earth

(Verse 10) By ruling the earth according to right even in the Kali age, and by showering gifts, (this) ruler of men shone like a rain-cloud

(Verse 11) He dispatched arrows, furnishing (them) with provisions for (their) visit of the nether world under the guise of (the blood of those of his) enemies who were not (already) confined in his own prisons¹

(Verse 12) From Dantivarman was born that long-armed Nandivarman who subdued the earth unaided in battle

(Verse 13) Just as Lakshmi (is the consort) of Mura's foe (Vishnu), (the wife) of Nandivarman was the slender queen named Śankhā, who was born in the Rāshṭrakūṭa family

(Verse 14) Full of patience like the earth, beloved by the people like a mother, the queen named Śankhā shone as if she were the embodied fortune of the king

(Verse 15) By her who possessed intelligence, beauty, arts, etc, was born the virtuous Nripatungadēva, the lord of the three worlds, noble by birth, resembling the rising sun in splendour, (and) victorious in fights with arrows

(Verse 16) Resembling fire, this king, by whose favour the Pāṇḍya had obtained an army formerly, burnt a confederation of enemies in a battle on the further bank of the Arichit (river)

(Verse 17) Even in his youth (this) lord of the world (was) renowned (by the name) of Nripatunga (i.e. 'the high one among rulers of men'). (He was) renowned not only on earth, (but) even in the other (world), like Rāma

(Verse 18) Provided by this king with benefits (was) Mārtāṇḍa of the family of Vēśāb,² a descendant of the family of Kuru, (and) intent on (affording) refuge to (his) subjects

(Verse 19) An ornament to the world like the moon, (and) resembling the ocean in profundity, etc, (this) ruler of men (became) the resort of the people by protecting the people as if (he were) the sun

¹ i.e. he either imprisoned or shot his enemies

² Verses 19 and 20 suggest that the word Mārtāṇḍa (i.e. the sun) is not a mere metaphor (nīpālana), but has to be taken here as a proper name

(Verse 20) Therefore the (sur)name Nilantāṅga (i.e. 'the support of the world') (was as) suitable to this ruler of men as (unto) a god, or because (his real) name (Māritāṅga, i.e. the sun) was quite manifest (to all)

(Verses 21-23) This promoter of the family of Kuru gave to a seat of learning (*vidyāsthāna*) three villages in his own province (*rāshtra*) which, at (his) request, (he had) received, provided with an executor (*ājñapti*), from that lord Nripātunga, viz. the village of Chettup-pākkam, rich in fruit, then another village whose name (consisted of) a word ending in an *r* and beginning with *Vidyāvilāṅgā*,¹ (and) thirdly the very prosperous (village of) Iraippunaichchēri

(Verses 24-26) Just as the god Dhūrjati (Śiva) carried on the single lock of (his) hair the approaching Mandākinī (Gangā), agitated by the velocity of waves, thus the deep river of learning, filled with troops (of scholars) from the four directions,² stayed after it had filled the seat of the residents of the village of Vāgūr. Therefore they call this seat of scholars a seat of learning,

(Verse 26 f) This ruler of land thinks highly of himself after he has given to those (scholars) the (three) villages, provided with an executor, their limits having been circumambulated by an elephant,³ accompanied by all immunities, (and) protected by freedom from taxes

(Verse 28) The executor (was) Uttamaśīla, worshipped by the lord of the three worlds,⁴ the minister, resembling Bṛhaspati, of the glorious king Tungaverman.

(Verse 29) The descendant of Kuru himself entrusts future kings — 'As this charity is common (to all kings), it must be preserved (by you as well) !'

(Verse 30.) The servant of the seat of learning of the residents of the village of Vāgūr, the pious Nāgaya, who knew the truth of sciences, composed this eulogy (*prastāvi*)

(Line 45) In the eighth year (of the reign) of king Vijaya-Nripātungavarman, at the request of Vēśāṭi-pēraraiyan; Vīdēḷvidugu-Kāḍupattī-Tamiḷa-pēraraiyan being the executor (*ānatti*) Let the headmen of Kīlvali-Vāgūr-nādu, (a subdivision) of Aruvā-nādu, see (this, order) !⁵

(Line 48) In the eighth year (of our reign), we have granted three villages of your *nādu*, viz. Śettup-pākkam, Vilāṅgāṭṭangaduvaṇūr, and Iraippunaichchēri, — dispossessing the former tenants, (and) excluding ancient charities and *Brahmadēyas*, — to the residents of the seat of learning at Vāgūr as a source of revenue for the promotion of learning (*vidyā-bhōga*)

(Line 52) And issued in order (*tirumugam*) to the headmen of the *nādu*, telling them to circumambulate the limits,⁶ to plant stones and milk-bush (along the boundaries), and to draw up and submit a report (*araiyōlai*) !

¹ According to the Tamil port on, the full name of this village was Vilāṅgāṭṭangaduvaṇūr, to which the word *vidyā* is still prefixed here because it was granted for the promotion of learning

² With *chaturdisu-gana* cf. the expression *chātudīsasa bhikṣu-sa[m*]gha* at Nāsik, above, Vol. VIII, p. 73, text line 5.

³ The local authorities fixed the boundaries by letting an elephant walk round the limits. Cf. *pīdi nadappittu* or *pīdi sūḷndu* in the Leyden plates, *passim*, *Parinī parīkramana-vīspashta-sīmā chatushtayam...* *grāmam*, *ibid.*, l. 85 f., *śīlī pīrāta-sīmānam*, above, Vol. XV, p. 63, text line 109 f., *pīdi sūḷndu*, *ibid.*, p. 64, text lines 134-136, and p. 65, text line 165, *pīdi nadatti*, Travancore Arch. Series, Vol. II, p. 70

⁴ i.e. king Nripātunga; see verse 15

⁵ Cf. line 105 of the Kāśikandī plates

⁶ *Padāgaḥ nadāndu* corresponds to *padāgaḥ valaṇ=jeydu* in line 110 of the Kāśikuḍī plates, *pīdāgaḥ valaṇ=jeydu* in a Tiruvalluvar inscription of Nandivīkramavarman, S. I. I, Vol. III, p. 91, l. 11, *pīdāgaḥ nadāndu* in the Leyden plates, *passim*, and *pradākṣiṇī-prītya* in Sanskrit

(Line 54) When the headmen of the *nādu* saw the order, they raised (then) joined hands (before it), placed (it) on (then) heads, circumambulated the limits, planted stones and milk-bush, and drew up a report

(Line 56) According to the report submitted by the headmen of the *nādu*, the boundaries of the land (granted are as follows).—Of the two villages of *Vilāṅgattāṅgaḍuvanūr* and *Ṣettuppākkam*, the eastern boundary is to the west of the boundary of a forest and of the boundary of *Nenmalippākkam*, the southern boundary is to the north of the boundary of *Nenmalippākkam*, of the boundary of *Nelvāyippākkam*, and of the boundary of *Uṭattūr*, the western boundary is to the east of the boundary of *Māmbākkam* and of sixty rice-fields (*seruvu*) which form a *Brahmadēya* near this *Vilāṅgattāṅgaḍuvanūr*,¹ and the northern boundary is to the south of the boundary of *Vāgūr*

(Line 63) The boundaries of *Traippūnarchchēri* (me) —The eastern boundary is to the west of a forest surrounding the village (*nattam*), the southern boundary is to the north of the boundary of *Nēruṅṅikurumbu*, the western boundary is to the east of the boundary of *Vāgūr*, and the northern boundary is to the south of the boundary of *Kirimānpātti*

(Line 66) Altogether, the land enclosed by the four great boundaries specified here, including wet land and dry land, villages and village-buildings, houses and house-gardens, clearings and young trees, waste grounds for grazing,² tanks, store-houses,³ ditches, wells, forests, brackish ground, water-courses and breaches,⁴ wherever water is conducted (?), long harrows are applied,⁵ iguanas run, and tortoises creep, not excluding the cultivated land,⁶ being joined⁷ to *Vāgūr* itself as a source of revenue for the promotion of learning to the residents of the seat of learning at *Vāgūr*, enjoying the immunities and agreements⁸ enjoyed by *Vāgūr*, possessing all immunities, (and) being a *Brahmadēya*,—the grant was made⁹

(Verse 31) 'The good works of those who perform (them) and of those who preserve (them) are equally (meritorious) Therefore preserve you (this gift)' Thus (requesting them), king *Nripatungavarman* perpetually bows (his) head, which bears on its crest the lotus feet of *Mukunda* (*Vishṇu*), to future kings

(Verse 32) The ornament of the family of *Uditōḍita*, the goldsmith named *Nripatunga*, who was skilled in all sciences (and) a hereditary servant of the *Pallava* family, wrote (this)

(Line 78) The writing of *Nripatunga*, the son of *Mādēvi-perundattān* (who was) the son of *Uditōḍaḍē-perundattān*, (a resident) of *Kil-Paiśāram* near *Kachchipēdu*

¹ In two other instances (II 49, 56 f), the *ā* of *ifā* is represented by a short *a*

² These three doubtful terms occur also in line 281 of the Leyden plates, and in the Anbil plates, above, Vol XV, p 65, text line 167 f, where they are translated by 'halls, wastes in which the elvies graze' I adopt M Vinson's renderings of *manrum* and *kanrum* (as the Leyden plates read for *kanru*=)

³ For *kottāgāram* see S I I, Vol II, p 61, n 2; above, Vol XV, p 71, n 3, Travancore Arch Series, Vol III, p 177, n 3

⁴ See S I I, Vol III, p 64, n 1

⁵ The expression *nīr pūsi* occurs also in line 284 of the Leyden plates and *nedum paramb=erindu* in line 305 (which ought to have been numbered 285) of the same Both terms are used in line 434 of the *Irūvalungāḍu* plates, S I I, Vol III, p 410

⁶ See S I I, Vol III, p 109, n 2

⁷ *erī* may be the intransitive form of *ēri*, 'having joined'

⁸ For *vyaśasthā*, see S I I, Vol I, No 40, II 20 and 56, Vol II, No 98, II 58 and 62

⁹ The two words *paradatti* *senṇadu* occur also in line 138 of the Kasakudi plates, and in line 63 of the *Vēlūrpūlāṅgam* plates (S I I, Vol II, p 509), where I would read *paradatti* (with *Grantha* *du*) in its end of *paradatti* and cancel the note on p xiii of the Addenda and Corrigenda The Anbil plates (above, Vol XV, p 65, text line 180 f) read *paradatti* for *paradatti*

No 3.—AN INSCRIBED RELIC CASKET FROM KURRAM

By THE LATE PANDIT V NATESA ARIYAP, B A, PATNA

This casket was brought to my notice in the year 1917, when I was Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Frontier Circle, Peshawar, by Khan Sahib Mian Wası Uddin, my Assistant. On enquiry I learnt that its exact find spot was unknown, but that it was given as a present by a villager to one of the sons of the Nawab of Landı Ya ghazo, while he was Tahsildar of Kurram. The casket is now in the possession of his younger brother, a student of the Edwardes College, Peshawar, from whom I tried to acquire it for the local Museum, of which I was the *ex-officio* Curator, but I could not succeed until the moment of my departure from Peshawar in January, 1919.

The casket is made of copper and measures 18" in height. Its base is square and is attached to the drum by means of a fillet and grove joint. The *harmikā* is of the conventional shape and loosely threaded on to a central shaft, also of copper.

The casket is almost perfect in every detail and has the appearance of a miniature *stūpa* with its *harmikā* and umbrellas (Pl I, a)

The relics which the casket was meant to enshrine are no longer traceable. Likewise, as I have observed already, the exact find-spot of the casket is unknown. Neither could I, owing to the unsettled state of the Kurram valley, visit the spot and obtain any local information.

The inscription on the casket consists of four lines of Kharōṣṭhī script punctured, as in the case of the Kanishka casket from Shāh-jī-kī-dhērī, on the four sides of its square base. The writing covers a space of $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2''$ on each side and seems to be in fairly good preservation, except as regards the lowermost line on two of the sides, which, unfortunately, has disappeared altogether (Pl I, b, and Pl II)

The paleography of the record presents the same peculiarities as the silver scroll inscription from Taxila,¹ the Kanishka casket from Shāh-jī-kī-dhērī² and the Mānikāla casket³. The letters are of the elongated and cursive variety and belong undoubtedly to the Kushān period⁴. It is noteworthy that in the case of some of the letters in the present record, such as *pa*, *dha*, *yā*, *śa* and *sa*, the shape is not uniform throughout, but differs slightly in different places. This I attribute more to the carelessness of the engraver than to the transitional nature of the script at the time. This is borne out also by nearly the same symbol being used to represent *ta*, *ra*, *ba* and similarly of *a* and *va*.

The language is Prākṛit and of the variety peculiar to the Western Punjab and the North-Western Frontier of India, which constituted the ancient kingdom of Gandhāra. Among the orthographical peculiarities may be mentioned that *cha* is invariably used for *ta*, *va* for *pa* and *ga* for *ya*. Besides, double consonants are always represented by single consonants, as in *aviṣa* for *aviṣṣa*, *prachaga* for *prachchaga*, *viñana* for *viññana*, *phussa* for *phassa*, *tusha* for *tanha* and *dukkha-khamdasa* for *dukkha-khamdhassa*.

The inscription records the enshrinement of the bodily relics (*sarīra*) of the Holy Śākya-muni in a shrine (*gaha* ?) belonging to the Sarvāstivādin sect, in the year 21 (P), on the twentieth day of the tenth month, Āśvina⁵. Then follows the *anuloma* portion of the text of the *Pratītya-samutpāda* or *Nīlāna-Sūtra*, which the Lord Buddha revealed soon after

¹ A S B for 1912 13, p 18 f. and Plate, *Ep Ind*, Vol XIV, plate facing p 295

² A S B for 1908 9, p 50 f

³ *Ep Ind*, Vol XII, Plate facing p 299

⁴ J R A S 1920, pp 193 ff

⁵ [With the reading and translation as given by me below, some of these details will be modified.—F W T.]

his enlightenment under the Bōdhi tree at Bōdh-Gayā The inscription ends with the prayer that these sacred relics, as well as the Sūtra propounded by the Lord, may be honoured by all sentient beings

TEXT

- 1 [Sam 20] 1 masa 10 Asunakasa di 20 i^{se}1 chhunamī [khe]tre Varmamī
[ya⁷śa-putrasa [Ruu]bhumi-rañasa² mi Ucha[rśa]na Sarva-
[sti]vadana³ gaha[mī] śu[bha]mī Bhagava[ta]sa Śaka-mun[i]sa
- 2 śairīa piadiokhadī⁴ Śakavuta Bhagava[ta]⁵ Avija-prachaga samkara samkara-
prachaga viñāna viñāna-prachaga nama-ruva namaruva-prachaga sha[d-a]ya-
[tana] sha[d-a]yatana-prachaga phasha phasha-prachaga
- 3 vedana vedana-prachaga tūsha tūsha-prachaga nvaḍana nvaḍana-prachaga
bhava bhava prachaga jati jati-pra[chaga] jara-marana-śoga-pari[bha⁶]va-dukhader=
manasta⁷ nvaḍa[sa] kevalasa dukha-[kam⁸]dhasa samudae⁹ bhavati
- 4 śairīa mahiphatī[c]na¹⁰ sarva-satvana puyae

sa[rva] sa[tva]na pnyae

eśa cha [pra]tichasamasa cha

TRANSLATION

In the year 21, of the tenth month Āśvina, on the 20th day, at this moment, in the territory of Varmayaśas' son, the king of Rūbhūmī, in Ucharśana-(Uttarasena ?) [consecrated], in the sacred shrine of the Sarvāstivādins, the bodily relics of the divine Śākya-muni Says the holy scion of the Śakas —

“From Ignorance spring Impressions, from Impressions springs Consciousness, from Consciousness spring Name-and-Form, from Name-and-Form spring the Six Provinces (of the six senses), from the Six Provinces springs Contact, from Contact springs Sensation, from Sensation springs Thirst (or desire), from Thirst springs Attachment, from Attachment springs Existence, from Existence springs Birth, from Birth spring Old Age and Death, Grief, Lamentation, Suffering, Dejection and Despair [Sneh is] the origin of [this] whole (or unique) Mass of suffering [May these] relics of the Lord of the Universe [be] honoured by all sentient beings and [likewise] this summary [doctrine] of causes and effects ”

[Dr Thomas's revised text and translation (inserting marks of vowel length)]

- 1 S 21 māsa Avadānakasa di 20 i^{se} chhunamī Tśūtra-Varmayaśa-putrasa
navakammī[asa Samghārā]mamī āchāryāna[m] Sarvāstivādāna[m] gaha[mī]
thūbammi Bhagavatasa Śaka-munnisa

¹ In the Brāhmī inscriptions of this period (cf. Luders' List Nos. 32, 34) the corresponding expression is *asma* *kshune* or *asma kshune*, while the Taxila silver scroll inscription has *isa divase* [The *e*-mark is not seen. The letter may be read *ya* — Ed.]

² Read *°rajasa*

³ Read *°vadana*

⁴ The formation of this word does not seem to be quite clear

⁵ The usual form is *bhagava* (nom.) or *bhagavato* (gen.).

⁶ The other versions have *parideva*

⁷ Read *°manasa*

⁸ Read *°kham°*

⁹ Read *samudao*

¹⁰ Read *mahipatianam*

- 2 Śarīra pratihāvitā yathā(etha?) utam(vuṭa[m]) Bhagavatā avijā-prachaga
 samsk(kkh?)āra samsk(kkh?)āra-prachaga viñāna viñāna-prachaga nāma-rūva
 nāma-rūva-prachaga shad-āyatana shad-āyatana-prachaga phasha phasha-prachaga
- 3 vedanā vedanā-prachaga tasha(tassha?) tasha(tarsha)-prachaga uvādāna
 [uvādāna-prachaga] bhava bhava-prachaga jāti jā[ti-prachaga] jarā-[maraṇa]-śoṇa-
 parideva-dukkha-domanavi(sī)-uvega sam[bhava]ti kevalasa dukkha-sk(kkh?)arh-
 dhaṣṭa samudae bhavati
- 4 danatīdamahīpatīlena (??) sarvasatvāna[m] pūyae sarva-satvāna[m] pūyae aya[m]-cha
 patīcha-samutpāde

TRANSLATION.

Year 21, month Avadūnaka (Andūnaios), day 20—on this date, in the monastery of the
navakarmika, son of Tśutra (kshudra)-Varmayaśas (?), in the abode of the reverend
 Sarvāstivādins, in a *stūpa*, was deposited a relic of the Holy Śākya-muni
 [This casket is given by . . .]
 for the honouring of all beings, and also for the honouring of all beings this *pratītya-samutpāda*
 [formula] is engraved]

NOTES.

The record is of great importance for many reasons. To begin with, the inscription says
 in so many words that the relics to the consecration of which it refers are those of the Buddha
 himself. We know of very few instances of this kind so far. Even the epigraph on the Kanishka
 relic casket discovered at Shāh-jī-kī-dherī, in Peshawar, fails to supply us with anything but
 circumstantial evidence as to the authenticity of the deposit. It follows, therefore, that the
 monument in which the present casket was enshrined must have been regarded originally as
 among the most important in the country.

Secondly, there have been discovered in India only two other inscriptions containing the
 text of the *Nidāna-Sūtra*. The one comes from the village of Gopalpur in the Gorakhpur Dis-
 trict of the United Provinces, and the other from Kasi, the ancient Kuśinagara, also in the same
 district. But, in both cases, we have only the Sanskrit recension of the *Sūtra*. The Gopalpur
 inscription is carved on both sides of one of 5 inscribed bricks which were dug out from a brick
 relic chamber in the centre of the *Mañjratīya* mound, and coins of Wema Kadphises, Kanishka
 and Huvishka and one of Āyūmitra are said to have been found along with the bricks. The
 script employed is the northern variety of the Gupta Brāhmī, and the text of the *Sūtra* is given
 as follows¹ —

INSCRIPTION ON BRICK I²

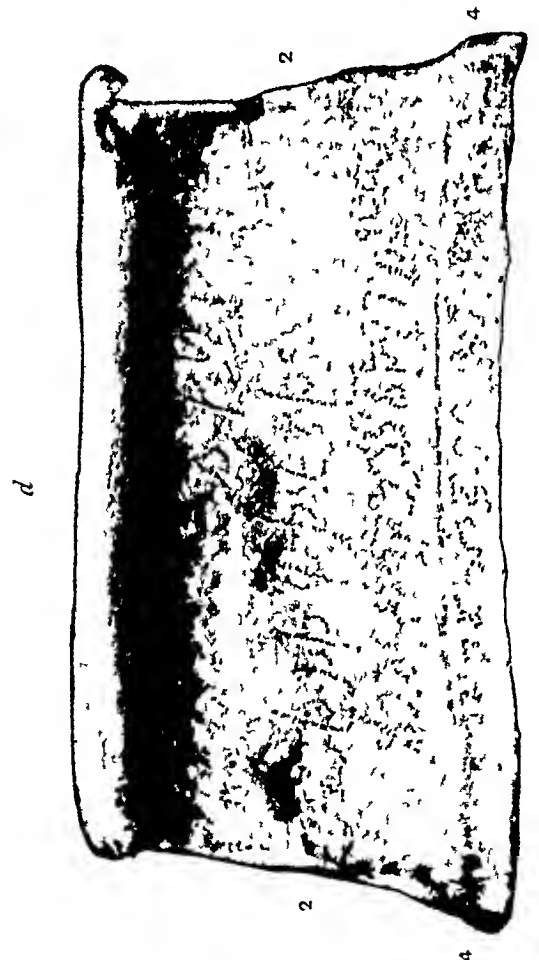
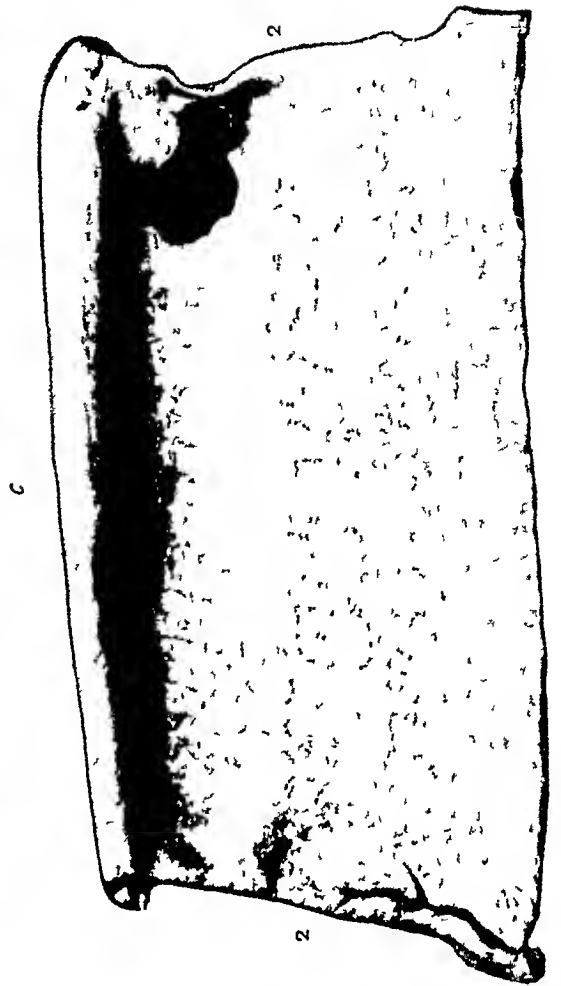
(Obverse)

- 1 Evam mayā śrutam-ēkasmin samayē Bhagavān-Chhrāvastyām viharati Jētavanē-
 2 (A)nāthapindadasy-ārāme tatra Bhagavān bhikṣhūn-āmantrayati sma dharmāpām
 vō bhū-
- 3 kshava āchayam cha dēśayishyāmy-apachayam cha tach-chhrintuṭa [sādhu-
 ch-āsushva cha]

¹ The text of the inscription is quoted here, because it gives a complete version of the *Sūtra* in Sanskrit, which
 even the Kasi copper plate does not.

² *Proc A S B* for 1896, pp 99 ff.

Inscribed Relic-Casket from Kurram the 21st (?) year



- 4 manasī kurṇta bhāṣaśiṣhyo dharmānām-āchayaḥ katamaḥ yad=ut=āsmiṇ satī=
- 5 dam bhavaty=asy=ūtpādād=īdam=utpadyatō yad=ut=avidyā-pratyayāḥ samskāraḥ
samskāra-
- 6 pratyayāḥ vijñānam vijñāna-pratyayam nāma-rūpam nāma-rūpa-pratyaya(h)
sparśaḥ
- 7 sparśa-pratyayā veda[nā] vedaṇā-pratyayā trishṇā trishṇā-pratyayam=upādānam=u-
8 pādāna-pratyayō bhavaḥ bhava-pratyayā jātī=jāti-pratyayā jarā-marana-
- 9 śoka-paridēva-duḥkha-ādēr=(°a-dō)manasy=opāyāsāḥ sambava(n)ty=ēvam=asya mahatō

(Reverse)

- 1 duḥkha-skandhasya samudāyō bhavaty=ayam=uchyatō dharmānām-āchayaḥ dhar-
mūnā-
- 2 m=apachayaḥ katamaḥ yad=ut=avidyā-nirōdhāt=samskāra-nirōdhaḥ samskāra-nirōdhād=
vi-
- 3 jñāna-nirōdhaḥ vijñāna-nirōdhān=nāma-rūpa-nirōdhaḥ nāma-rūpa-nirōdhāt=śhaḍ-
āyatana-
- 4 nirōdhaḥ śhaḍ-āyatana-nirōdhād=vēdanā-nirōdhaḥ vēdanā-nirōdhāt=trishṇā-nirōdhaḥ
- 5 trishṇā-nirōdhād=upādāna-nirōdhaḥ upādāna-nirōdhād=bhava-nirōdhaḥ bhava-nirōdhāj=
jāti-
- 6 nirōdhaḥ jāti-nirōdhāj=jarā-marana-śoka-paridēva-duḥkha-ādēr=(°a-dō) manasy=opāyāsāḥ
- 7 nirudhyantī=ēvam=asya [kēvala]sya mahatō duḥkha-skandhasya nirōdhō
bhavaty=ayam=uchyatō
- 8 dharmānām=apachayaḥ dharmūnām vō bhikṣava āchayam cha dēśayishyāmy=
apachayam cha
- 9 itamō yad=uktam=īdam=etat=pratyuktam=īdam=avūchad=Bhagavān=āttama[nasas=tē]
- 10 bhikṣavo bhagavato bhāṣitam=a[bhya]nanda[n]

The other inscription which contains the text of this Sūtra comes, as I have said, from Kasiā. It is partly carved and partly written in ink on a copper-plate which was recovered from the relic chamber of the large *stūpa* behind the Nirvāna temple¹. The language and the wording of the record are identically the same as those of the Gopalpur inscription, but the date is about two centuries later.

Again, the present epigraph is of considerable value from the philological standpoint. That its language is local Prākṛit goes without saying. In this the dedicators seem to have faithfully followed the injunction laid down in the Buddhist scriptures, for it is stated in the *Chullavagga*²

“*anujānāmi bhikkhave sakāya niruttīya Buddha-vachanaṃ pariyōpunētun ti*”,

that is, ‘that the Buddha had allowed that every one should learn the sacred texts in his own language’. The same remark holds good in the case of the inscriptions discovered at Taxila, Peshawar, and other places on the North-West Frontier. The literary Pālī version of the Sūtra is contained in the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, and this version is prefaced by an account of the incidents which led up to the propounding of ‘the doctrine of causes and effects’ by the Holy Śākya-muni. From this and from the fact that the only record bearing the complete text of the Sūtra, of which the provenance is definitely known,³ comes

¹ *A S R*, 1910 11, pp 78 ff

² Oldenberg, Introduction to *Vinaya-piṭaka*, p. XLVII.

³ [Full text of the Sūtra and its *viśeṣaṅga* in Sanskrit are inscribed on some bricks which Mr. Page unearthed at Nālandā in 1924. I am editing them in the *Ep Ind.*—H S.]

from the Mahā-parinirvāṇa-Chaitya of the Buddha, it is easy to see how much importance the Buddhists attached to the same. It is for this reason that I remarked above that the monument in which the present casket was enshrined must have been considered in olden days as one of the chief places of worship.

Let us now see if the places and persons mentioned in the inscription afford any clue to the identity of the monument. The only names available for this purpose are (1) *Varmayaśa-putrasa*, i.e. the son of Varmayaśas, (2) *Ruubhūmi-raña*, i.e. the king of Ruubhūmi, and (3) *Ucharśana*, which I take to be the name of an individual. Who this Varmayaśas was and where he reigned—as, undoubtedly, he seems to have been a king—I have not been able to ascertain from the materials at my command. On the other hand, Ucharśana or Uttarasena, if supposing I am right in my equation, though not a historical personage, yet seems somewhat capable of identification. In the itinerary of the Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tshang it is said “About sixty li south-west from Mangkil city and on the east side of a great river was the tope erected by Uttarasena, king of this country, to enclose his share of the relics of the Buddha’s body, and near this was the tope which that king built to mark the spot at which his large white elephant bearing the precious relics had suddenly died and become a rock.”¹

Commenting on this passage Watters remarks “There does not seem to be any mention either of Udyāna or of Uttarasena in the various accounts given in the various Nirvāṇa treatises of the division of the Buddha’s relics. But other authorities relate how a female elephant named *Mo-tu* (or *Māta*) bearing relics of Buddha died suddenly on the way, was afterwards reborn as a human creature and became an Arhat with an enormous appetite.” Major Deane identifies the monument mentioned by Hiuen Tshang with the remains of a *stūpa* which are said still to exist between the villages of Ghalgai and Shankardar on the Swat river in what used to be the ancient kingdom of Udyāna. It may be asked, however, how, inasmuch as the casket is reputed to have come from Kurram, it could be associated with any monument in the Swat valley, which lies in quite the opposite direction and in a different region. This objection can be met, in my opinion, by the fact that, as I have observed at the very outset, the exact provenance of the casket is not known even to its present owner and that, therefore, there would not be any inherent impossibility, if we were to suppose that the object gradually found its way from the place of its origin to the locality where it eventually came to light, because both the places are situated in the same province and are inhabited by almost kindred races or tribes, who are not too far removed to have constant intercourse with one another.

Lastly, we come to the date of the inscription. It is given merely as *Sam* or *Samvat* 21 without reference to any particular era. We are, therefore, left to conjecture what the era could be. For this purpose our only guides are the paleography and the language of the record. The former, as I have noted above, shows the cursive variety of the Kharoṣṭhī script of the middle period. And this, we know from other records found in that region, has been attributed to the early Kushān period. I am, therefore, inclined to refer the date of the present inscription to the era of Kanishka which, according to the latest authorities, commenced in or about the year 150 A.D. If this supposition is correct the date under discussion would work out as A.D. 171.

From the language, it seems to me difficult in the present state of our knowledge to draw any definite conclusions with respect to date. And this difficulty is all the more pronounced, because we are not yet in a position to trace the development of the different varieties of Prakrit which once prevailed in different parts of the country.

¹ Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol I, p. 236. [With the reading and translation as inserted by me above the names Ruubhūmi and Ucharśana disappear.—F. W. T.]

No 4—KANYAKUMARI INSCRIPTION OF VIRAJENDRA-DEVA

By THE LATE T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M A, TRIVANDRUM

The village of Kanyākumārī, as everyone knows, is situated in the extreme south of India and is a very ancient place of great reputation. It was known to early Greek writers under the names of *Komarā Akron*, or Cape Komara, as Ptolemy calls it, or simply *Komarā*, as described by the author of the *Periplus*. The latter says "After Bakare occurs the mountain Pyrrhos (or the Red) towards the south, near another district of the country called Paralia (where the pearl-fisheries are which belong to king Pandion), and a city of the name of Kolkhoi. Next to this is another place called Komar, where is the Cape of the same name and a haven. Those who wish to consecrate the closing part of their lives to religion come hither and bathe and engage themselves to celibacy. This is also done by women, since it is related that the goddess once on a time resided at the place and bathed"¹. Paralia mentioned in this extract is the name of the river Paraliyāru, which waters a portion of S Travancore and empties itself into the Kulitturai river. I have shown elsewhere that the land watered by the Paraliyāru was the country belonging to the powerful dynasty of Āy Kings, who had their capital at Kōttāru, which is mentioned by Ptolemy under the name of 'Kotiana Metropolis' and 'Kottara' by Pliny. From time immemorial, the Pāndyas were the guardians of Kanyākumārī and the temple in it, one of their distinguishing titles being Kannu-kāvalan, the guardian of Kannu (i.e. Kanyākumārī).

The temple of the goddess Kanyākumārī is situated on the very brink of the Indian Ocean. Opposite to the central shrine is a *mandapa* locally known as the *manimandapa*, which contains six cylindrical stone pillars covered with writing in Grantha (ll 1 to 419) and Tamil (ll 420 to 444) characters. Kanyākumārī was visited by the Madras Government Epigraphist in 1896, when an attempt was made by his staff to obtain a mechanical copy of the inscriptions contained on these pillars, but the task was given up as impossible. I tried to copy the inscription in 1910, the result was not at all satisfactory. Since then I have visited the place more than once, every time I saw the inscription on the pillars, which is clearly legible in some places, but more or less completely worn out in others, I was impelled to make a fresh attempt to copy it; and what was to be the last, a serious and determined effort to secure a good impression of the writing on all the pillars, was made in 1916. The first and foremost difficulty experienced by all up till then was that of removing the thick crust of oil and dirt which from a long time past had accumulated on the pillars. This was completely removed after one or two unsuccessful attempts, and the inscription was found in some places defaced, being corroded by the action of the sea-air. Though these parts did not appear legibly on the impression, it was still possible with great difficulty to read the writing on those parts directly from the stone. After straining every nerve to obtain a set of good estampages, with lamp in hand, letter by letter, word by word, the record was deciphered from the original stone itself. The success is largely due to the indomitable perseverance of my Pandit, Mr V. Srinivasa Sastri, Smṛitivisārada, he and I worked at the epigraph, on the spot, for nearly one month. Most of the verses employ rhymes (*prāsas*), which also came in handy by suggesting conjectural readings which in almost all the cases proved, upon reference to the original stone inscription, to be quite correct. Thus then the text was at last nearly completely recovered from the worn surface of the pillars.

The inscription may fitly be called the "*Chōla-vamśa-prāśasti*." It is extremely important for the history of the Chōlas as it contains many pieces of information hitherto unknown to history. As I think that it is not right to defer the publication of this very important document

¹ Caldwell's *History of Tinnevely*, p 19

any longer, I am giving in this article what may be considered a preliminary notice, an aturer edition being reserved for my own publication, in the *Traiancore Archæological Series* ¹

As has been already remarked, the six pillars are covered with writing from the top to the bottom. At first I conceived that the writing went round the pillar in a spiral, but on closer examination it was discovered that each pillar consisted of two sections, one on the back face and another on the front. The inscription is continued from pillar to pillar in the following systematic order Ia, Ib, IIa, IIb, and so on, where I represents the first pillar and a and b represent the back and front faces of the pillar. The language is mostly Sanskrit. At the end of the record occurs the grant portion beginning with the *birudas* of king Vīra-Rājendra, and giving his regnal year. The *birudas* and names of the king in this section are written in the Grantha alphabet, while the rest is in the Tamil alphabet and language. The Sanskrit portion of the record, giving the genealogy of the Chōlas, is entirely in verse, whereas the Tamil portion is in prose. On the whole the epigraph consists of 444 lines.

In the first two verses the god Śiva, and in the third Viṣṇu, are praised. The god of the Universe first created the Brahmānda, and then Brahmā was ushered into existence for the purpose of creating all other things. Brahmā, in his turn, created several Rishis to assist him in his task. One of them was Marīchi. The son of Marīchi was Kāśyapa, his son was Vivasvān, the son of the latter was Manu, Manu's son was Ikshvāku, his son, Vīkukshi-śrava, Purāñjaya, who obtained the title Kakutstha, was the son of the latter. In the lineage of Kakutstha was born king Prithu, in the same race arose Kuvalāśya, Māndhātṛi, Muchukunda, Hārīschandra, Sagara, Bhagiratha, Rātuparna and Dilipa. In this illustrious family was born the Lord (*bhagavān*) in the four aspects of Rāma, Lakṣmana, Bharata and Śatrughna, purposely to teach the world how each one has to conduct oneself towards others, that is, a son towards a father and mother, a younger brother towards his elder brother and so on. The verses describing Rāma (vv 25-26) are very beautiful. Up to this the genealogy is purely *paurāṇic*. Next follows what might be considered as legendary and semi-historic.

In the solar race was born a king named Chōla. To this king, who ruled over the whole earth, the forests served as a sort of artificial garden. Once upon a time this king was sporting for some time in the forests inhabited by Rishis, with a small army he once proceeded on a hunting excursion in the adjoining forests. Then a Rākshasa who had assumed the shape of a deer appeared before him. Pursuing the animal he and his followers reached another forest, where he killed that deer ². By this time he had reached the bank of the river Kāvērī, he went along its course, bathed in its water, which was as sweet as *amṛita*, he looked all round for Brāhmanas and found none about the place. He then brought several Brāhmanas from the Āryāvarta and settled them comfortably on the banks of the river Kāvērī. Cutting down the forests on either bank of the Kāvērī, he planted gardens containing creepers of betel leaves and areca palms.

Rājākēśari, the son of Chōla, succeeded him after his death. The son of Rājākēśari was Parākēśari. The *prasasti* does not mention the fact that in the Chōla dynasty the titles Rājākēśari and Parākēśari were assumed by alternate kings, as is stated in the Leiden and the Tiruvālangādū grants ³. In this dynasty were born Mṛityujit, who conquered Mṛityu, the god of

¹ [This has since been done by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar in Volume III of that series, pp. 85 to 158.]

² This is evidently an imitation of a similar occurrence in the life of Rāma.

³ *Arch. Survey of South India*, Vol. IV, p. 204, and *South Ind. Insers.*, Vol. III, p. 383.

death, Virasēna; and Chitra, frightened at the power of whose arrows Dēvēdra (Indra) accepted the tiger-banner, in which he also took refuge. From that time the tiger became the crest of the Chōlas just in the same manner as a pair of carp fish and the bow were respectively the crests of the Pāṇḍyas and the Chēras, then came Pushpakētu, Kētumāla, Samudrajit and Pañchapa. The last mentioned king cut open five arteries in his body and fed with the blood issuing out of them five Yakshas who came to him as his guests and demanded of him this curious and cruel food. For feeding the Yakshas in the manner described he obtained the name Pañchapa. The king Nṛmṛida sprang in this race, and by the grace of Paramēśvara conquered Mrityu, the god of death, then appeared Manōratha, and the illustrious Parunatkili (Perunatkili) and others. Karikāla, who was born in this family, seeing that the river Kāvērī by its irregular flow was destroying the crops, caused embankments to be constructed on both its sides, the kings conquered by him carrying earth on their heads for that purpose. Valabha,¹ Jagadēkamalla and Vyālabhayankara were also been in this dynasty.

Here commences the genuine history of the Chōlas. Vijayālaya is said to have been born in this lineage. He was worshipped by all kings, he is here stated to have constructed anew the city of Tañjāpurī in the Chōla country, but the Tīrvālangāḍu grant distinctly mentions the fact that Vijayālaya took Tañjāpurī by force and set up in it the goddess Nisumbhasūdani (Durgā).² Evidently, the composer of the Kanyākumārī *prasaṅga* did not know exactly how Tañjāpurī came to be the seat of the Chōlas in the time of Vijayālaya. The true fact seems to have been remembered by the composer of the Tīrvālangāḍu document. It has been stated elsewhere that Tañjāpurī must have been seized from the Muttaraiyais, the vassals of the Pallavas, by Vijayālaya.³ The son of Vijayālaya was Āḍityavarman *alias* Kōḍandarāma. In the village of Tondamanād near Kālahastī there is a temple of the Chōla period. One of its inscriptions belonging to the 34th year of the reign of Madirakonda Parakēsarivarman, i.e. Parāntaka I, calls the temple by the name Kōḍandarāmēśvara *alias* Āḍityēśvara. Mr Venkayya in his Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1905, wrote about it thus —“No 318 of 1904 mentions the king's son śrī-Kōḍandarāman while No. 347 of 1904 refers to prince Kōḍandan. Even at the present day Kōḍandan is a familiar abbreviation of Kōḍandarāman, and we may therefore suppose that both Nos 318 and 347 of 1904 refer to the same prince, who was the son of Parāntaka I. In the same village of Tondamanād is another inscription of Parāntaka I, dated in his 34th year (about A.D. 939), which mentions the temple of Kōḍandarāmēśvara *alias* Āḍityēśvara. It is not impossible that this temple was called after the Chōla prince Kōḍandarāman. If this surmise proves correct, it may be concluded from the other name Āḍityēśvara given to the Tondamanād temple that Kōḍandarāman was the surname either of the king's eldest son Rājāditya or of his second son Gandarāditya.”⁴ Subsequently, while reviewing No 286 of the Collection of the Madras Epigraphist for the year 1906, found in Tīrumālpanram which stated that the village of Śīrīyārūr had been granted as a *dēvadāna* and as a *brahmadēya* in the 21st year of Tondaimānārūr-tuñjina-Udayār, Mr Venkayya changed his opinion and said that Tondaimānārūr-tuñjina-Udayār, i.e. ‘the lord who died at Tondaimānārūr,’ must refer to Āḍitya I, that Tondaimānārūr is probably Tondamanād near Kālahastī in the North Arcot District which in a record of Parāntaka I found at the place, is called Tondaimānpērārūr,

¹ The Tamil word *Valavan*, which later on came to signify, like the word Chōla, any Chōla king, is converted here into Valabha.

² See S I I, Vol III, p 418, vv 45 and 46

³ *Ep Ind*, Vol. XIII, p 136

⁴ *Ep Rep*, 1905, p 50, para 9

and that the temple of Kōḍaṇḍarāmaśvara at the village, which is also called Āḍityaśvara in the inscription of Parāntaka I must have been called after Āḍitya I. This latter conclusion is now proved by the explicit statement found in the Kanjākumārī inscription that Āḍitya I, father of Parāntaka I, was known by the name Kōḍaṇḍarāma. The Kanyākūmārī inscription adds that Āḍitya I alias Kōḍaṇḍarāma killed the Pallava king *rest of line on his elephant*. The opponent of Āḍitya I was Aparājita.

The next king of the dynasty was Parāntaka, son of Āḍitya. He destroyed the Pāṇḍya king together with his whole army, took the whole of his treasury and burnt Madura, his capital. From these military exploits he was known as Madhurāntaka that is, "death to Madhura (i.e. Madura)". Because he defeated the unconquered Krishna-Rāja he came to be known as Vira-Chōla. It is only in this inscription that we hear that the Pāṇḍya king Krishna III was defeated in battle by Parāntaka I. Krishna ascended the throne about A.D. 940, a year which falls within the reign of Parāntaka I (A.D. 927-948). It is quite probable that Krishna III was defeated by Parāntaka I, and it was perhaps in vengeance thereof that the former invaded the Chōla country soon after the death of the latter and early in the reign of Rājāditya, Parāntaka's son and successor.

In all his Tamil inscriptions Parāntaka I is described as *Maduraiyānda Paraiśarvarman* that is, 'Paraiśarvarman who took Madura'. Sometimes the word "*Itanum*" occurs after '*Maduraiyūm*' in the inscriptions of this king. We shall see presently that he conquered also Īlam or Ceylon as reported in the Tiruvilāngādu grant.

The Kanyākūmārī inscription states that Parāntaka caused his army to cross the sea and conquer Simhala, by killing the lords of Simhala and subjugating the country he obtained the surname Simhalaṇṭaka. As it is stated that it was only his army that crossed the sea we have to infer that Parāntaka I himself did not lead the army to Simhala's, but, entrusting the invasion to his generals, stopped on the mainland. He is further stated to have constructed several *agrahāras* like Viranārāyaṇapuram and granted them for the enjoyment of Brahmins. This Viranārāyaṇapuram seems to be the same as the modern Kāttumannārkōyil, a suburb of Gangaikondaśolapuram which was the native place of the great Śrīvaishnava *āchāryas* Nāthamuni and Yāmunaśya alias Āḷaṇḍār.

The son of Parāntaka (I) was Arindama. To Arindama was born a son named Parāntaka (II). Anticipating trouble from this valiant king, the Pāṇḍya king fled across the mountains, evidently to the Kērala country. Parāntaka II fought several battles and imprisoned a large number of kings.

The son of Parāntaka II was Rājārāja. He caused a number of *yāgas* to be performed. It was the custom with Rājārāja never to kill those enemies who surrendered to him, in spite of this well-known fact the Chālukya king Satyāśraya senselessly ran away from the battlefield.

Rājārāja had a son named Madhurāntaka. He conquered the Kuntala king that is, the Chālukya, and made Mānyakhēṭa, his capital, a camping and sporting ground for his army. Sending his generals at the head of his powerful army northwards, he caused them to defeat successively the kings of the Kulūṭa¹ and the Utkala countries and to kill the kings of

¹ *Ep. Rep.*, 1907, p. 71, para 30

² *Ibid.*, 1906, p. 65

³ [It has been shown in *Archl. Survey Report* for 1908-09, p. 122, that Rājāditya died before his father and did not succeed to the Chōla throne.—Ed.]

⁴ *South-Ind. Insers.*, Vol. III, p. 396, vv. 51-52

⁵ An inscription found at Mahēndragiri (No. 397 of the Madras Epigraphist's Collection for 1897) states that "a general of Rājendra-Chōla (named in Tamil, Rājendra Chōla Pallavarayan Rājārājamārāyan) overcame the Kulūṭa king named Vimalāditya and set up a pillar of victory." The general is called Daṭṭākara in another epigraph found in the same place.

Kalinga and Vimsēndra¹; and to bring the water of the Ganges filled in pots carried on the heads of the conquered kings. The latter statement regarding the conquest of Rājendra-Chōla of the countries as far as the Ganges is in close agreement with that found in the Tiruvālangādu grant. In both the records it is distinctly mentioned that Rājendra-Chōla *alias* Madhurāntaka himself did not proceed against the northern kings and did not extend his arms as far as the Ganges by leading the army in person, but got the credit of having 'taken the Gangā river' (Gangai-konda) by the victories achieved by his generals². The inscription states further that he sent his army across the sea to the Katāha country and set fire to it³ and that there was nothing impossible for this monarch to achieve.

This king, Madhurāntaka (that is, Rājendra-Chōla I), had three sons, named (respectively) Rājādhirāja, Rājendra-dēva and Vira-Rājendra-dēva. Of these, Rājādhirāja was the eldest. For the first time we have the very explicit statement in the inscription under notice that Rājendra-Chōla had three sons⁴. Up till now the relationship existing between Rājendra-Chōla and the three brothers, Rājādhirāja, Rājendra-dēva and Vira-Rājendra dēva, was vaguely conjectured.

The Kanyākumārī inscription states that Rājādhirāja destroyed the city of Kalyanapura and conquered the lord of that place, Āhavamalla. These facts are well known to students of Indian history by the inscriptions of this king. Kalyānapura was the capital of the Chālukyas and Āhavamalla was the Chālukya contemporary of Rājādhirāja.

After the death of Rājādhirāja, his next younger brother Rājendra-dēva ascended the throne, and the latter in his turn was succeeded by his younger brother Vira-Rājendra-dēva. He killed the Mannāta (Karnāṭa?) kings in the battle at Kūdai-sangama. This king, Vallabhavallabha, took possession of Vēngi and Kalinga,⁵ left uncared for by his elder brothers and consequently overrun by enemies, Vira-Rājendra, who is known also by the names Karaiāla and Vira-Chōla, set up several *dharma-sūsanās* (that is, engraved deeds of grants). He presented an invaluable ruby, known as *trailōkya-sūra*, to the god Dabhra-Sabhāpati (the god of Chidambaram), and it was set up in the crown of that god. He established a number of *agrahāras* in the Chōla, Tundira, Pāndya, Gangavāṭi and Kulūta countries and colonised them with forty thousand Brāhmanas well-versed in the Vēdas. From the other inscriptions of this monarch we know that he won a victory over the Chālukya Āhavamalla at Kūdalsangama and Koppa and captured all the treasures belonging to his opponent, as also

¹ [The note on Text I 360 below reads व[?] न्न — Ed.]

² *South Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. III, p. 424, v. 117.

³ *Ibid.*, v. 123.

⁴ The conquest of Kadāram also is described in the historical introduction prefixed to his Tamil inscriptions.

⁵ The *Kalingatupparanī* seems to indicate that Rājendra Chōla I, seeing that he had no sons to succeed him, resolved on electing Kñlōttunga-Chōla I, a grandson by his daughter, as his successor. This information is not of much value as it is not based on actual facts. Inscriptions of Rājādhirāja I and Rājendradēva enumerate a number of Chōla princes who stood in the relation of uncles, brothers, and sons to the kings. Besides, the Tiruvālangādu Plates state that a certain Sundara-Chōla-Pāndya was Rājendra-Chōla I's son, see *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 423, vv. 93 and 99.

⁶ The following is the passage in *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 69-70, which describes this event —

"(I. 28) Having moved (his camp), he declared — '(We) shall not return without regaining the good country of Vēngai, which (we had formerly) subdued. You, (who are) strong, come and defend (it), if (you) are able!' That army which was chosen (for this expedition) drove into the jungle that big army, which routed (its enemies) on the great river close to Viśāiyavāḍi, (and) which had for its chiefs Iannāthan, the Daṇḍanāyaka Rājamiyan, whose *mast* elephants trumpeted in herds, and Mupparasan.

"(L. 29) His elephants drank the water of the Gōḍāvarī. (He) crossed even Kalingam and, beyond (it), despatched (for) battle (his) invincible army as far as the further end of Śakkara-kōttam (Chakra-kōtta).

"(L. 30) (He) re-conquered the good country of Vēngai and bestowed (it) on Viśāyāḍiyan, whose broad hand (held) weapons of war, (and) who had taken refuge at his lotus feet."

his women The fact of his presenting the god Sabhāpati with a jewel is quite new. That he established a number of *agrahāras* does not appear to be a mere boast, we have even now several of them, such as Virarājamangalam, Virachōlapuram, etc.

The Tamil portion of the inscription begins afresh with the phrase *Śasti Śrī* and states that the king Rājakēsarivarman Vira-Rājēndra, who bore the *virudas* and surnames¹ Mahārājādhirāja, Rājāśraya, Rāja-Rājēndra, Vira-Chōla, Karikāla-Chōla, etc., seems to have made a grant of land to the temple of Kanyā-Pidāmyār (*Bhagavatt*) at Kumari (i.e. Kanyākumārī). This portion of the inscription is damaged and cannot be easily deciphered.

On the whole the Kanyākumārī inscription is a valuable document for the construction of the history of the Chōla dynasty. With the Anbil grant,² the Leiden grant,³ the Tiruvālaṅgādu grant⁴ and the Kanyākumārī inscription, the four most important documents, the history of the Chōlas could be written completely and satisfactorily. The Tamil works *Kalingat-tupparan*, etc. may also be of great interest in the study of Chōla history.

The following table gives the genealogy of the Chōlas as found in the Kanyākumārī inscription, and the genealogies derived from the Tamil works, the *Vikrama-Śōlan-ulā*, the *Kulōttunga-Śōlan-ulā* and the *Śānkara-Śōlan-ulā*, are also added for purposes of comparison.

The Kanyākumārī inscription

1 Viśvādhinātha	13 Muchakunda
2 Brahmā,	14 Harischandr
3 Marichi	15 Sogara
4 Kāśyapa	16 Bhagīratha
5 Vivasvān	17 Rituparna
6 Manu	18 Dilīpa
7 Ikshvāku	19 Rāu a, Lakshmana, Bharata and Śatru, hna
8 Viśvakhīra	20 Chōla, who first came to the south and settled down there, brought several families of Brāhmanas from Āryāvarta and populated the new kingdom
9 Kakutstha <i>alias</i> Purañjaya	21 Rājakēsa
10 Prithu	22 Parakēsa
11 Kuvalāśva.	
12 Māndhātā	

¹ The following is the passage referring to the several titles of Vira-Rājēndra which occurs in No 161, Chintāmani Tk., Kolar District of the Mysore province —

"Sakala bhuvan-āśraya Śrī Prithvī vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara parama bhattāraka Ravi kula-tilaka Chōla kula śekhara Pāṇḍya-kul-āntaka Āhavamalla kula kālā Āhavamallapri aimmadī menkanda Rājāśekhara Rājāśraya Rāja Rājēndra Vira Chōla Karikāla-Chōla Śrī Vira-Rājēndra dēvarāya yāndu āṇvadu "

In *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 198, also we find — "Sakala-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Mōdunivallabha mahārājādhirāja Chōla-kula sundara Pāṇḍya-kul-āntaka Āhavamalla kula-kālā Āhavamallapri mummadi men-kanda Rājāśraya Vira-Chōla Karikāla-Chōla Vira Rājēndra dēva Rājakēsa-perumānādigaḷ yāṇḍu 4 vadu "

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 44 ff.

³ *Arch. Survey of S. India*, Vol. IV, pp. 204 ff.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 383 ff.

The Kanyākumārī inscription

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>23 Mṛtyujit, who conquered Death</p> <p>24 Virasōna</p> <p>25 Chitra, who made Indra seek refuge in his tiger banner</p> <p>26 Pṇshprikētn.</p> <p>27 Kētumāla.</p> <p>28 Samudrajit</p> <p>29 Pañchapa, who cut his veins and fed with his blood five Yakshas who came to him as guests</p> <p>30 Nṛim̐da, who with the help of Paramēśvara conquered Death</p> <p>31 Manōrathā</p> <p>32 Pernnatkīlī</p> <p>33 Karikāla, who built the embankments of the Kāvērī, which was destroying the crops by its excessive flow</p> <p>34 Vajabha</p> <p>35 Jagadōkamalla</p> <p>36 Vyūlabhayankara.</p> | <p>37 Vijayālaya, who made Tañjāpurī the capital of the Chōla country</p> <p>38 Āditya <i>alias</i> Kōdandarāma, who killed the Pallava that was seated on his elephant, in battle</p> <p>39 Parāntaka, who killed the Pāndya king, extinguished his army, took all his treasure, and set fire to Madurī, his capital. Hence he was called <i>Madhurāntaka</i>. He conquered the unconquered Kṛishnarāja and was therefore called Vira-Chōla. He crossed the ocean and defeated the kings of Sīmhala and was hence styled <i>Sīmhaśāntaka</i>. He established Vīranārāyanapura and other famous <i>agrahāras</i></p> <p>40 Arindama</p> <p>41 Parāntaka</p> <p>The Pāndya was driven away and several kings defeated in battle</p> <p>42 Rājārāja, who defeating several kings in battle, performed several <i>yāgas</i>. Satyāśraya ran away from him in battle.</p> <p>43 Rājendra or Madhurāntaka, he conquered the king of the Kuntala country, made Mānyakhēta the playground for his army, his general defeated the kings of Kulūta and Utkala and killed those of Kalunga and Vanga and made the defeated kings carry the water of the river Gangā on their heads for his lord. His army crossed the sea, defeated the king of Katala and set fire to it.</p> |
|--|--|
-
- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--|
| <p>44 Rājādhirāja destroyed with fire Kalyānapura, defeated and dealt with Ābhavamalla and his generals</p> | <p>45 Rājendra-dēva.</p> | <p>46 Vira-Rajendra (Rāja-Rājendra)
He conquered in the battle of Kūdalsangama the kings of the Karnāta family. He took the countries of Vēngi and Kalunga which were neglected by his brothers and had, therefore, been seized by enemy kings. He was called Vira-Chōla and Karikāla. He set a famous ruby called the <i>trailōkyasāra</i> in the crown of the lord of Chudambaram. He established <i>agrahāras</i> in the Chōla, Tāndira, Pāndya, Gangavāṭi, Kulūta and other countries and caused lands to be granted to 40,000 learned Brāhmanas</p> |
|---|--------------------------|--|

The Kalingattupparam

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1 Vishnu
2 Brahmā
3 Marīchi
4 Kaśyapa
5 Arla
6 Mann
7 Iṣṭvāka
8 He who drove his chariot over his own son
9 Purandara
10 He who made the tiger and the deer to drink water in the same stream
11 Muchukunda
12 He who made it possible for the gods to drink ambrosia
13 He who weighed himself against a dove (Śbi)
14 Surādhirāja
15 Chōla
16 Rājakēśari
17 Parakēśari
18 He who explained the law to Death
19 He who brought the river Kāvērī from the west
20 He who took the higher worlds and ruled the whole of this world
21 He who made Indra reside in his flag
22 He who made the western ocean mix with the eastern one</p> | <p>23 He who gave his blood to be drunk by a demon
24 He who commanded the wind
25 He who destroyed the flying forts
26 He who roamed about the sky in his aerial chariot
27 He who helped Dharmarāja in the Mahābhārata war
28 He who married a Nāga princess
29 He who, being pleased with the poem <i>Kaṭaraḥ</i> of the poet Poylan, liberated the Chēra
30 He who made kings (conquered by him) build the embankment of the Kāvērī
31 He who received in his praise the poem called <i>Paṭṭinappālai</i>
32 He who destroyed the kings of the Pāndya and the Chēra countries and took Kūḍal (i.e. Madura) and Iḷam
33 He who celebrated the festival of his birthday (<i>Śadaya-nakshatra</i>) in the Chēra country
34 The king who made his horses drink water from the river Gangā and took Kadāram situated beyond the sea.
35 He who set up a pillar of victory at Kampili, took Kalāṇṇa and caused the tiger emblem to be engraved on the eight chief mountains
36 He who, seated upon an elephant, came out victorious at the battle of Koppa and received the anointment of heroes (<i>cīr-ā-bhishēka</i>)
37 He who enforced the Laws of Mann and was thrice (or four times) superior to Mann himself
38 Abhaya, who was victorious at Kūḍalsangama.</p> |
|--|---|

The Vikrama-Śōḷa ulā

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1 Vishnu
2 Brahmā
3 Kasyapa
4 Marīchi
5 The wheeled charioteer (Snn)
6 He who drove his chariot over the body of his own son</p> | <p>7 He who made the tiger and the deer to drink from the same stream
8 He who drove in his aerial chariot
9 He who ruled over the Bhōgabhūmi (Purandara)
10 He who explained the law to Death
11 He who
12 He who destroyed the flying forts</p> |
|---|---|

The Vikrama-Sōḷaṅ-ulā

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>13 He who made the water of the western ocean join with that of the eastern ocean</p> <p>14 He who married the Nāga princess</p> <p>15 He who got into the scale-pan against the weight of a dove</p> <p>16 He who brought the Kāvērī river to the Chōla country.</p> <p>17 He who built the banks of the Kāvērī</p> <p>18 He who, being pleased with the poem of Poygai, liberated the Chōra king</p> <p>19 He who was adorned with 96 scars on his chest, received in battlefields</p> <p>20 He who covered the hall (Chidambaram temple) with gold.</p> <p>21 He who took in a day the kingdom of the Malai nādu</p> | <p>22 He who took the Gangā and Kaḍāra and was pleased to be seated on <i>simhāsana</i></p> <p>23 He who conquered the city of Kalyāṇa after attacking it three</p> <p>24 He who fought the battle at Koppam</p> <p>25 He who presented the god Ranganātha with a serpent couch</p> <p>26 He who defeated his enemies at Kūdalsangamam and killed several elephants</p> <p>27 He who twice destroyed the <i>kalam</i> at Sālai, who took the western ocean, defeated the Pāṇḍyas, Chōras, took Konkana and Kannada, killed the Māratta king, and who is known by the name of Abhaya</p> |
|--|---|

28 Vikrama-Chōla

The Kulōttunga Sōḷaṅ-ulā

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1 The Sun (?)</p> <p>2 He who drove his chariot over his son</p> <p>3 He who</p> <p>4 He who protected the castles of the gods</p> <p>5 He who sat on the throne of the lord of gods (Indra) along with him</p> <p>6 Killi, who explained the law to Death</p> <p>7 Māṇḍhātṛ, who made the tiger and the deer to drink water from the same stream</p> <p>8 The king of kings who brought down Mandākinī (Gangā) to send his ancestors to heaven by bathing their bones with the holy water</p> <p>9 He who fought against the Kauravas in the Mahābhārata war</p> <p>10</p> <p>11 He who took the head of a</p> <p>12</p> <p>13 He who destroyed the flying forts.</p> <p>14 He who joined the western ocean with the eastern</p> | <p>15 He who broke the rock that stood in the way of the Kāvērī river and brought her into his country</p> <p>16 He who ascended the scale-pan against the weight of a dove</p> <p>17 Karikāla, who made kings carry earth to build the embankment of the Kāvērī</p> <p>18 Killi, who married (the Nāga) damsel</p> <p>19 He who liberated the Chōra king, being pleased with the poem <i>Kajavali</i> of Poygai.</p> <p>20 He who was adorned with 96 scars on his chest received in battle</p> <p>21 He who tore to pieces a Brahmarākshasa and repaired the Chidambaram temple who took Iḷam and Madura.</p> <p>22 He who took and destroyed the fort of Uḍagai in one day</p> <p>23 He who took the river Gangā and the country Kaḍāram and was pleased to be seated on the <i>simhāsana</i></p> <p>24 Śūṅgandavirttōp</p> <p>25 Akalankap, who received in his praise the <i>Kalingattapparam</i></p> <p>26 Kulōttunga-Chōla</p> |
|--|---|

The [?] [?]

1 Vishnu	18 He who [?]
2 Manu (f)	19 He who [?]
3 The Sun	20 He who [?]
4 He who drove his chariot over his own [?]	21 He who [?]
5 He who made the tiger and the deer to drink from the same stream.	22 He who [?]
6 He who drove in a celestial chariot	23 He who [?]
7 Purandara.	24 He who [?]
8 He who explained the law to Death	25 He who [?]
9 He who	26 He who [?]
10 He who destroyed the flying forts	27 He who [?]
11 He who joined the western ocean with the eastern	28 He who [?]
12 He who married the Nara princess whose ancestors possessed the seven worlds	29 He who [?]
13 The king who presented 11,000 [?] for one verse	30 He who [?]
14 Another who gave 10 crores of [?] for a verse	31 [?]
15 He who ascended the scale pan against the weight of a dove	
16 He who conducted the Kāvīri from the west to his country	
17 He who built the embankments on both sides of the river Kāvīri	

We have to mention here two Chōla kings viz. Adityaśrī and Rājendraśrī, who seem to have reigned as co-regents with Rājendra-dēva and Virarajendra.

Dr. Hultzsch believes that Rājamahēndra must be the son of Rājendra-dēva and the predecessor of Vira-Rājendra-dēva. He writes about these kings thus:—“As regards Rājamahēndra, his reign seems to be covered altogether by those of Rājendra-dēva and Vira-Rajendra I. Perhaps he was a son and temporary co-regent of Rājendra-dēva. This was suggested already by an inscription of the 9th year of Rājendra which mentions among the boundaries of a village ‘the road of Rājamahēndra.’ A further confirmation is furnished by the fact that his successor Vira-Rājendra adopted the surname Rājākṣari. If he had recognised Rājamahēndra Rājākṣarivarman as his rightful predecessor, he would, in accordance with all precedents, have assumed the title Parākṣari.”

The *Kalinyattupparani*, the *Vilrama-Sōlup-ulā* and the *Sankara-Sōlan uli* refer to a king who is stated in the two latter works to have given to the god Raṅganātha of Śrīraṅgam

a golden serpent couch¹ The *Kōyiloḷugu* informs us that the king Rājamahēndra was a devotee of the god Ranganātha and that he constructed one of the *prākāras* of that god's temple Putting together the statements of the two sets of literary evidences, I think it is possible for us to infer that the king who presented to the Śrīrangam temple a golden serpent couch must be identical with Rājamahēndra Since the *Kalingattupparani*, etc., place him before Vīra-Rājēndra, the finding of Dr. Hultzsch receives further strength It is quite likely that he was made a *yuvārāja* with the title Rājakēśari, that, when his father and uncle were engaged in war with the Chalukyas, he was administering the kingdom in the capacity of the *yuvārāja*, but that he died before his father and therefore never ascended the throne As a consequence, when Vīra-Rājēndra ascended the throne, in regular succession to Rājēndra-dēva, he also called himself a Rājakēśari

The Kanyākumārī inscription, which traces the descent of the Chōlas down to Vīra-Rājēndra, is silent about Rājamahēndra, his immediate predecessor This silence about him is significant and corroborates further the hypothesis of Dr. Hultzsch

TEXT²

[Metres vv 1, 10-12, 18, 21, 24, 26, 44, 47, 52, 56, 73, 76, 77, 79, *Śāṇḍilavhṛīḍita*, vv 2-9, 15, 20, 60, *Śiagāharā*, v 13, *Vamśastha*, vv 14, 49, 71, *Śikhariṇī*, vv 16, 48, 50, 57, 67, 72, 74, *Vasantatilakā*, vv 17, 23, 25, 41, 62, 65, 69, *Mālīni*, vv 19, 27, 28, 40, 75, *Mandāhrāntā*, vv 22, 53, 78, *Śvāgatā*, vv 29, 45, *Aupachchhandasika*, vv 30-31, 61, *Prithuṇi*, vv 32, 46, 59, *Praharṣiṇi*, vv 33, 38, 39, 42, *Śālīni*, vv 34-35, *Harinī*, vv. 36-37, 58, 63, 66, 68, *Rathāddhatā*, vv 43, 54, 55, *Upajāti*, vv 51, 64, 70, *Upēndravajrā*, vv 80 and 81, *Anushubh*]

First Pillar First Side

- 1 स्वस्ति श्री[ः*] य कर्त्ता जगदु-
- 2 त्सवस्वितिलयानुत्भूतया⁴ ली-
- 3 लया यो वाचामधिनायकश्च-
- 4 यति य सर्वज्ञतेकाश्रया [ः*]
- 5 यत्⁵भक्तिप्रवणैरपायविष-
- 6 मस्तार्यो भवाम्भोनिधिर्द्वया-
- 7 त्⁶ वस्स विभूतिमिन्दुशकलापीडो

¹ The *Kalingattupparani* describes this king thus. —

Pāṇḍuvulukku mudalāya Vēda nāṅṟi
pāṇḍu-uraitta neṟi puḍukki=ppaṇḍaiyar taṅṅaṇ
Maṇḍuvipukku muṇṇaḍi nāṇṇaḍiyāṇ Sōḷaṇ
maḍikkṇḍaikkil āṇaḍaḍirppa vaḷarṇḍaḍiṅṅuṇ

The *Vikrama Sōḷaṇ ulā* thus. —

Pāḍ-arava tteṇṇ Aṇṇa-mōṇṇārkkku=ppaṇṇaṇṇiyāl
āḍarava ppāyal amaṭṭāṇuṇ

Maṇṇalaṇ

kāṇṇaṇṇi-Koyiṅ karumugirku nāṇṇaklap-

pāṇṇaṇṇi śeydalitta pāṇṇaṇṇuṇ

Sankara, II 41 43.

² Both from the original stones and the mechanical impressions prepared by me.

³ Read ०द्वय

⁴ Read ०नुत्भूतया.

⁵ Read यक्षि

⁶ Read ०द्

- 8 भवानोपतिः ॥—[१*] मायामाया[मि]नो
 9 यो वहति जगदिदं रञ्जयन्तो¹
 10 जयन्तो ज्ञानाज्ञानप्रसू-
 11 ति² स्फुटरुचिवपुषा योगभाजा-
 12 गभाजा [१*] सत्वामत्वानुकम्पो हि-
 13 तमुदितमहा[ता]पशूनाम्³ पशू-
 14 नाम्⁴ शम्भुश्चम्भुग्नपापव्यति-
 15 कृति भवतस्त्र प्रपानात् प्रपा-
 16 तात् ॥—[२*] चक्रे चक्रेण दैत्य-
 17 प्रकरमतिवल यस्त्रमस्त समस्त-
 18 [म्] पाता पाताळमूलाहितवलिनिश-
 19 म् भासुराणां सुराणां⁵ [१*] सद्यस्त्र द्य-
 20 त्वघं वो हरिरखिलजगदक्षणे-
 21 न क्षणेन स्त्रैरं स्त्रैर[श]लेशैः⁶
 22 [रिव ध]रणिगतैस्त्रम्भवत्भिर्भवतिभः⁶
 23 ॥—[३*] आदौ देवस्त्रिसृक्षामुपनतस-
 24 मय प्रत्यवेक्षा]मदभ्राम् विभ्रत्⁷
 25 विश्वाधिनायस्त्रमुचितजगदारम-
 26 भमम्भस्त्रसर्ज [१*] तस्त्रिन्निक्षिप्य
 27 ब्रोजन्निजमजमखिल म चितो-
 28 कीकरण्डम् ब्रह्माण्ड तेन [चक्रे]
 29 व्यधित विधिमपि स्रष्टु]मेना⁸ वि[ना]-
 30 यम् ॥—[४*] तस्त्राज्जान्स्तदानो स-
 31 कलमपि जगत् सप्रपञ्च विरि-
 32 च्च. कृत्वा तस्तार वीर्यं त्रिजमयमपरान्¹⁰

¹ The *anuvāsa* symbol is entered twice and once at the end of this line and again at the beginning of the next.

² Read प्रसूति

³ Read पशूनाम्

⁴ Read सुराणां

⁵ The *anuvāsa* symbol alone are in this line and the letter *s* is in the next

⁶ Read भवद्भिर्भवति

⁷ Read विभ्रत्

⁸ Mr K. V. Subrahmanya Avar who has studied the inscription and edited it in the *Tr. Arch. Series* and some notes on correct readings which *prison* are enclosed in rectangular brackets. (The correct reading is as to be *स्रष्टु*.)

⁹ [The inscription seems to read विधिमपि, the *vi* may be at the end of l. 29 and *ध* at the commencement of l. 30.]

¹⁰ [The correct reading is दुर्धारावीर्यान्मयमपरान्]

33 ब्रह्मणः [तान् सुनीन्द्रा]न्तेषामेकः [तु]¹

34 शेषैरपि . . वि विभ . व . ततानिस²

First Pillar Second Side

35 . . . त्वि[ष]ग्रोचिम्भरीचिस्त्रिभुवन-

36 (न)[भवनात्] सच्चकासाञ्चकार

37 ॥—[५*] तस्मा[दि]स्मेरपत्मासम³नयन-

38 चयस्यष्टदृष्टोर्जितश्रीश्रे-

39 यस्मत्पत्तिभाजां(न)धुरि गणितगु-

40 णः काश्यपः पश्यकोभूत् [1*] अ-

41 न्योन्योन्मर्दनेन श्रियमिह दध-

42 तो यत्प्रसूतास्मुराद्या निर्व्याज-

43 त्रिज्ज'यन्ति प्रचुरमुपचितानवु-

44 राशेस्तरंगान्⁴ ॥—[६] तस्माज्जात-

45 स्तदानीं [समयकत]सम⁵ [स्वै]: प्र-

46 भावैरुदारैर्विश्वत्राणप्रवी-

47 शैस्मृततमतितरा निर्णयन् [स्वां]⁶

48 विवस्वान् [1*] निद्रासुद्राविभेदं प्रथ-

49 मम[तु]भवन्मयूखाभिमर्शाद्वातु-

50 र्व[क्त्वा]रविन्दैस्सह सकळगुरो-

51 [र्नाभिपद्मश्च]काशे ॥—[७*] यस्योदस्यात्⁷

52 भिरारादव[तम]सतति⁸व्याततैरशु-

53 जालैर्भास्वत्कार्तस्वरा[ण्ड]म्

54 प्रथममभिगळत्काळमेवा(म्)व-

55 भासे [1*] यत्विम्बः⁹ कर्णिका[त्व]निव-

56 हति किरणै केसरैराहि-

57 तश्रीरुत्¹⁰गाढैर्हिग्दकौघै-

58 रूप[र*]चितरुचो व्योमपङ्के¹¹

¹ Read सुनीन्द्रा । [Mr K V S Aiyar has कर्मनिष्ठान्तेषामेकसु Perhaps the actual reading is क]र्मनित्य[1*]
न—Ed]

² [The reading of this line, in the *Trav Arch Series*, by Mr K V S Aiyar is equally doubtful and defective
—Ed]

³ Read पद्मासन

⁴ Read ०र्ज

⁵ Read ०मसुराशेस्तरंगान्

⁶ Read समयक्रुदसन

⁷ The *anusvara* is in the next line, read ०स्वान्

⁸ [सुप्र seems to be the correct reading]

⁹ Read ०दस्यहि

¹⁰ Read हति.

¹¹ Read यदि

¹² Read ०रुहादे

¹³ Read ०पदे

- 59 रुद्धस्य ॥—[८*] एतस्याभूत्तनूजो
 60 मनुरमलतनुर्भूजाम् वीजमाद्य¹
 61 येनैकान्तेन योगान्मुनिभिरभि-
 62 हिता मानवीयं प्रजेति [1*] लोका-
 63 नामेकवन्द्यः प्रविदधदतुल शर्म-
 64 धर्मप्रपचैर्भास्वान् भास्वत्
 65 ³. . . पितरमिव⁴ सुतं यम् प्र-
 66 काशीचकार ॥—[९*] तस्यैच्छाकुरभूद्यशो-
 67 भिरमकै⁵ हिंक्षाततैश्शोभितस्मू-
 68 नु . . . भूभृतां सुरगणैर्यत्की-⁶
 69 त्तिरुद्गीयते [1*] यस्यामिधनराधिराजवि-

Second Pillar First Side

- 70 रक्षाज्जैत्रस्मद्वा(ह)स्सर्वतो [दृष्टा-
 71 ति]प्रसरं व्यजेष्ट बलव[न्मि]त्र-
 72 स्य तेजः परम् ॥—[१०*] तस्याभूत्तनयस्स-
 73 मुन्नतनयः प्रेक्षी विकुक्षियवो
 74 रक्षामक्षतविक्रमस्समकरोत्
 75 क्षामण्डलस्यास्य यः [1*] अन्योन्य-
 76 प्रविमर्द्देन सहती या पार्थिवै-
 77 लभ्यते ता [सु]ते श्रियमश्वमं क्षि-
 78 तिभृतां यत्पादयोरानति[:*] ॥—[११*] पुत्रस्तस्य
 79 पुरस्त्रयस्समभवत् सग्राममाजन्मुषां⁷
 80 जेता भूमिभुजाङ्घ्रिगोपुरसुराङ्ग-
 81 ज्ञे स मान्यस्ततः । [जंभारिं]⁸ वृषभं वि-
 82 धाय ककु[दे] स्थूलेस्य⁹ यस्सस्थित-
 83 [स्तद्दे]वैरधिकप्रमोदग[ति]ताम्¹⁰ प्रा[पत्]¹¹

¹ Read माद्य.

² Read खे.

³ [The gap may be filled up with the word सुतत्वात्.]

⁴ [The text reads मित्र which has to be corrected into मिद]

⁵ Read ०ले

⁶ Read ०यंकीति.

⁷ Read ०जन्मुषां The anusvāra is in the next line

⁸ Read जंभारि

⁹ Read यस्स

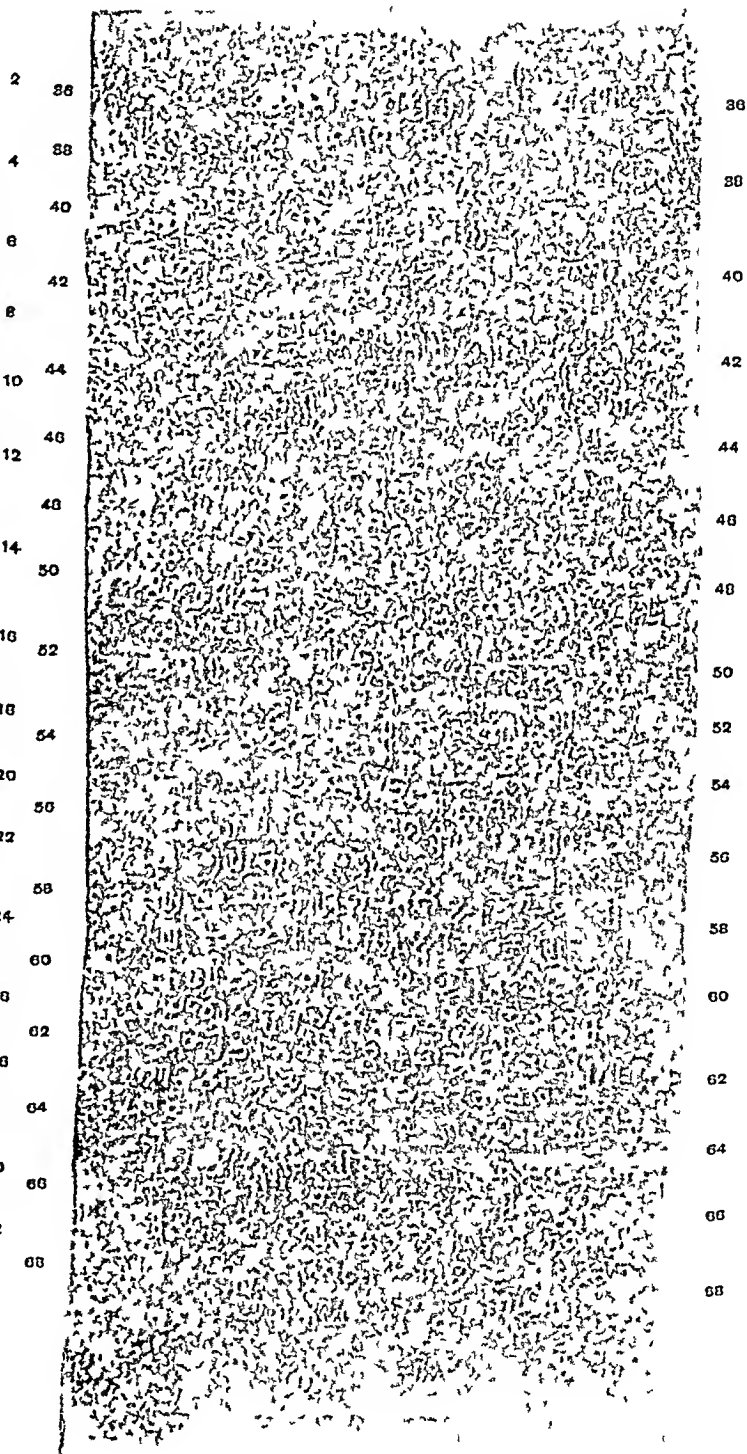
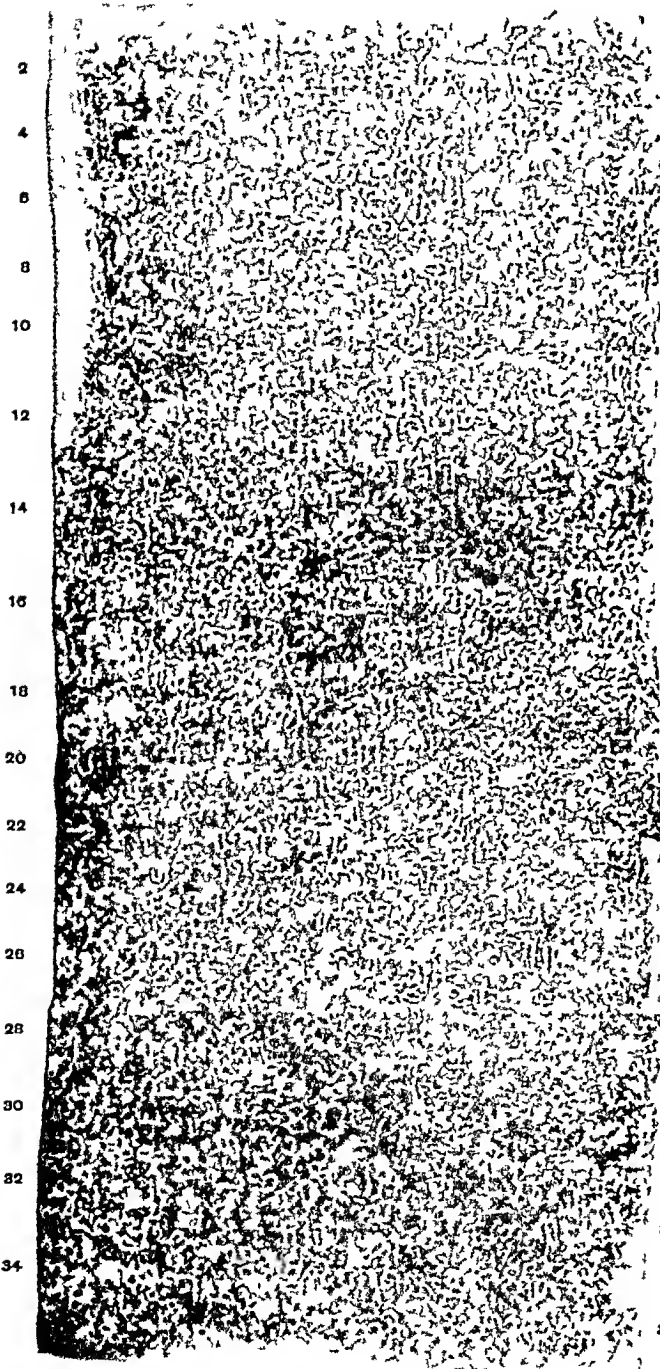
¹⁰ Read ०नदिताम्.

¹¹ [The correct reading is प्राद्य..]

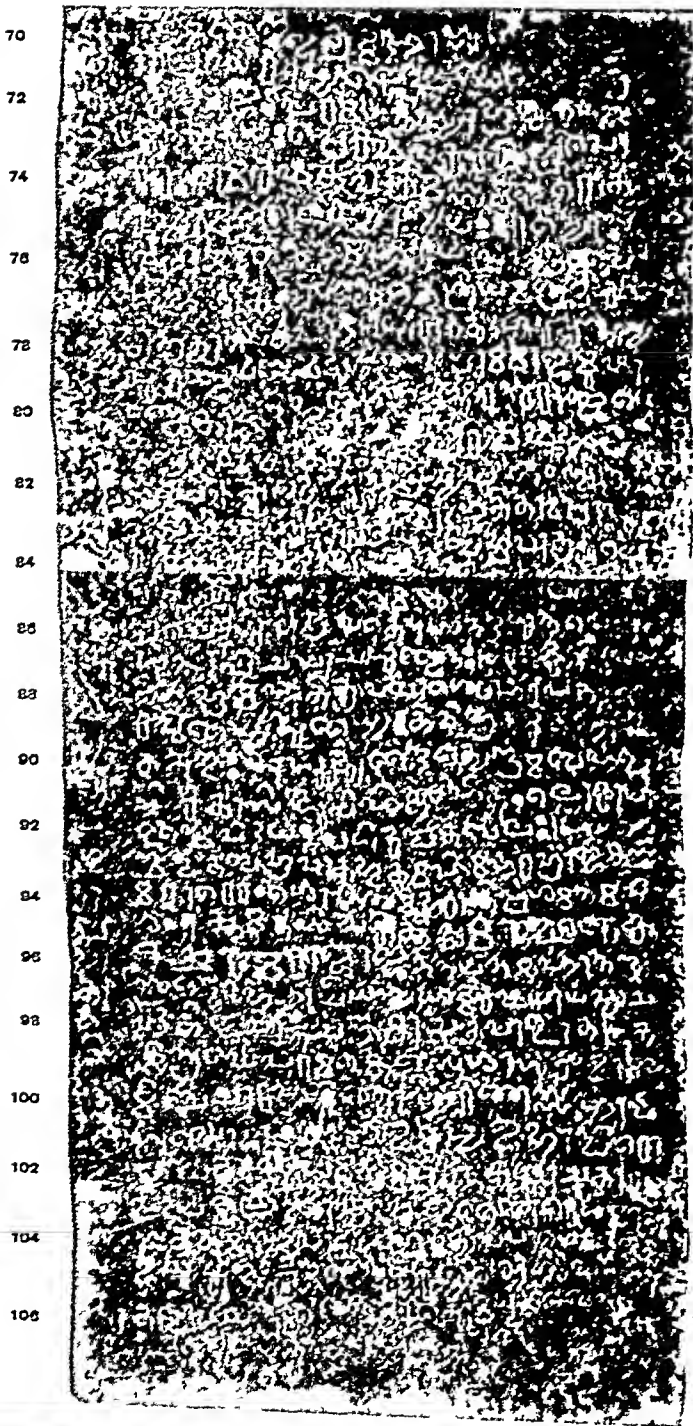
Kanyakumari Inscription of Vira-Rajendra the 7th year

First Pillar Front

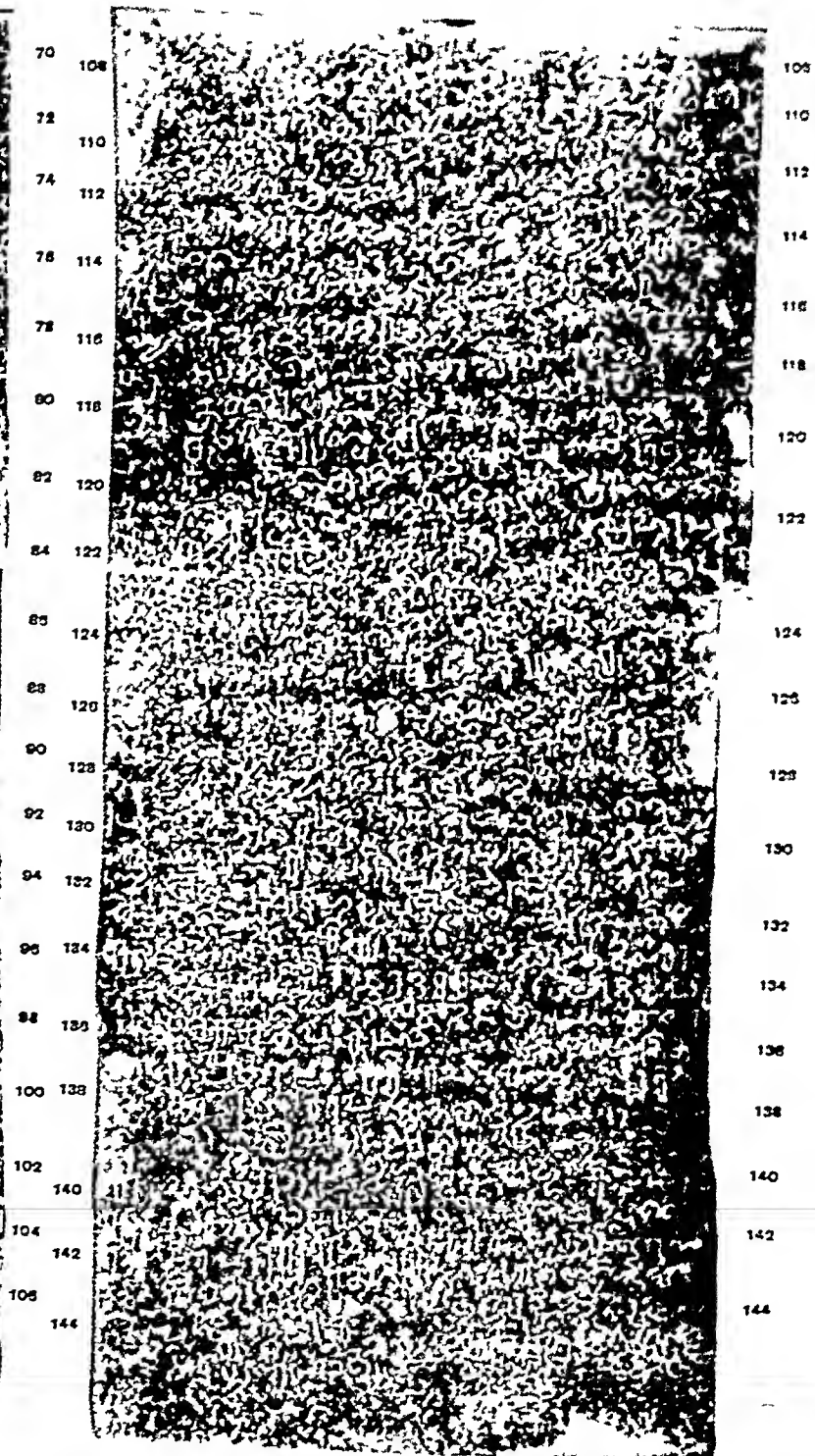
First Pillar Back



Second Pillar Front



Second Pillar Back



- 84 ककु[त्*]स्थाभिधाम् ।[१२*] पृथुर्ववर्भात्र कुले
 85 [कुलाद्रिणा] समसमस्तावनिपालवन्दितः [1*]
 86 [विवेकधुस्त]नृपती¹ स नन्दधु²र्न वे[प]-
 87 ³धुर्नापि च याचधु[ञ्ज]नः³ ॥—[१३*] असुप्तिन्व-
 88 [शे]भूम्नहति कुवलाश्वो नरपतिः स्फु-⁴
 89 र[ही]र्यैरुयैरतिनिभृतमुत्भासि-⁵
 90 ततनु. [1*] स धुन्धुन्दैत्येन्द्रम् वहक-
 91 सिकतासिन्धुपिहितं हितं लोकाया-
 92 स्मै विदधदवधीदुद्धतबलः ॥—[१४*] वंशे-
 93 स्मिन्नुत्त्वभूवात्भुत⁶महिमभरभाजितस्या-⁷
 94 मरारैरशो विश्वभरार्तिप्रशमनमनि-
 95 शं कर्तुमुत्सिद्धकीर्तिः [1*] मान्याता⁸
 96 नाम राजा जननयनमहानन्द-
 97 स[दो]हजायी⁹ यस्याधर्माक्षयाय व्यच-
 98 दतिजवात् चक्रमा चक्रवाकात् ॥—[१५*] त-
 99 स्मिन्नुपे परमतेजसि शासतीमाम् भू-
 100 मिञ्चचार हरिणा हरिणस्सहापि [1*]
 101 सर्वो मिथस्सहजमप्यज[हा]दिरो-
 102 धन्धर्मास्त्वधर्माविरहान्न तथा चकार ॥—[१६*]
 103 उदयमिह दधानस्सत्¹⁰गुणैरेधमान-
 104 स्सततमसदृपाये वृद्धिमत्यन्ववाये [1*] उदजनि
 105 सुषुकुन्दः कुन्दगौरैर्यशोभिः परिण-
 106 त इव चन्द्रः शोभमानैर्मयूखैः¹¹ ॥—[१७*]

¹ [Read °विवे[ञ्ज]यु like नन्दयु, वेपयु and याचयु which follow, must be the abstract nouns derived from the roots विविच् etc, by adding the termination अयुच् But विविच् is not, according to the Dhātupāṭha, a √vi root and hence the reading विवेकयु is very doubtful —Ed]

² Read °यु°

³ Read युर्जन

⁴ [The correct reading appears to be नरपतिर्ह]

⁵ Read °धुयै and मुद्गा°

⁶ Read °नुहभूवाहुत°

⁷ The length of स्या is at the beginning of the next line [We should have rather expected सरारि and not सरारि —Ed]

⁸ Read मान्याता The secondary ā symbol is at the beginning of the next line

⁹ Read दायी

¹⁰ Read हु-

¹¹ [The correct reading seems to be मानो मयूखः]

Second Pillar Second Side.

- 107
 108
 109
 110
 111
 112 नृप[स्तेषा स्व]र्गमतोव दुर्ग-
 113 मकरोद्युहे ह[ता]नामपि ॥—[१८*] अस्मिन्व-¹
 114 शेषवदभिभवमोलसा राज-
 115 वृन्दं लब्धानन्दस्वमितिषु हरिश्च-
 116 न्द्रनामा नरेन्द्रः [१*] दि[त्]सामेकां दधदपि
 117 नयन् कोशिकायान्धनायां² स्व व्य-
 118 क्रीणात्तृणमिव तथा यक्षपुत्रं कळ-
 119 त्रम् ॥—[१९*] आसीदवान्ववाये सगर इति [नृ]-
 120 पस्तर्लिताशेषभूपो येनार[स्ते]-
 121 पि कामं हयमखनिकरे चासितो
 122 देवराज [१*] यत्पुत्राणाम् प्रभावा-
 123 क्षवणजलनिधौ सागरत्वं प्रप-
 124 न्ने शेषाणा वारिधोनामपि [स]क-
 125 . . . स्सागरत्वञ्चकार ॥—[२०*] आसीद-
 126 त्र [भ]गी[र*]थः क्षितिपतिर्वशे स्वव-
 127 ³[शो]ङ्गवानुदत्तुं कपिलप्रकोप-
 128 दहनज्वालावलौभक्षितान् [१*] स्व[स्मि]-
 129 न्नु वसुधात्रय⁴न्विपयगाञ्चक्रे
 130 स भागोरथीं मर्त्यानप्यमृतान्व्यधात्
 131 सुरसरित्त्रारिप्रवाहस्यृश ॥—[२१*] अन्व-
 132 येत्र सुमहत्त्ववतीर्ण[स्तेर्व]भूपतिगु-
 133 षौ परिपूर्णः [१*] सज्जनस्तुतिविरा-
 134 जितवर्णः क्षामरक्षदखिलामृतपु-
 135 ण्णं ॥—[२२*] इह समजनि भूपः सर्वलो-

¹ The anuvāsa is in the next line² [The correct reading would be कोशिकायाधनायां — Bd.]³ [The ē sign of शो is at the end of the previous line.]⁴ Read त्रयस्त्रि⁵ Read रिहारि

- 136 कैकतीपः¹ क्षपित[भुवनता]पश्चातिता-
 137 रिप्रतापः [1*] अरियु[वतिविलाप]स्सारि-²
 138 ³तोहामकोप[स्समिति⁴ वि]जयिचा[प*][प्राप्]तकी-⁵
 139 त्तिर्दिलीपः⁶ ॥—[२३*] अस्मि[मंशच]तुष्टयेन
 140 भगवान् वशेज[नि]ष्ट प्रभुः [क्ति]ष्टां
 141 [वो]क्ष्य वसुन्धरामतिबलैर्षुष्टै-
 142 ⁷[महा]राक्षसैः [1*] [रामो लक्ष्म]णस-
 143 युतोय भरतश्च[त्रुप्त]युक्त[स्सुतद्वन्द्व]
 144 विष्णुभुजायुगद्वयतुला[सू]र्ज[स्वलं][1*] य-
 145 द्ययौ ॥—[२४*] पितरि तनयवृत्त भ्रातरि⁸ भ्रातृ-

Third Pillar First Side.

- 146 वृत्तं युवतिषु पतिवृत्तं शत्रु-
 147 वे शत्रुवृत्त[त्त]म् [1*] मुनिषु ⁹नृपतिवृत्त-
 148 म् ब[1]न्धवे बन्धुवृत्तं सकलम-
 149 खिल[नाश]:¹⁰ शिचयामास¹¹ लोकम् ॥—[२५*]
 150 [नो] कोपेन¹² जघान राक्ष[सप]ति का-
 151 मेन¹³ न प्रेयसीं स प्रत्याहृतवा[न्*] म-
 152 हीशचरितं कात्स्न्येन चक्रे परम् [1*]
 153 नो चेत्किन्तपसि स्थितं स म-
 154 लये शूद्रं जघानासिना कि
 155 वानत्ययकान्तिष्ट[त्यु]पचितान्त[त्या*]-
 156 ज सोतां [द्रु]तम् ॥[२६*] सेतु नेतुं क-
 157 पिबलमसौ व[ल]न्धयन्नेकम-
 158 ध्वौ चक्रे वक्रैरगुणनिधिर्¹⁴
 159 मसेतूनशेषान् [1*] केतु हेतुं [वि]-

¹ Read टीप .

² Read स्सारितो [I would suggest विलापैस्सारितो^o as the more probable one —Ed]

³ The ē symbol of ती is at the end of the previous line

⁴ [The correct reading is स्सुतत^o]

⁵ [The text reads स्कीतकी^o]

⁶ Read कौर्तिर्दिलीप

⁷ Read महा

⁸ [सातपु is the actual reading in the inscription]

⁹ [नृपति is the actual reading in the inscription. The ē sign of नृ at the beginning of l 147 is at the end of l 146]

¹⁰ Read ०नाथ

¹¹ Read शिचयामास

¹² [न कोपेन is the actual reading]

¹³ The ē symbol of मे is in the previous line

¹⁴ Read ०ध्वौ.

- 160 वृधविपदा व्यापदान्दानवीनां रामं
 161 कामं कथयति जनस्सत्तुण[¹]नात्रिधा[नं]¹ ॥—[२७*]
 162 अस्मिन्व[शे]जनि विदक्यन्नीजसा [रा]जवृ-
 163 न्द[ञ्चो]को नाम क्षितिपतिरतिस्फोतराण-
 164 न्यकालः [¹*] यस्याशेषामवनिमवतो²
 165 राजधानीमिव स्वा लीलोद्या-
 166 ³नैस्तुलनमदधन्सर्वतः कानना[नि] ॥—[२८*]
 167 विहरन् स हरप्रभः कदाचिन्मुनिवृन्दा⁴-
 168 ध्युपि[तेषु] का]ननेषु [¹*] अनयद्विवृ-
 169 धात्रयो विहारप्रतिलब्धाव-⁵
 170 सरा[णि] वासरा[णि] ॥—[२९*] कदाचन मृग-
 171 व्रजप्रमथनप्र[भु]ल्लाटरञ्चचार⁶
 172 [वि]पिनान्तरेष्वनतिभूरिस्तेन्यः [क्ष]-
 173 मी [¹*] तदा स मृगरूपिणा भटिति केन-
 174 चिद्वक्षसा [हृतो] हृगितमन्वगात्
 175 प्रकृतिदक्षिणी दक्षिणाम् ॥—[३०*] मृग-
 176 न्तमनु[ग]च्छता प्रजविना शनैर्वा⁷
 177 जिना पृथुदुमसमाकुलं विपि-
 178 नमन्वदासादित⁸ [¹*] न्त⁹मन्वयुरनारतं प्र-
 179 विततप्रयाणोन्मुखा जवेन र-
 180 भसोत्पतत्पृथुवरूधिनीना-¹⁰
 181 यक्ताः ॥—[३१*] त हत्वा रजनिचरं स तत्र
 182 भूपः कावेरीमनु विचचार भूरिचा-
 183 रः [¹*] क्षीराभोनिधिमयनात् सुरै-
 184 रवाप्तम् पीयूषम् भुवि सलिलच्छन्दा-
 185 [द्वहन्तीम्] ॥—[३२*] तत्र [स्त्रा]त्वा . . . द्विजे-

¹ Read सद्गुणावा निधानम्

² The secondary ā symbol of the letter tō is in the next line

³ The a: symbol of na: is at the end of the preceding line

⁴ The secondary ā symbol is engraved in the next line

⁵ व looks like द

⁶ The secondary ā symbol is in the next line

⁷ Read °तम्.

⁸ The secondary ā symbol is in the next line.

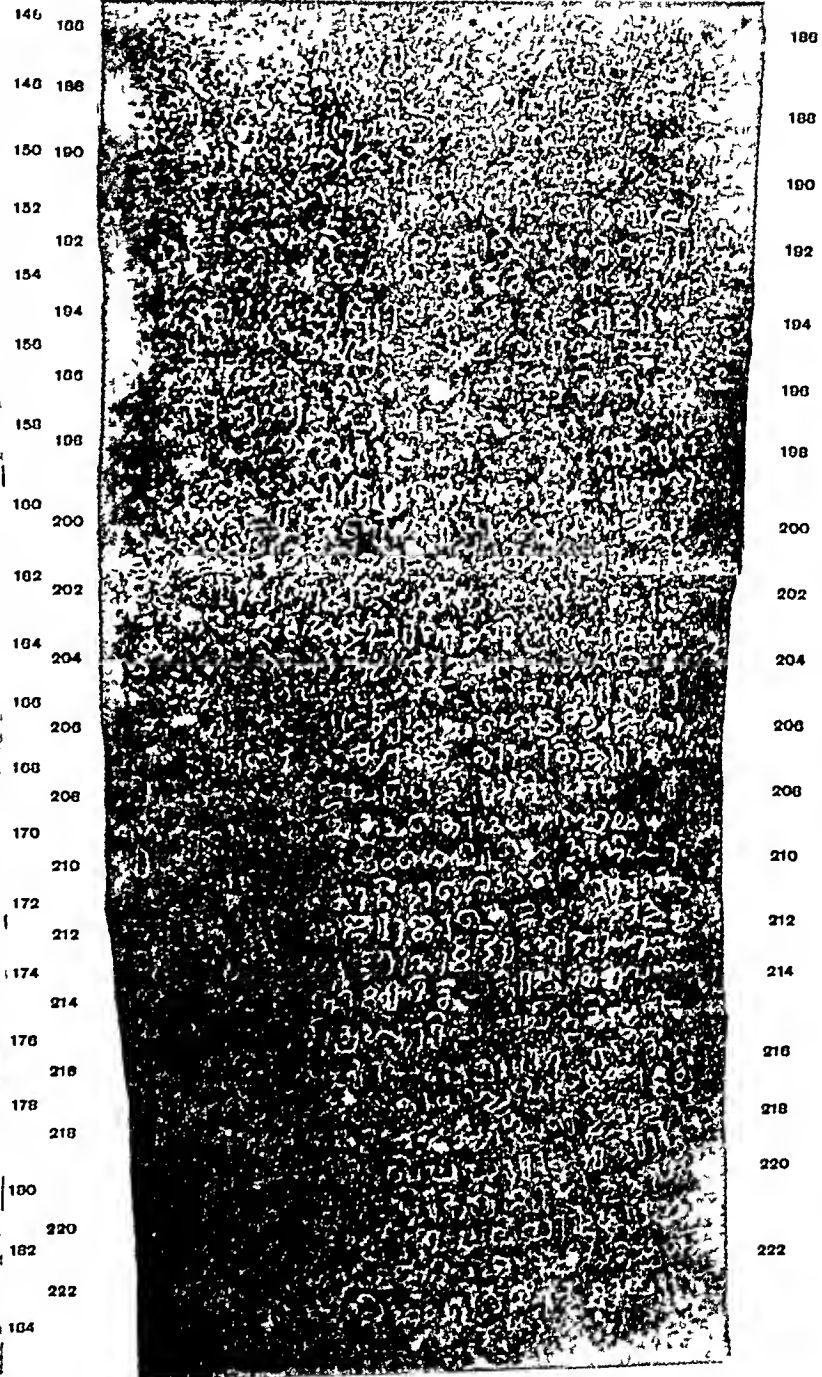
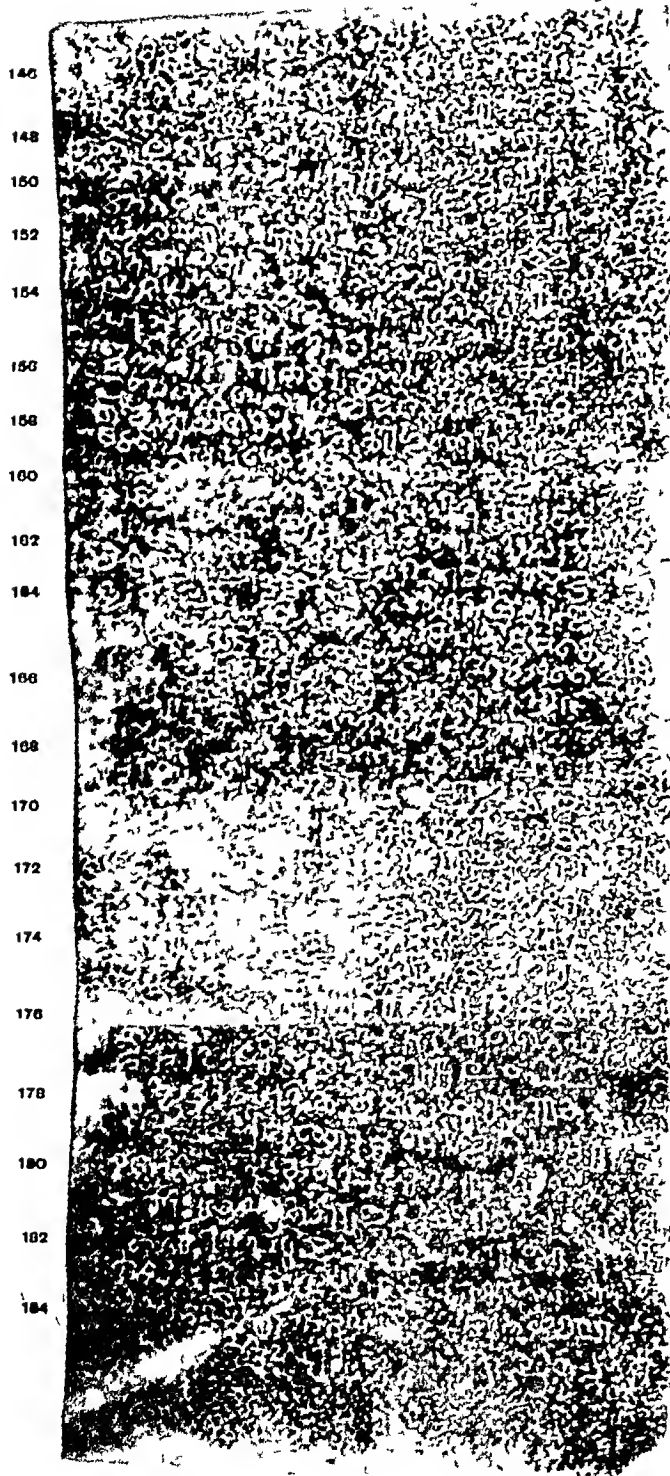
⁹ Read प्रभुल्लाटरञ्चचार-

¹⁰ Read त°.

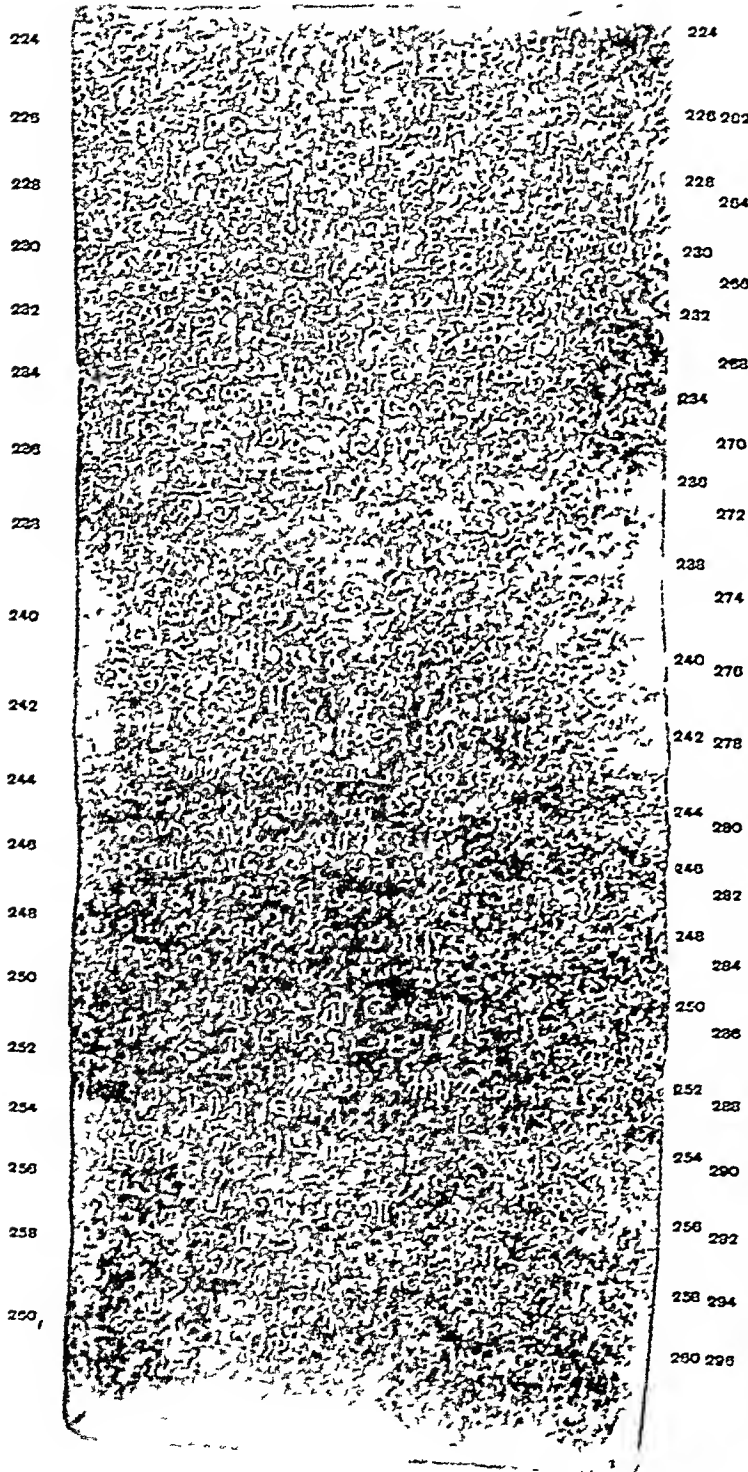
Kanyakumari Inscription of Vira-Rajendra the 7th year

Third Pillar Front

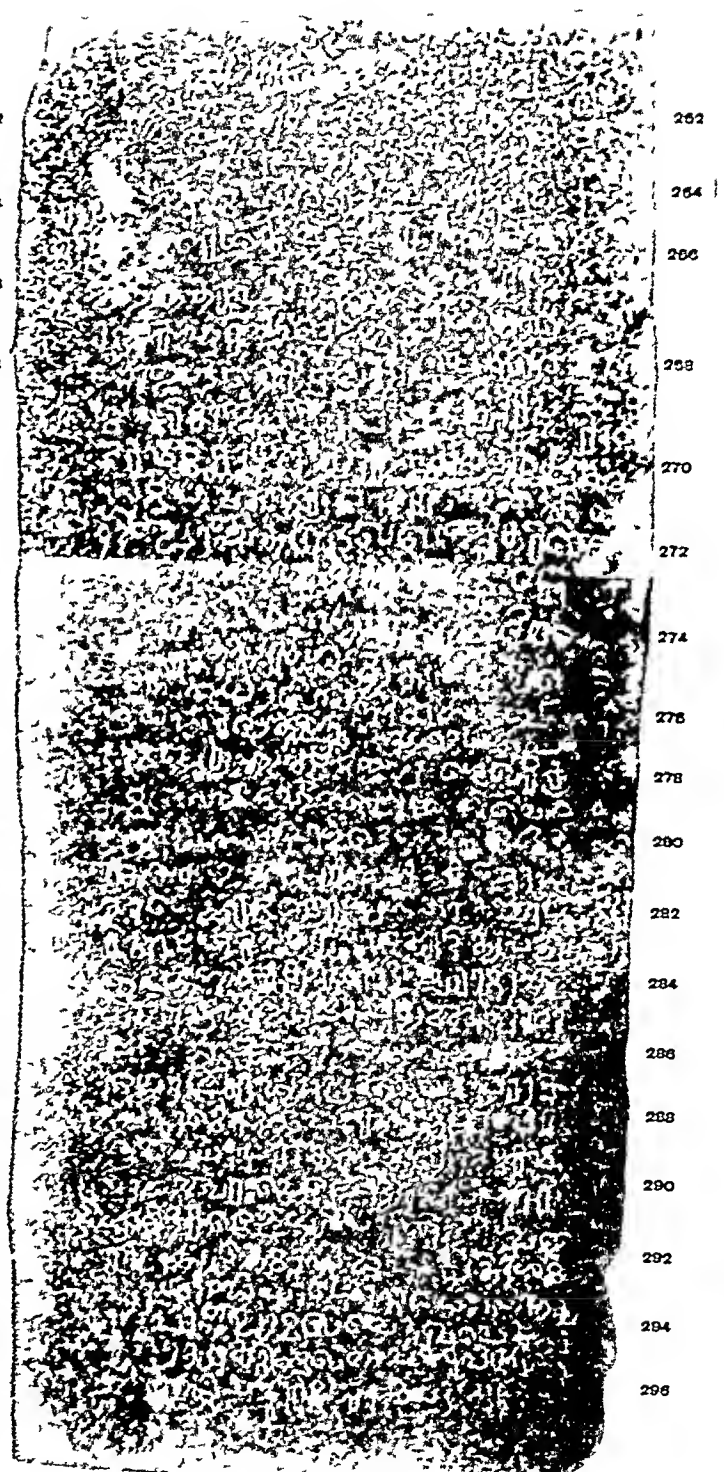
Third Pillar Back



Fourth Pillar Front



Fourth Pillar Back



Third Pillar . Second Side.

- 186 [भ्यो] नापश्यत्तान्वश्यचित्त-
 187 स्तदानोम् [१*] आर्यावर्तादिप्रवर्या-
 188 [नेनका]^१ नानीयाध्यावासयासा-
 189 [म] तीरे ॥—[३३*] विपिनमखिलं स्थित्वा^२
 190 पूगैश्चकार वनमहत्तदनु वि-
 191 [दधे धी]रस्मार सनागस्तताकुल-
 192 [म्] [१*] उपवनचयैरन्यैः कवेर-^३
 193 सुतातटद्वयवसुमतीमेकच्छया-
 194 मनेकफलां ध्यात् ॥—[३४*] अमरस-
 195 रि[ति] स्नानम् भूयस्तपश्चरणञ्चना
 196 विदधति तटे तस्याः कृच्छ्राक्षिषिष्टप-
 197 काम्यया [१*] इह विरचितं स्नानं [घोरं]
 198 तपश्च सुरालयादपि शुभतरे व[र]-
 199 से व[र]ासं स्थिरीकुरुते सताम् ॥—[३५*] अन्वशा-
 200 त्तमनु राजकेसरी वासराधिप इवा-
 201 समद्युतिः [१*] चोळभूपतनयो नयात्^४
 202 [विभुः] चोणिमाजलधि वाहिताहितः ॥—[३६*]
 203 त[त्सुत]स्तु परकेसरी नृपो मत्स-
 204 रो [तम]निवार्यशासनः [१*] सत्सखः
 205 तामुरनिका-
 206 रमग्रिमः ॥[३७*] अस्मिन्वंशे मृत्युजिज्ञा-
 207 म राजा मृत्योर्जेता पातितारातिव-
 208 [र्गः १*] [रि]जे^५ यच्चैराज्ञया च प्रका-^७
 209 म[न्देवां]च्छ[त्रू]न्तोषयन्^६ स्नेयं-
 210 [च] ॥—[३८*] अस्मिन्वंशे कीरघनाभिधा-
 211 [नो जा]तो नीताशेषलोकाहित-
 212 [य] [१*] रेजे राजा तेजसा भानुतु-

^१ Read नेका^२ Between °रन्यैः and कवेर two long syllables are wanting^३ Read नयात्.^४ [This word may also be read ज.]^५ The secondary ā symbol is in the next line^६ Read लिखा

[Perhaps °रन्यैस्त्रीय might be suggested -Ed.]

^७ [The correct reading is ताम्रिका]^८ Read °अच्छत्रून्तोषयन्

- 213 ल्यः कल्याणानाम्नान्दिरं सुन्दरांगः ॥—[३६*]
 214 चि[त्रो]श्राम¹ क्षितिपतिरभूत्तत्र वंशे-
 215 धिकश्चोर्विचस्तारिप्रकरविनतिव्यक्त-
 216 विच्छिन्नकीपः [1*] वृत्रारातिजर्भटिति² स-
 217 मरे तर्जितो यस्य बाणैर्मित्तो³-
 218 भूतस्तततमभजद्व्याघ्रकेतुध्वजत्व-
 219 म् ॥—[४०*] अवनिमखिलपारावारतीराभि-
 220 रा[मा]म्⁴ परतनुविरतश्रीशासितुन्नाशि-
 221 [तारिः] [1*] निजभुजवसलीलाकृष्टराजन्य-
 222 लक्ष्मीरिह समजनि वंशे भूपतिः पु*]ष्यके⁵-
 223 तुः ॥—[४१*] अस्मिन्वंशे केतुमालाभि-

Fourth Pillar First Side

- 224 धानो जातो राजा जातशम्पाप्र-
 225 काशः [1*] हत्वा सर्व्वक्षमाभृता [केतु]-
 226 मालां येनावाप्त केतुमालाभि-
 227 धानम् ॥—[४२*] समुद्रजिन्नाम नरा[धिराजो]⁶
 228 [भुव]⁷ वोर्यः [1*] पूर्वापरा-
 229 म्भोनिधिसिम्भणेन [पण्ये]न . . .
 230 शसुतां [स]लो[भः]⁸ ॥[४३*] श्रीमत्य[त्र कुले]
 231 दभूव संहितश्रीः पञ्चपाख्यो नृपो
 232 निर्व्याजातिथिपूजनोर्ज्जितमना य[क्षा]-⁹
 233 न् स पञ्चातियोन् [1*] विद्धा पञ्च[सि]रा-
 234 स्वशोणितमसौ तैर्याचित[स्माद]-
 235 रं कोष्णन्तत् सकलानपाय[य*]त त्यजा[*]तस्तु
 236 [त*]त् पञ्चपः ॥[४४*] अभवन्विभवैर्ज्ज-¹⁰
 237 [य]न्दिगोशानिह वंशे नृपतिस्सुधांशु-
 238 कान्तः [1*] नृमृडस्त नृडस्य सम्प्रसादाद-

¹ Read चित्रो नाम

² Read °र्भटिति

³ Read °मिर्नवी

⁴ [°रामे विरतिमविरत° appears to be the actual reading]

⁵ The ē symbol of ६s alone is in this line

⁶ The secondary ā of the letter श्रो is in the next line [Perhaps नराधिनाथ is the actual reading Ed.]

⁷ [वंशेन विशाल are seen before वोर्यः --Ed.]

⁸ Could the passage read स क्षिमे

⁹ The secondary ā symbol is in the next line.

¹⁰ Read अभवन्विभवैर्ज्ज.

- 239 जयन्मृत्युमनत्ययप्रभावः ॥—[४५*] अत्रा[भूद]-
 240 मलगुण[:*] कुलैतुल्योस्तेज[स्त्री स]-
 241 मिति मनोरथाभिधानः [1*] यो इत्वा
 242 भट्टिमि¹ मनोरथानरोणाम् . . .²
 243 नामकुरुत सत्फलात्³ वलेन ॥—[४६*]
 244 एतस्मिन्परुनत्किङ्किप्रभृतयो वं-⁴
 245 शे धराधीश्वरा भूयामस्तु जिता-
 246 मरेश्वरवलश्रीविक्रमा जज्ञिरे [1*] ये-
 247 षामाजलधिदमांसपतनव्याप्त⁵
 248 यशोभिश्शुभैराब्रह्माण्डमख-
 249 ण्डदेशसमय विश्वन्जग[द्रा]जते⁶ ॥—[४७*]
 250 अस्मिन् कुले कुलधराधरस[न्नि]-
 251 काशः काशोपमान[विततोक्त]-
 252 यशःप्रतानः [1*] आसीत् क्षितीशतिल-
 253 कः करिकालनामा चोळसमुत्थितरि-
 254 पुक्षितिपालकालः ॥—[४८*] स काधेरो-
 255 न्दूरीकृतसकलसस्यां विदधतीम् प-
 256 यःपूरै⁷स्सारैरवनिस[विनीतो]-
 257 इति[ह]रः [1*] प्रतीरोभूताभिर्नरपति⁸करा-
 258 श्लिष्टपिटकप्रकीर्णाभिर्नृत्भि⁹न्य[रुण]-
 259 दक्षणाग्रेसरसम[:] ॥—[४९*] [अस्मिन्कुले]
 260 सकलपार्थिववन्द्यपादो [जातो]-

Fourth Pillar Second Side

- 261 भिजात[गुण]संहति . . ओः [1*]
 262 [ज]र्जस्तलोत्भुत¹⁰नि[जा]प्रतिमप्र-
 263 ताप(र)सन्तापितारिशिलभो¹¹ व-
 264 लभो महीशः ॥—[५०*] इहान्वये-
 265 भूदमरेशतुल्यः परास्तविद्व-

¹ Read भट्टिमि² Read सरफलान्³ Read °वर्ज सतपन व्याप्त⁴ Read °नरपति⁵ Read हुग⁶ Could the reading here be दीना° ?⁷ The anusvara of त् is in the next line⁸ Read विश्वज्ञग°⁹ Read °नृत्ति¹⁰ Read श्लभो¹¹ Read पूरै सारै

- 266 ज्ञानतापशयः [1*] समस्तराजा-¹
 267 न्तकभूरि[भि]क्षः² क्षमाधिनाथो³
 268 जगदेकमक्षः ॥—[५१*] पक्षि-
 269 क्षिप्ररिराजवन्दितपदद्वन्द्वारय-
 270 न्दक्षमि⁴ राजा [व्याप्त]भयकर-⁵
 271 क्षमभवत् — — उ — — रवेः⁶ [1*] दो-
 272 ईण्डाक्षित⁷ खट्खण्डगिटतरिपो-⁸
 273 र्यस्योर्जितश्रीशुभः⁹ को-
 274 पाग्निः¹⁰ द्विपदङ्गनाससलि-¹¹
 275 लैस्त्रातः¹² परं शाम्यति ॥—[५२*] अन्व-
 276 ¹³वेत्र विजयानलयनामा सम्ब-
 277 भूव सकलचितिनायः [1*] यत्प-
 278 दाम्बुरुहयुग्ममजस्रं शिखरीक-
 279 तमशेषमहीपैः ॥—[५३*] निवेश-
 280 [या]सास स चोक्तदेशे नवीनता-¹⁴
 281 शेषगुणप्रवृद्धां [1*] कञ्जास-
 282 नाद्यैरमरैः प्र[गी]तान्तश्चापु-¹⁵
 283 रीन्नाम पुरी नरेन्द्रः ॥—[५४*] आदित्यवर्मा-¹⁶
 284 भवदस्य पुत्रः कीदृशरामाभि-
 285 धया प्रसिद्धः [1*] .उत्पत्य¹⁷ सत्तद्विरदे-
 286 [पु]¹⁸संस्थञ्जघान यः पञ्चवराजमा-¹⁹
 287 जो ॥—[५५*] अस्याभूत्तनयः पराक्र-
 288 मवतार्मेकाधिपः क्षामुजा वीर-
 289 श्रीनिलयः परान्तक इति ख्यातः च-

¹ The secondary ā symbol is in the next line² Read भक्ष³ The secondary ē symbol of क्षो is in this line⁴ Read ° क्षमो⁵ The reading व्याप्त is not quite certain ; it might also be हेरि⁶ [The traces before this word would admit of the reading हनी]⁷ Read दीर्घाक्षितक⁸ The secondary ē symbol alone is in this line⁹ Read शुभ¹⁰ Read °निर्दिष्टद°¹¹ The secondary aī symbol is in this line¹² [For the existing traces, सिद्ध would be better]¹³ The secondary ē symbol of क्षि is in the previous line¹⁴ The secondary ā symbol is in the next line¹⁵ तन्ना would rhyme better with कञ्जा¹⁶ The letter मी looks like त्वा.¹⁷ Read उत्पत्य¹⁸ Read द्विरदेन्द्र¹⁹ The secondary ā symbol is in the next line.

- 290 माधीश्वरः [1*] वेलीद्यानविहारि-
 291 [भि]र्मदकर्कैर्यद्धारणाधीश्वरै-¹
 292 वास्यन्ते मदसिन्धुभिः प्रतिदिशम्
 293 पाथासि पाथोनिधेः ॥—[५६*] इत्वा
 294 तु पाण्ड्यमखिलेन खलेन सा-
 295 कं इत्वा तदीयमखिलं वक्ष्य वीर्यश्री-
 296 [ली 1*] भस्मीचकार मधुरां यदधःकृता-

Fifth Pillar First Side.

- 297 रिद्धिभे² ततस्त मधुरान्त-
 298 कमामधेयम् ॥—[५७*] यज्जिगाय
 299 विजयोपमद्युतिः कृष्णराजमजि-
 300 तन्नराधिपैः [1*] भूरिविक्रम[विष]-
 301 र्दितद्युतिर्वीरचोळ इति ते-
 302 न कौट्यते ॥—[५८*] यत्तोर्णैर्ण-
 303 लनिधिसुद्धतैर्वली-
 304 धै³स्त्रयत्तान् समिति जघा[न]
 305 सिंहकेशान् [1*] तत् सर्व्वत्पति⁴-
 306 पतिवन्द्यमानपादस्त्रीन्वर्था⁵
 307 मभजत सिंहकान्तकाख्य[1*]म् ॥—[५९*]
 308 दृष्टान्तः कोस्य राक्षसकलगु-
 309 णनिधे[श्शम्नुयात्]⁶ कोस्य [वक्तु]-
 310 म् 'भूयि[1*]श्चाध्यान् गुणौघा[न् युधि]
 311 शमिति⁷रिपोर्विक्रमैकास्पदस्य [1*]
 312 यो⁸ विहृदिप्रभोग्याननुपम-
 313 विभवान्वीरनारायणाद्या[नत्य]-
 314 ग्यानग्रहाराख्यधित [विधि]रिव स्व-
 315 र्गमस्तारिवर्गः ॥—[६०] असुष्य तनयो
 316 भवद्विभुरिन्दमाख्यो नृपः¹⁰

¹ The *a* symbols are in this line and *r* is in the next line

² Read 'रिद्धिभे.

³ The secondary *a* symbols are in the previous line and *ga* in l 304.

⁴ Read 'वि.

⁵ The secondary *a* symbol is in the next line

⁶ Read 'वक्तुयात्.

⁷ Read 'भूय'

⁸ Read 'यमिति.

⁹ The *e* symbol alone of the letter यो is in this line

¹⁰ The *vasa* ga is in the next line

- 317 चपाकरसमद्युतिः त्पपित¹-
 318 वैरिपक्षोत्तरः [1*] यदीयभुज-
 319 विक्रमश्रवणसंभवत्साध्व-
 320 सैर्नृपैरवनिभृत्गुहा³-
 321 गृहनिवासिभिः[*] स्वीयते ॥—[६१*] अ[य]-
 322 [स*]क[त च*] राज्ञः[*] स्त्रैरमाज्ञाविधे[या]-
 323 न्व्यधित विधिसमानस्त्वम्पदं स-
 324 ज्ञानानाम् [1*] अतनुत नुतनीर्यो [व्या]-
 325 पदं शात्रवाणामतुल्यदतुल-
 326 श्रीश्चन्द्रकान्तिं स्वकान्त्याः ॥—[६२*] अस्य
 327 स्रुतुरभ[व*]त् परान्तकस्त्वन्ततक्षपि-
 328 तवैरिसन्ततिः [1*] चिन्तयन्त्यदुदयं स-
 329 साध्वसः पाण्ड्यभूपतिरलंघय-
 330 त्गिरिं । [६३*] चकार कारासु रिपून्शे-
 331 धामस्ततार⁵ भूरेन्दमराम्बु[राशीन्] [1*]
 332 जहार तापं बुधसहतीना[न्त]ता-
 333 [न] सन्तापमसज्जना[ना]म् ॥—[६४*] अखिल
 334 गुणनिधानात् भूमिपालादसुष्मा-

Fifth Pillar Second Side

- 335 दुदर्जानि नरनाथो राजराजाभि-
 336 धानः [1*] [मदन*]रुचिरदेहः कान्त-
 337 [ने*]त्रोर्विन्दो [धनद इति] परं [यत्रा]⁷-
 338 जराजेन तुल्यः ॥—[६५*] संजहार स-
 339 मरे स पालिवातुल्लहार विप-
 340 दस्य भूतकात् [*] आजहार च सखान-
 341 नेकशो व्याजहार [च] [स*] स्रुत . . त⁹ ॥—[६६*]
 342 सत्यायवे स्त्रिर[त]रे वत राजरा-
 343 जे सत्यायवः किल पलायत मन्द-

¹ Read चपित

² Read भृदुहा

³ Read नेवारविन्दो

⁴ Could the passage here be read as स्रुत ता गिरि ?

⁵ One of the secondary ē symbols is in the next line. Read चिपत,

⁶ Read ०द्विरिक.

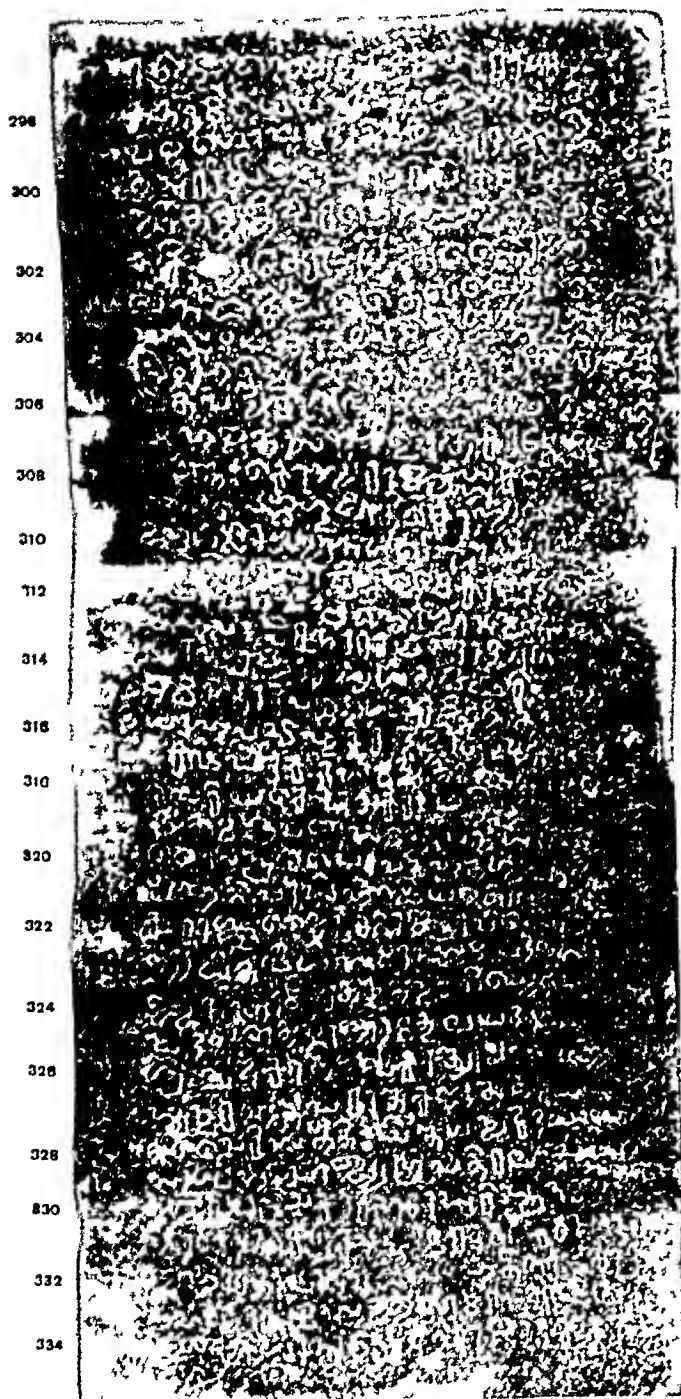
⁷ Read यो राज्ञे.

⁸ Read श्रीशक्तार

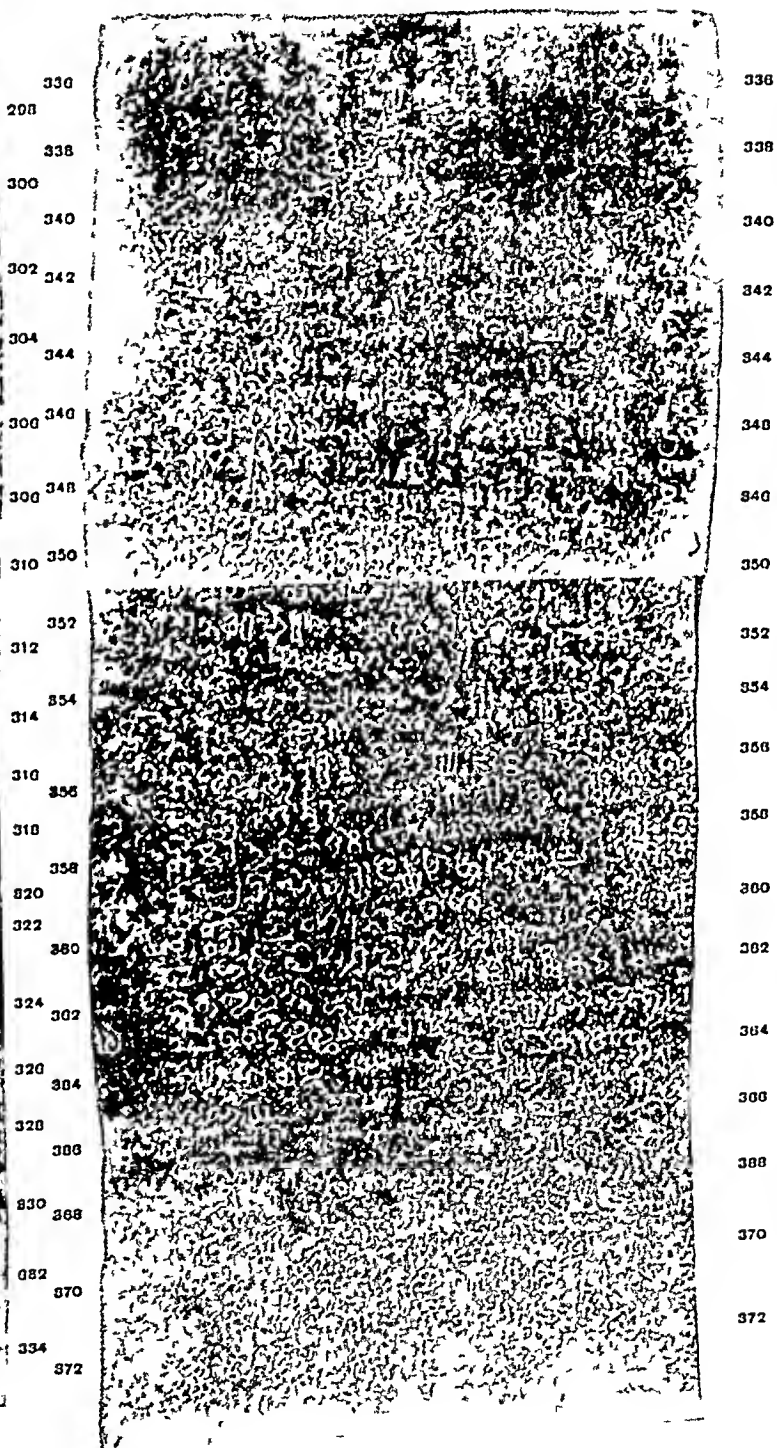
⁹ The ē of nē is in the preceding line.

Kanyakumari Inscription of Vira-Rajendra the 7th year

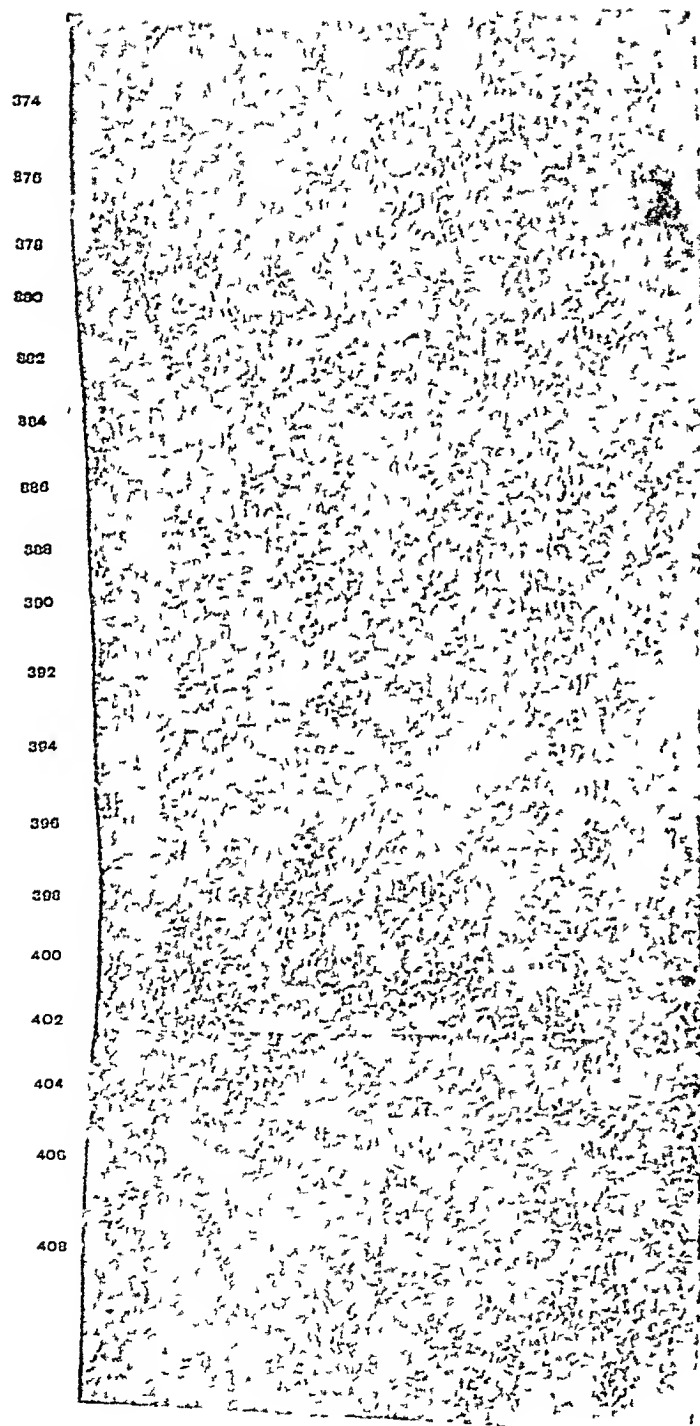
Fifth Pillar Front



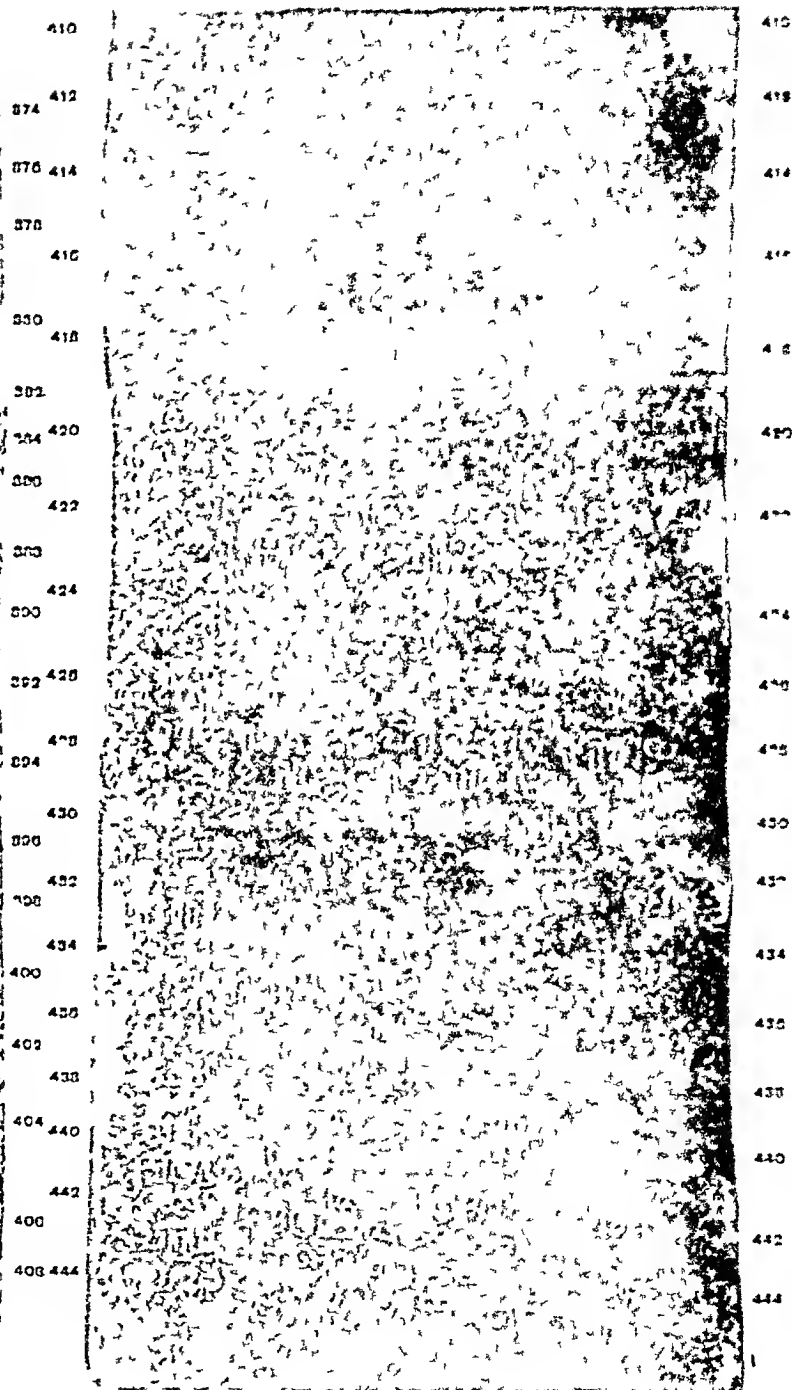
Fifth Pillar Back



Sixth Pillar Front



Sixth Pillar Back



- 344 बुद्धिर्नत्या¹ जयन्ति स[भ]या रिपव-
 345 स्तमाजौ न त्याजयत्ययमसूनरि-
 346 भिक्षिग्रयस्तेः² ॥—[६७] तस्य सूरुरन[त]-³
 347 स्य शासिता पाकशासन इवारि-
 348 शासनः [*] शंवरारि⁴[रु*]चिराकृतिर्नृप-
 349 स्सम्बभूव सधु[रान्त]काभिधः ॥—[६८*]
 350 अजयदजितवीर्य[*] शाली⁵
 351 विजय इव स[मस्तान्] कुन्तळानामधी-
 352 शान् [*] अहरत स[किरीट] क्षत्रियाणां नि-
 353 हन्तुः⁶ [जामदग्न्य]-
 354 [स्य] वीर्यात् ॥[६९*] जहार हारन्तुहि-
 355 नांशुका[न्त] तोर्विक्रम-⁷
 356 निर्जितारिः [*] विहारभूमिं निजसे-⁸
 357 निकानां स चाकरोत् संय-
 358 ति मान्यकेटम् ॥[७०*] स्वसेनाधीशा-
 359 नप्रतिहतकुलूतीकलप(ति)-
 360 त्तिः कलिंगान्विशेन्द्रेस्म[ह]⁹
 361 बह्वक्वीर्यान्विदळयन् [*] स [गंगा]-
 362 सुतर्ज्ज¹⁰मिजकरिघटापाति[त*]तटाम्¹¹
 363 घटेज्जंहे¹² भूभृन्मकुटनिहि-
 364 ¹³तेरुवृतजलाम् ॥[७१*] उल्लंघिताम्बु-
 365 धिभिर्ह[ह]नवाहुवीर्यैर्नि[हू]त-
 366 [वैरि]नरनाथ[बल]प्रपञ्चे-
 367 स्त्रै[न्यैः*]¹⁴ कटाहमद[ह]यमन्ये¹⁵ राजेन्द्र-

¹ Read बुद्धिःन°.² The letter त is engraved below the line³ [The missing syllables may be read [शौर्य*]सौन्दर्य.—Ed]⁴ [The gap after this word may be filled with the syllables प्रमलमिहळराज°.]⁵ [The gap contains the syllables शतक्र.—Ed]⁶ The अ symbols are in this line and सु in the next line.⁷ [Possibly वनेन्द्रे was meant —Ed]⁸ Read सुतर्ज्जं°, [The correct reading is अत(स)र्ज्जं° —Ed].¹¹ Read तटं.¹² Read घटेज्जंहे.¹³ The अ symbols are at the end of the previous line¹⁴ Read °पञ्चैः[*]सेन्यैः.¹⁵ Read मदहयददाण°.

- 368 चीकृप[तिः] किमसाध्यमस्य ॥—[३३*]
 369 तस्यासंस्तनया[स्त्र]यस्य¹ इव
 370 ख्याताः [क्रतोर]मन्यस्तेषां² म-
 371 यमः क्षितीशतिलको राजाधिरा-
 372 जो नृपः [*] [यः*] कल्याणप्रदवद्वाङ् नृप-
 373 तो[न्निर्जित्य] तन्नायकानादायाहव-

Sixth Pillar First Side

- 374 मत्त
 375 ॥—[७३] त[स्मि]-
 376 न् गते त्रिदिव[सु*][इ]तल्लोकशो-
 377 कस्तस्यानुज³ क्षितिमिमामस्मिन्ना⁴
 378 मरचत् [*] राजेन्द्रदेवप्रतिष्ठा
 379 रिपूनशेषान् शेषोपमो⁵
 380 नभगभुजः⁶ प्रकृत्यं ध्यनै-
 381 प्रीत् ॥—[७४*] तस्मिन्याते⁷ क्षिदितप्रभुज-
 382 [स्तस्य] नस्तेजितारिः प्राच्यं रा-
 383 ज्यं व्यधित⁸ विधिवत् वीरराजेन्द्र-
 384 देवः [*] अत्युत्भूत⁹ समधिकवृत्तो
 385 राजराजेन्द्रदेवः शत्रुनातं व्य-
 386 जयत जवात्¹⁰ वाङ्ममाभ्यन्तरश्च ॥—[७५*]
 387 हत्वा कूटलसंगमे क्षितिभू-
 388 तः मखाटवंशोत्भवान्¹¹ सैन्य
 389 यन्मभुजां प्रवर्धयति यस्ते¹²
 390 ह्वेवभूय¹³ गतैः [*] येनै-
 391 केन वसो निर्हृत्य त-
 392 षोणितैः [क्ल]त्वान्यां सरित¹⁴

¹ Read °स्य.

² Read °नुजः क्षिति.

³ The secondary ā symbol is in the next line

⁴ The secondary ā symbol of the letter सो is in the next line

⁵ Read °पनीमयसुज.

⁶ Read क्षि

⁷ Read व्यधित° and वहीर°

⁸ Read लुङ्ग

⁹ Read °वशोभवान् The anusvara of न्य is in the next line

¹⁰ The ay symbols of स्ते alone are in this line

¹¹ The anusvara is in the next line.

¹² Read क्षि

¹³ Read ह्वे

¹⁴ Read °ह्वे

- 393 समुद्रधनितां संतोषितो
 394 वारि[धिः*] ॥—[७६*] भ्रातृभ्यां समुपे-
 395 चितं जनपदे वंशक्रममाभ्या-
 396 गतं [क्रा]न्तं वैरिमहेश्वरे-¹
 397 रतिबलैर्वैगीन्कलिङ्गा-
 398 नपि [i*] जित्वा अनुपरम्परामतिवै-
 399 लां हित्वा च भीतान् बह्वङ्गोमा-
 400 न्वल्लभवल्लभचित्तिपतिः
 401 जेमेण² तं सोन्वसात्³ ॥—[७७*]
 402 वोरचोळनृपतिः करिकालः का-
 403 ल[य]न् कलिबलं सकलं सः [i*]
 404 धर्मशास[न*]समुच्चयमुच्चं व्या-
 405 तनीति⁴ [हित]सारसमेतम् ॥—[७८*]
 406 देवस्याद्रिमुताधिपस्य म[त][वि]-
 407 [चे]लोक्यसाराभिधं श्रीमद्द-
 408 भ[सभा]नटस्य मकुटे माणिक्य-
 409 ⁵[का]रोपितम् [i*] मन्त्रे वैरिकुला-

Sixth Pillar Second Side

- 410
 411 तम [न्व] . . निजवश-
 412 कृतस ⁶स्नानुस्मारो-
 413 पितः ॥—[७९*] चोळतुण्डोरपा-
 414 षड्येषु गंगावाटिकुलूतयोः⁷ [i*]
 415 वीरराजेन्द्रना[म्ना*]सौ ब्रह्म-
 416 देयान[क*]लयत् ॥—[८०*] चत्वारिंश-
 417 त्सहस्राणि ब्राह्मणाना-
 418 न्दयीविदद⁸ [i*] अतीषयत्⁹ भूमि-
 419 दानैरस्थापयदतिस्थिरम् ॥—[८१*]

¹ Read महीश्वरे², the *a*: symbols of *रे* alone are in this line and *r* in the next line² The secondary *ē* of *जे* is in the previous line³ Read सोन्वसात्.⁴ Read ज⁵ [The reading appears to be त् सरस.]⁶ Read सा⁷ [The reading seems to be भाव —Ed.]⁸ The secondary *ā* and the *visarga* of *यो*; are in the next line.⁹ Read न्वयीविदाम्¹⁰ Read अतीषयद्

- 420 Svasti śrī[h ||*] Sakala-bhuvan-āśraya
 421 Śrī-mē[di]nī-vallabha¹ mahārājā-
 422 dhīrāja saka[la*]mahēutra parama-a-
 423 shta-kula-simha rāja-kula-bhāvaka-
 424 kula[śekhā]ra . kul[ānta]-
 425 ka Āha[vama]lla la Āha-
 426 vamaṇṇa . [di-me]n-ka-
 427 nda Rājāśekhara Rājāśraya
 428 Rāja-Rājendra Vīra-Chōla Karakāla-
 429 Chōla Rājākēsarivanma śrī-Vīra-
 430 rājendra-dēvarkku yāndu ēlā-
 431 vadu te . . pat-
 432 tu . .
 433 Vīra-Rājendra .
 434 mma rāva . . . Rājarā-
 435 [ja]p-Pāṇḍi-nāt[tu] Uttama-Śōla-va-
 436 lanāttup-Purattāya-nāttu Kumari-[k]ka-
 437 uṇiyā-pidāriyārkkku vēṇḍum nityan-
 438 vandanalukku Chakkarava[t]ti [śrī-Vīra-Rā]jē-
 439 ndra-[dēvar] kndutta Uttama-Śōla-valanāt-
 440 tu Purattāya-nāttu Narirākkudi-nīla-
 441 n iru-nūrr-eḷubatt-onṇē-mukkā-
 442 lē irandu māyum in-nāttu-pPeru-
 443 ngudi kiḷkombu utpatta nīla-
 444 n aiyambatt-onṇadē-onṇadī²

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

Line 1 Be it well Prosperity !

Verse 1 May the moon-crested Bhavānīpati (i.e. Śiva), who is the sportive author of creation, protection and destruction, who is the master of speech, the only abode of omniscience (*sarvajñatā*) and by whose grace his devotees are enabled to cross the dangerous ocean of *samsāra* (metempsychosis), grant you good fortune

V 2 May Sambhu, who is full of grace towards moveable and immoveable objects, who holds one with his own body,—which is situated on the mountain (Kailāsa) and which is effulgent with light,—that of the great Māyā, who cheers the Universe, who establishes science and nescience (*jñāna* and *ajñāna*) and who is pleased with the happiness and distressed with the unhappiness of souls (*jīva-ātman*),³—may He save you easily from sin and protect you from downfall

V. 3 He, who killed with his discus the hordes of the army of Asuras, who drove to the nether regions (*pātāla*) the emperor Bali and who is ever the protector of the Dēvas, may that Hari wipe off your sins by protecting the world through you who are so many portions of His own Self existing on earth

V 4 The Lord of all (*Sarvēśvara*), with a view to procreate the Universe, first ushered into existence water, which (is the primordial matter and which) is the fittest object for that purpose Therein He sowed His eternal seed and raised from it the Mundane Egg, which envelops the three worlds He also created Brahmā for bringing into existence all other things

¹ [The actual reading is *mēlanī*—Ed.]

² The rest of the inscription cannot be traced.

³ [Who swells with the pleasures and pains of creatures willingly borne.—Ed.]

V 5 This Brahmā who was thus begotten, having created all the worlds, containing every kind of thing, produced other Brahmās. One among such was Marichi who shone with a light which spread on all sides.

V 6 Kāśyapa, who, with his omniscience, could perceive the subtlest things (*paśyaka*) was born of Marichi. His great beauty (*Srī*) was noticed by the eyes of Brahmā. He is reckoned as the first among the men of pre-eminence (*śrēyas-sampatti*). The constant fight among the Dēvas and others born of Kāśyapa, to own Prosperity appeared like the dashing against each other of the waves of the ocean (which bore Lakshmi).

V 7 From him (Kāśyapa) was born the transcendent Vivasvān,¹ who is the father of time, who by his generous light or power (*prabhava*) which is capable of affording protection to the world, subordinates the planets, and by the contact with whose rays the lotus issuing from the navel of the Lord of all (Vishnu) as also the lotuses, the faces of Brahmā, renounced sleep for the first time.

V 8 When the rays of the sun began to dispel darkness from every quarter, the shining golden Brahmānda appeared as though (the gold) was emitting the flaws (*kālmā*) in it, and the disc of the sun looked like the pericarp of the Sky-lotus of which the petals were the directions of the compass, and the filaments the solar rays.

V 9 The patriarch of all kings (who ruled over the earth later on) was Manu, the son of Vivasvān², from whose connection the human race received the name Mānava. Manu was worthy of being praised by the world, he created and promulgated laws and made humanity happy. Vivasvān made his son Manu as resplendent as he did his father (Kāśyapa).

V 10 To Manu was born Ikshvāku³, who had unblemished fame spreading in all quarters and sung by the hosts of Dēvas. The all-pervading prowess of this conquering king, having had no enemies (*amitras*) to conquer, vanquished the sun (Mitra, a word which means also "a friend").

V 11 Vikukshīśrava of high ideals of justice and of great intelligence was the son of Ikshvāku⁴. This powerful king afforded protection to this earth. Kings used to acquire wealth by warring against each other, and they have now the easy method to attain it, namely to worship the feet of this king.

V 12 The son of Vikukshīśrava was Purañjaya who subdued those king who offered him battle⁵. Having transformed Indra into a bull, he stood on its high hump to conquer the Asuras, the gods in great joy addressed him as Kakutstha (he who stands on the *kakud*, hump of a bull), and this became thenceforth his name⁶.

V 13 Prithu, who was comparable to the great mountains (*kula-parvatas*) and who was respected by all other kings, was born in this family⁷. During his regime all the people were wise and pleased. There did not exist then trembling (for fear) or beggary.

V 14 In this great dynasty appeared the king Kuvalāśva. He was famous for his powerful horses. This powerful sovereign, in order to afford protection to the world, killed the Asura named Dhundhu, who had taken refuge in the sandy river Sindhu⁸.

Vv 15-16 Of astounding greatness, the incarnation of *Asurāra* (Vishnu), the king Mān-dhātṛ was born in this race⁹ to remove the distress of humanity residing on this earth.

¹ See *Kalīngattupparani*, *Rāja-pārampariyam*, v 9, *Vikīrama-Śōlan-ulā* II 16, *Ep Ind* Vol XV, p 59, v 6 & 7, *South-Ind Inscr*, Vol III, p 393, v. 4 and *Arch. Survey of South India*, Vol IV, p 206.

² See *Kalīngattupparani*, v 10, *Vikīrama-Śōlan-ulā*, II 6-8 and *Kulōttunga-Śōlan-ulā*, II 2-4.

³ *South-Ind Inscr*, Vol III, p 393, v 5.

⁴ *South-Ind Inscr*, Vol. III, p 393, v. 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, v. 7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v 12.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p 394, v 13.

⁸ *Ibid.* v 8.

⁹ *Ibid.*, v 14.

He afforded pleasure to the eyes of his subjects (by his personal appearance, perhaps) To drive off unrighteousness (*adharma*) his discus (*chakra*) travelled as far as the Chakravāṇa mountain. While this famous monarch ruled the earth, the lion and deer lived together amicably. All objects renounced their mutual hostility (that is, became friends), but *dharma* alone became an exception to this statement, for *adharma* did not exist (that is, it could not become a friend of *adharma*)

V. 17 The king Muchukunda of many good qualities was born of this race, which is never exposed to danger and which is ever prospering, this sovereign shone bright like the moon with his fame, which was white (unblemished) as the *kunda* (jasmine) flower.¹

V. 18 The king made it impossible for even those who fell in battle to enter heaven

V. 19 In this family was born Harischandra, who subdued by his prowess hosts of kings and who delighted in war, Valuing them as a mere straw, he sold his own body and his wife and son to pay the money of Kauśika (Viśvāmitra)

V. 20 In this dynasty was a king named Sagara, who was dreaded by all other kings When this monarch began to perform a number of *āsvamēdha-yāgas*, India began to tremble (lest his position be lost to Sagara by the virtue which he was going to acquire by his meritorious deeds) Owing to the greatness of the sons of Sagara, the salt oceans obtained the name *sāgara*, and this name began to apply to other seas also

V. 21 Bhagiratha was born in this race Having brought down from heaven the river Gangā to raise his ancestors (the sons of Sagara) to heaven from the ashes to which they were reduced by the fire of the anger of the sage Kapila, he caused the celestial river to flow in three regions (that is, heaven, earth and hell) and the men who touched its waters to become immortal

V. 22 Rituparna, who was full of kingly virtues and who possessed a fame which was praised by all good men, sprang from this dynasty and protected the earth

V. 23 In this family was born king Dilipa, he was like a lamp to the universe, he had removed from the world misery and had destroyed the power of his enemies, his anger drew tears from the eyes of the queens of hostile kings (that is, if any hostile king excited his wrath, that king was sure to meet with his death at the hands of Dilipa) He was a famous sovereign whose bow was ever destined to be crowned with success

V. 24 Seeing that the earth was groaning under the evil deeds of the powerful and wicked Rākshasas, the Lord of the Universe, Bhagavān, became incarnate in four different aspects as Rāma, Lakshmana, Bharata and Śatrughna The two first and last pairs of brothers resembled the right and the left pairs of arms of Vishnu

V. 25 This universal Lord taught the world the modes in which a son should conduct himself towards his father, a brother towards his brother, a young man towards his wife, an enemy towards his enemy, kings towards Rishis and relations towards relations

V. 26 It was not out of anger that he killed the king of the Rākshasas (Rāvana), nor was it out of his (carnal) love for his wife that he rescued her (from her captivity under Rāvana), he only discharged his duty which as a sovereign he was bound to do If it were not so, why then should he have killed a Śūdra who was doing penance on the Malaya mountain or soon after (rescue), abandoned his wife, Sitā, of resplendent beauty and rare courage?

V. 27 Śrī-Rāma, of straight (uncrooked) virtues, had a bridge constructed across the sea for the army of monkeys to march over (By his act of killing Rāvana, a monster having evil ways), he firmly established all *dharma*s (*dharma-sētu*) on the earth This Rāma, full of good qualities, is praised by men as the *dhūmakētu* (comet) to the misery of the gods (caused by the Rākshasas) and the source of chagrin to the Asuras

¹ South-Ind Inscriptions, Vol III, p 393, v 17

V 28 35 In this race there was a king named Chōla¹ To this king, by whom the world was governed as though it was but his capital city, the forests appeared like so many pleasure gardens Once upon a time this king, who was resplendent as Hama, was spending his time in sport within the forests inhabited by hosts of sages At another time he strayed into other forests, with a band of his army, for the purpose of hunting deer, then was he allured by a Rākshasa, who had assumed the shape of a deer, and was beguiled into the southern regions In the pursuit of this (pseudo-) deer the horse of Chōla took him gradually into another forest thickly studded with trees The commanders of his rapidly marching army, who were prepared to accompany their sovereign to distant lands, kept pace with his swift horse Having killed the deer-asura, the king began to march along the bank of the river Kāvērī It seemed from the sweetness of her water that the river Kāvērī was carrying the very ambrosia (*amrita*) which the Dēvas churned (with great effort) out of the ocean After bathing in her water, the king (looked for) Brāhmanas . . . but found none in that region Therefore, he brought a large number of Brāhmanas of superior virtues from the Āyavanta and settled them down there (on the banks of the Kāvērī) He cleared the jungle and planted betel-vines and areca trees in large numbers He created several other kinds of gardens, whereby the country was rendered shady (and cool) and also productive of fruits People bathe in the river Gaugā and do penance in order to obtain *svarga*, but the bath in the Kāvērī and penance on her bank would take those who do them to regions higher than *svarga*

V 36 After him (Chōla) his son Rājakēsari,² who was bright as the sun and who drove his enemies to the brink of the ocean, ruled the earth

V 37 Rājakēsari's son was Parakēsari³

V 38 In this family there shone the king Mrityujit,⁴ who conquered Mrityu (Death) He felled the hosts of his enemies, pleased the Dēvas by the *yāgas* performed by him and made his foes tremble

V 39 The king Virasēna, who removed the sufferings of his subjects, who was resplendent as the sun, who was the abode of all auspicious qualities and who possessed beautiful limbs, was born in this race

V 40 There was born in this dynasty a king named Chitra,⁵ whose anger would disappear if his enemies prostrated themselves before him Being terrified in battle by the arrows of this king, Indra forthwith made friends with him and adopted Vyāghrakētu's [*i.e.* Chitra's] banner of tiger

V 41 Pushpakētu, who by the spell of his prowess playfully drew towards himself the wealth of all other kings, was born in this family to rule the earth as far as the borders of the seas

V 42 Kētumāla, who shone as bright as the lightning, was born in this race Having seized the rews of standards (*kētu-mālā*) of other kings he came to be known by the name of Kētumāla

V 43 In this race was born a king named Samudrajit He made the eastern ocean join the western one and as a prize for it obtained the hand of the daughter of a king in marriage⁶

V 44 Pañchapa, who delighted in treating guests, belonged to this family⁷ Having been requested by five Yakshas, who came to him as guests, he cut open five arteries in his body

¹ *South-Ind Inscr's* Vol III, p 394, v 28 and *Ep Ind* Vol XV, p. 60, v. 12

² and ³ *Ibid*, p 395, v 30

⁴ *Ibid*, p 395, v 36

⁵ *Ibid*, v 37

⁶ *Kalingattuppasani*, V 18

⁷ *South Ind Inscr's*, Vol III, p 391, v 24

and offered the blood issuing from them with great tenderness to the Yakshas to drink From this act of hospitality he came to be known as Pañchapa

V 45 Surpassing the *dih-pālas* in greatness and similar to the moon in his splendour, king Nṛmṛda was a member of this family This king of undying fame conquered death by the grace of the god Paramēśvara

V 46 King Manōratha of unblemished character and of incomparable wealth was born in this dynasty, he was powerful in war, through having been able to destroy the desires of the enemies and fulfil those of his (friends and dependants) . . . he was dubbed Manōratha.

V 47 Perunatkili¹ and other kings who surpassed Indra in strength, wealth and reputation, were born in this family Their fame extended to the very borders of the earth and sea, and reached even the sun and the Brahmānda and was ever shining

V 48—49 Karikāla-Chōla, who was firm as the *kula-parvatas*, who possessed great fame, as white and unblemished as the flowers of the *kāśa* plant and who was Death to the hostile kings who met him in battle-field, was born in this family. Seeing that the river Kāvērī was overflowing its banks and not allowing crops to flourish, this monarch, who curbed the haughtiness of insubordinate kings, caused the embankment of this river to be constructed with the earth carried by (such insubordinate) kings in baskets on their hands, and afforded protection to cultivation²

V 50 In this dynasty was born the king Valabha,³ who possessed good qualities, wealth and prowess which compelled other kings to prostrate themselves before his feet, he burnt with the flames of his admirable valour the insects (*salabha*), his enemies

V 51 Jagadēkamalla, who was comparable to Indra, drove off poverty from learned men, and wielded the weapon called the *bhalla* (spear), which was Death to other kings, was born in this family

V 52 The king Vyāla (or Vairi²)-bhayankara was born in this family The hostile kings prostrated themselves before his feet. The fire of the anger of this powerful king, who fought with the sword held in his long arm, could be quenched only by the tears flowing from the eyes of the queens of hostile kings

V 53-54 The lord of all the earth, the king Vijayālaya, was born in this family All kings bowed before his feet He established in the Chōla country the city of Tañjāpuri, which was praised even by Brahmā and other gods Being a newly founded town, it flourished with all good qualities⁴

V 55 The son of this Vijayālaya was Ādityavarman, better known by the name of Kōdanda-Rāma He fell on the Pallava monarch, who was seated upon a maddened elephant, and killed him in battle⁵

V 56-60 To him (Āditya) was born a son named Parāntaka, who was the abode of the goddess of valour (*vīra-frī*) By the water flowing from the temples of the *maṣṭ* elephants of this king, which were sporting in the gardens adjoining the shores of the seas, the water of the seas became scented Parāntaka destroyed the Pāndya king with his whole army, took all his

¹ *South-Ind Inscriptions*, Vol III, p 395, v 41

² *Ibid.*, v 42

³ *Ep Ind* Vol. XV, p 60, v 18

⁴ विजयालयीशलि तदन्वये जयौ विजिताखिलादमितली महामल ।

प्रसन्नदेवमकुट प्रसन्नदन्तपरिमिरस्मितपदाम्बुजद्वय ।

South Ind Inscr Vol, III, p. 396, V 47 and 48

Leiden Grant

wealth and burnt (his capital) Madhurā, for this achievement he received the title of Madhurāntaka.¹ This king, who was as bright as Arjuna, conquered in battle the thitherto unconquered king Krishnarāja, and thereby augmented his own glory. In recognition of this feat he was entitled Vira-Chōla. Parāntaka, who is respected by all kings, caused his army to cross the sea and defeat the king of Simhaḷa, who was waiting on the shore to give him battle, and thereby received the true surname of Simhalāntaka.² Who could stand comparison with this king, the abode of all good qualities? Who can describe the traits of this monarch, who conquered his enemies in battle and who was the only residence for prowess? The destroyer of the enemies, Parāntaka, brought into existence superior villages of great wealth like Viranārāyanam,³ just as Brahmā created *svarga*, and caused them to be enjoyed by learned Brāhmanas.

Vv. 61-62 The son of this king (Parāntaka) was Arindama,⁴ of glory similar to that of the moon. He destroyed the power of his enemies. Many a king, who had heard of the *vaieur* of this sovereign, took refuge in mountain caverns. He brought all other kings under his sway; like Viḍhi (Brahmā), he conferred riches upon good men, this king of reputed prowess caused grief to hostile kings. This sovereign of unparalleled beauty made the lustre of the moon comparable to his own splendour.

Vv. 63-64 Parāntaka,⁵ who always destroyed the hosts of his enemies, was born to Arindama. Taking into consideration the advent of this sovereign, the Pāndya king crossed the mountain and fled away. Parāntaka imprisoned all his enemies and fought successfully several battles. He satisfied the needs of learned men and was a terror to bad ones.

Vv. 65-67. To this monarch (Parāntaka), the abode of all virtues, was born the lord of men, Rājarāja.⁶ This king, who had a body as beautiful as that of Cupid and handsome lotus-like eyes, was comparable to Kuvēra (otherwise known as Rājarāja) only in his munificence.⁷ He killed in battle the enemy kings and rooted out evil from the earth. He celebrated several *yāgas* and was over voracious. Satyāśraya, when he could have obtained strong support in Rājarāja, ran away senselessly from the battle-field.⁸ In fact, the terrified enemies of Rājarāja wu him over in battle by quietly bowing before him, nor will he deprive such suppliants of their life or property.

Vv. 68-72 The king Madhurāntaka, who punishes those who do not submit to him, who chastises his enemies and who possesses a body as handsome as that of Cupid himself, was born as the son of Rājarāja. This monarch, as powerful as Arjuna, defeated all the kings of Kuntala (*Kuntalānām-adhiśān*). This king, who wore a *hāra* on his neck, abstracted the glory of the moon (that is, caused the glory of the moon to wane before his own). Conquering hostile kings by the power of his arms, he made Mānyakhēta a sporting ground for his army. He caused the kings of the Kulūta and Utkala countries to be defeated by his generals, the

¹ & ² His achievements are described in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III, p. 396, Vv. 51-52 & *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 61, V. 21. See also *Kalingattupparaṇi*, Rājapūram, Vv. 22 and 23.

³ Compare यामान्निवेश्य विविधान्दत्तो यशोभिश्चुम्भीचकार शरदभूनिर्भेदिगन्तान् ।

Leiden Grant

⁴ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XV, p. 61, v. 23.

⁵ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III, p. 396, Vv. 55 and 56.

⁶ He is said to have been born under the asterism, Śadaiyam, to have captured Udagai (*Kalingat* v. 24 and *Kulōtt* ll. 46-48) and to have taken Malai nādu (*Vīḷkīram* ll. 38-34).

⁷ King Rājarāja was a great giver of wealth (*dhana + da*), and in this respect resembled Kuvēra, who bore the name Dhanada. But Kuvēra was, as his name indicates, ill shaped in body while king Rājarāja was not. One of Kuvēra's eyes was yellow. Rājarāja, the king, had none of these drawbacks.

⁸ His conquests of Maṇṇai, Kidāram and Gangai are mentioned in the *Kalingat*, v. 25, *Vīḷkīram*, l. 34-36 and *Kulōtt*, ll. 49-50.

kings of Kalinga and the Vīmāśendra (?)¹ were also vanquished by his generals, who reached the Ganges, whose banks slipped down the river through the battering of his elephant brigade, the water of the (holy) Gangā was carried in pots on the heads of kings (to his capital city). He made his powerful army, which uprooted several hostile kings, cross the sea and set fire to Kātāha,² which it was not possible for other kings to conquer. What act was impossible for this monarch Rājendra-Chōla ?

V 73 This king had three sons, comparable with the three fires in a *yāga*. Of these, the preeminent Rājādhirāja was his first son. He set fire to Kalyānapura,³ defeated its king [and did something to king Āhavamalla,

V 74 When this king went to heaven, his younger brother who removed the sorrow of the world, ascended the throne. Rājendra-dēva, the monarch, who had arms resembling in shape the snake Ādi-Śeṣha, killed all his enemies.

Vv 75-81 When this sovereign also went to heaven, his younger brother Vira-Rājendra who caused the valour of his enemies to wane, succeeded to the throne with due formality. He conquered not only his outside enemies, but also his own five senses⁴. He killed the kings of the Mannāta family (?) at Kūdalsangama⁵, these kings augmented the army of the Dēvas (in the celestial world)⁶. The ocean was gratified by this king, who by killing hosts of men in battle-fields created a new river, a river of blood, and made her join her lord, the sea⁷. The countries of Vēngī and Kalinga, which had been in his family for a long time, but, being abandoned by his elder brothers, were then in the occupation of his enemies, were recovered by Vallabhavallabha⁸ by driving off some of those enemies and defeating others by the power of his arms, and were ruled over by him. Vira-Chōla (that is, Vira-Rājendra), also known as Karikāla-Chōla, having deprived the world of the evils of the Kali age, established several *dharma-āsanas* which afforded succour, were full of substance and were lofty in their aims. To the Lord of Pārvatī, who is dancing in Chirrambalam (*Dabhra-sabha*), he made a gift of the valuable ruby known by the name of *trailōkyasāra*. . . . He created several *brahmadēya* villages in the Chōla, the Tundira, the Pāndya, the Gangavātī and the Kulūta countries. He also furnished forty thousand Brāhmanas, well-versed in the Vēdas, with gifts of lands.

Ll 420-445 In the seventh year (of the reign) of Rājakesarivarman,—who bore the *virudas* and surnames the 'Asylum of the whole world,' 'Lord of the Earth,' Mithārājādhirāja, Ashtakulasimha, Rājakula (?), [Ra]vikolasēkhara, Pāndyakulāntika, Āhavamallakula-Kāla, he who defeated Āhavamalla

¹ [See note 9 above, p. 45, Ed.]

² *South-Ind. Inscri.* Vol. III, p. 400, v. 117 —

विजितेनदीयतटभूमिनायके सलिल तदीयमद्य पावन वरम् । निजनायकाय मधुरानकाय तत्समनोनयतसपदि दग्धनायक ॥

³ *Ibid.*, v. 123 — अजित्य कटाक्षमुत्तैर्निजदग्धैरभिलक्षितानर्पदे ।

His conquest of Kalyāna and the planting of a pillar of victory are mentioned in the *Kalingattupparani*, v. 26, and *Vikīrama-Śōlan-ulā* II 36 38

⁴ "The outside and the inside enemies" is the expression employed in the text. The senses of sight, smell, etc., are always considered the enemies of man, which reside in his own body.

⁵ *Kalingattupparani*, *Rājapāram* v. 29 and *Vikram* II 42 44

⁶ It is a belief that one who dies on the battle field goes to heaven. The number of warrior kings who were despatched to the other world by Vira-Rājendra dēva being great, the army of the Dēvas must have been greatly strengthened by these new recruits.

⁷ The sea is considered to be the husband of all rivers. Vira Rājendra caused a river of blood to flow from the multitude of human beings he killed in battles, and gave her in marriage to the sea, which pleased the latter very much.

⁸ So named because he subjugated the Vallabha (Chālukya) king.

five times,¹ Rājāsēkhara, Rājāsraya, Rāja-Rājendra, Vira-Chōla and Karikāla-Chōla,—
 in Purattāya-nādu, a sub-division of Uttama-Śōḷa-valanādu in Rājarāja-
 Pāndi-nādu to the Kanyā-bhatūrakī the land, two hundred and
 seventy-one and three quarters and two *mī* (in extent) comprised in the village of Narrarāk-
 kudi in Purattāya-nādu in Uttama-Śōḷa-valanādu, together with Perungudi-Kilkombu in
 the same *nādu*, containing fifty-nine and nine *mī* of land by
 the emperor (*chakravartī*) śrī-Rājendra-dēva

No 5.—NIDUPARU GRANT OF JAYASIMHA I.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH D, HALLE (SAALE).

A set of ink-impressions of this inscription was sent to me by Rao Bahadur H Krishna Sastri, who had received the original plates for examination² from Mr M Ramakrishnakavi, M A, Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. The inscription is engraved on three oblong copper-plates, the second of which bears writing on both sides. The margins of the four inscribed sides are only very slightly raised into rims. The plates measure 2" in height. The two first are 7" in breadth, while the third is cut on the right margin and hence measures only 6½". The plates are strung on a ring which is 2½" in diameter, and which is passed through a hole of about ⅜" in diameter. The two ends of the ring are fixed in the base of a circular seal of about 1½" in diameter which bears, in relief, the legend *Śrī-Sarvasiddhi*, with a crescent at the top and an expanded lotus-flower of nine petals at the bottom. The weight of the plates, with ring and seal, is 70 tolas.

The writing is in a tolerably good state of preservation, but some *aksharas*, *anuvāras*, and vowel-marks are indistinct, and at the end of the first five lines of the third plate, two or three letters are lost. The alphabet resembles that of other early Eastern Chalukya grants. A final form of *t* occurs in *-vāsahāt* (l 1) and *vasēt* (l 24). The syllable *ru* is used in the Telugu proper names *Gandēru* (ll 9 f. and 10), *Vannēru* (l 10), *Niduparu* (l 18 f) and *Nidubaru* (l 11).

The language is Sanskrit prose as far as line 19. The last plate contains four Sanskrit verses. Consonants are not doubled after *r*, except in *-ārti-* (for *-ārtti-*, l 3), *pravarddha*³ (l 6) *-mantrārtti*⁴ (for *-mantrārttthē*, l 16), *-āryya-* (l 19), *°bhīr-vvasudhā* (l. 22). As the notes on the text will show, the rules of Sandhi are frequently neglected. For *-kalāpa* (l 8) the sense requires the instrumental *-kalāpēna*.

The inscription records the grant of the village of *Niduparu* or *Nidubaru* to the learned Brāhmana Kātisarman (read Kōtisarman?) by Jayasimha (I) Vallabha, son of Vishnuvardhana (I) and grandson of Kīrtivarman (I) of the Chalukya family. Vishnuvardhana I bore the surname Makaradhvaja, i.e., Cupid, whom he is stated to have surpassed in beauty (l 5). The donor, Jayasimha I, had the surname *Sarvasiddhi*,⁵ by which he is designated on the seals of his two grants.⁴

The king's order was issued from Asanapura (l 1), and the donee's grandfather was an inhabitant of the same town (l 12).⁵ The village granted was included in *Gandēruvati* and

¹ [Mr K V S Aiyar reads in l 426 *mummadī* and translates 'who saw the back of Khavanalla three times'—Ed.]

² See *Ep. Rep.* for 1917, App. A, No 7 and p. 113.

³ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 97.

⁴ See the first paragraph of this article, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 187.

⁵ The grandfather of the donee of a grant of Vishnuvardhana II also resided in Asanapura, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 192.

was situated on the river Vannēru, north of the Vyāghra river, and two *gavyūtis* east of the royal residence of Gandēru. The district of Gandēruvāti is evidently the same as Kandēruvādi or Kandravādi in other inscriptions from the Telugu country¹ Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri has identified Gandēru, the chief town of this district and the residence of Jayasimha I, with the village of Kantēru in the Guntūr Tāluk of the Guntūr District, and the village granted, Niduparu or Nidubaru, with the modern Nidamaru 'which is actually about two *gavyūtis* (i.e., eight miles) to the east of Kantēru'² Mr Sewell informs me that Kantēru is a few miles N E of Guntūr near the main road leading to Bezvāda, and that Nidamaru is a few miles N N E of it. He is unable to trace the Vyāghra and Vannēru rivers, and the town of Asanapura.

TEXT³*First Plate, Second Side*

- 1 Svasti [l*] Śrīmad-Asanapura-vāsakāt svāmī-Mahāsūna-pād-ānudhyātānām Hārīti-putrānā[m] Mānavya-
- 2 sagōt[r]ānām Mātri-gana-paripālītānām⁴ āsvamēdha-yājñām Chalukyānām vi[s]uddha-vam[s]-ōda-
- 3 yagiri-śikhara-ōdita-kṣhītipaty-ahimadidhītēh sakala-jagad-ā[1*]tti-hara karmana[h]
- 4 Śrī-Kīrtavarmanah priya naptā saśālāñchhanasy-ēva sakala-jagan-ma[n]ō-nayan-āna-
- 5 ndana-karasya sva-rūpa-lāvany-ēvaṇṇa-Makarathva(dhva)jasya Makaradhvaj-āpara-nāmnah śrīmad-aīda[m*]jugina-
- 6 Viśhnōh⁵ Viśhnuvardhana-mahārājasya⁶ priya-tanayah pravarddhamān ōdaya-pratāp-ōpanata-sama-

Second Plate, First Side

- 7 sta-sāmanta-makuta-tata-ghatita-manī-mayūkha-mañjarī-pumja-pumjarita-charan-āravinda-yugalah(lō) nija-
- 8 guna-didhiti-kalāpa⁷ Kalyuga-dhvāntam nrākarishnuh⁸ Ākhandala iv-ākhandita-paura(ru)shah pa-
- 9 rama-brahmanyō mātāpitri-pāt-ānudhyātah⁹ śrī-Jayasimha-Vallabha-mahārājah(jō) Gandē-
- 10 ruvātya[m] Vyāghra-nadyās=ch-ōttaratah(tō) Vannēru-nadyās=cha tirē Gandēru-rājadhānyāh
- 11 pūrva-dig-vibhāgē gavyūta(tī)-dvayē Nidubaru-nāma-grāmam=adhrī-asatah kudum(ṭum)binah samavētā-
- 12 n-ājñāpayata [||*] Vīditam=astu vō yath-Āsanapura-sthāna-nivāsino ghatikā-sāmānya-

¹ See above, Vol VI, p 148, and Vol XII, p 62

² *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1916-17, p 115 According to Mr. Sewell's *Lists*, Vol I, pp 37 and 39, there is a pair of other villages of the same name (Kantēru and Nidamaru) in the Tanuku and Bhīmavaram Tāluk of the Gōdāvari District. At my request Mr Sewell has kindly looked up the Tāluk maps in the British Museum, and he quite agrees with Mr Krishna Sastri's identification, because the village of Kantēru in the Guntūr District 'is a far more important place than the little out-of-the-way village of the same name in the Tanuku Tāluk of the Gōdāvari District,' and because the two villages of Kantēru and Nidamaru in this last district are 'not very close together, and seemingly quite small places.'

³ From the ink-impressions

⁴ Read 'tānām=.

⁵ Read 'Viśhnōr=.

⁶ As there was no room for the group *śhnū* of 'Viśhnū' at the bottom of the plate, the engraver placed a dash (*vīrūma*) above *śh* and added *nu* after it,

⁷ Read 'kalāpēna,

⁸ Read 'riśhnur=

⁹ Read 'pād-ānudhyātah

6

[illegible]

10

12

[illegible]

14

16

18

[illegible]

20

22

24

[illegible]

SEAL OF THE NIDUPARU GRANT OF JAYASIMHA I



SEAL OF THE KONDANAGURU GRANT OF INDRAVARMAN



Second Plate, Second Side.

- 13 *sa sa-[pɹ]da-kram ānukram-ādhitā-vēda-dvayaśya sa-kalp ōpanishat-purān-ītihas ānēka-dharmaśāstra-*
- 14 *Vīdah(dō) Man[da]śarmanah pautrāya sa-pitur=adhika guṇa sampad-gan ā(ō)pāyī'a-nirmala-yaśō-viśē-*
- 15 *shē[na]¹ [ā]tmanō-nvayam-alam-alamkarishuōh² agnishiōma-yājñanah Śivai udīśarmanu[h]*
- 16 *putrāya dvi-v[ō]d-ādhyāyinaś yaññāgam ōpanishan-mantiātīti i(ō)tihāsa purāna-dharma-*
- 17 *śāstra-vimalakṛita-viua(ni)ta matayē Harita-sagōtiya Taittiriya-sabrahmachāri(n)nē Kātīśarmanō*
- 18 *Kārtika-purnamāsyām mātāpitrōi-ātmanas-cha yaśah-puny-ābhivirdhayē³ samprattō-yam Nidupa-*

Third Plate, First Side

- 19 *ra-nāma-grāmab [i*] N-āśya badhā karantiyā [||*] Āñāpti=atr=āryya-manō-bhūrimuh śrī-viṣṇa-[m]ā[ten] . . .*
- 20 *nāśrayō-yam⁴ [i*] bhūpēndra nīti pravibhāga dakshah(kshō) [vō]dānga-vit=sarva kal-āntaraññah(jñah) [|| 1 ||*] Atra Vyāsa gītāh [||*] [Svaj[dattām pa*]-*
- 21 *ra dattām vā yatnād-raksha Yudhi-shthira [i*] [mahim mahi][ma*]tām śiōshtha dānach-chh[r*]ōyō=nu[p]ala[uan] [|| 2 || Bahū*]-*
- 22 *bhīr-vvasudhā [da]ttā bahubhiś ch-ānu[pāh]tā [i*] yasya yasya yathā(dā) bhūmi . . [sya] [tanya*]⁵*
- 23 *tadā phalam [|| 3 ||*] Shaśti[m*] varsha sahāsarai svarga(rgō) mōdati bhūmi-dah [i*] ākalēpta ch-ānu[ma][ntā chu*]*
- 24 *tāny=ō[va] narakō vasēt [|| 4 ||*]*

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

Hail! From (his) residence in the prosperous Asanapura (l 1), Jayasimha-Vallabha-Mahārāja (l 9),—the dear son of Vishnuvardhana-Mahārāja (l 6) whose other name was Makaradhvaja (l 5), and the dear grandson of Kirtivāman (l 4) of the family of the Chalukyas (l 2),—commands (as follows) the assembled ryots inhabiting the village named Niduparu (which lay) in (the district of) Gandēruvātī, north of the Vyāghra river and on the bank of the Vonnēru river, at (a distance of) two *gavyūtis* on the eastern side of the royal residence (*rājadhāni*) of Gandēru (ll 9-12)

'Be it known to you that, on the full-moon (tithi) of Kārtika, (I have) given this village named Niduparu (l 18 f) to Kātīśarman of the Hārita *gōtra* and of the Taittiriya (*charana*) (l 17), son of Śivandrasāman (l 15), and grandson of Man[da]śarman (l 14) who resided in the town (*sthāna*) of Asanapura and was a member of (its) college⁶ (l 12)' Man[da]śarman is stated to have 'studied two Vēdas together with then Pada, Krama, and Anukrama' and to have 'known many law-books, together with Kalpa, Upanishad, Purāna, and Itihāsa,' Śivarudraśarman, to have performed Agnishiōma⁷, and Kātīśarman, to have 'studied two Vēdas' and to have 'purified and trained his mind by sacrificial lore, Upanishad, the meaning of Mantras, Itihāsa, Purāna, and Dharmaśāstra'

¹ Read *shōn=ātmānō*² Read *°rishiōnōi=agni°*³ Read *-ābhivirdhayē*⁴ Read perhaps *śrī vīryavān=Sarvajanaśāyō=yam*⁵ Read *bhūmi=asya-asya*⁶ For *ghaṭikā* see above, Vol VIII, p 26 and n 1, *South-Ind Inscr*, Vol II, pp 502, 510 f

The executor (*ājñapti*) of this (grant) was . . . who knew royal politics, the *Vēdāngas*, and all arts¹ (verse 1, l. 19 f) The record ends with three verses 'sung by *Vṛṣa*' (l. 20).

No. 6—IPUR PLATES OF VISHNUVARDHANA III.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D ; HALL (SAALE)

I am editing the inscription on these plates from a set of ink-impressions supplied to me by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. The plates were found while digging in an unspecified village of the Kistna District and now belong to the collection of Mr. Brindavanam Gopalachari at Īpūr, a village in the Tenālī Taluk of the Gunṭūr District.² These are three oblong copper-plates, the second of which bears writing on both sides. The margins of the four inscribed sides are slightly raised into rims. The three plates have a slight inward curvature in the middle of the long edges and measure $6\frac{1}{2}$ " by $2\frac{1}{2}$ ". They are strung on a ring of about 3" in diameter, which passes through a hole of about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and bears a circular seal of $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The seal bears, on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrī-Vishamasiddhi* in Telugu characters, with an expanded lotus-flower of seven petals at the bottom and a crescent enclosing a star (or the sun?) at the top. The weight of the plates, with ring and seal, is 35 tolas.

The writing is in a state of good preservation. The alphabet resembles that of other Eastern Chalukya grants of the same period. The language is barbarous Sanskrit prose, and two verses are quoted in lines 21-24 of the last plate. Owing to the dense ignorance of the drafting clerk, orthography,³ Sandhi rules, and grammar are disregarded in every line. Still the inscription is an interesting historical document and can be made out almost completely. It records an order issued in the twenty-third year of his reign by Vishnuvardhana, son of Vijayasiddhi, and grandson of Vishnuvardhana of the Chalukya family. As Vijayasiddhi is known to have been a surname of Mangi-yuvarāja,⁴ his father has to be identified with Vishnuvardhana II, and his son with Vishnuvardhana III. From the seal of the subjoined grant we learn that the latter—like his two ancestors Vishnuvardhana I and II—bore the surname Vishamasiddhi.

The king's order refers to a grant of a field and of a house-site with a flower-garden to a Brāhmana residing at Kommara. The field granted formed part of the village of Jalayūru in the district of Pōlnāṇḍu and was situated to the west of the Elyēru river and to the east of Kākandivāda. None of these local names I am able to identify. But the district of Pōlnāṇḍu is evidently the same as Prōlnāṇḍu or Prōlunāṇḍu near Pithāpuram.⁵

The grant was made by the daughter of Maghinduvarāja, Prithivipōthi, who seems to have been one of the queens of Vishnuvardhana III. The second member of the queen's name cannot have anything to do with Hindi *pōthi*, 'a book'. Perhaps it is a misspelling of *pōti*, a feminine derivative of *pōta* which is known to have formed part of the names of Pallava kings.⁶ I hope I am not considered too bold if I further propose to identify the name of Prithivipōthi's father, Maghinduvarāja, with Mahēndravarmān III, the Pallava king of Kāñchi.⁷

¹ Perhaps he was a Brāhmana minister of the king. His proper name is uncertain because of the break at the end of line 19 of the text. It may have been Sarvajanāśraya.

² See above, Vol. XVII, p. 334 and *Ep. Rep.* for 1920, App. A, No. 10 and pp. 99 ff.

³ Note the spelling *pauṭrāya* for *pauṭrāya* (l. 13), and *ñy* for *ṇ* in *āñyāpayati* (l. 12) and *āñyapti* (l. 24).

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 237.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV, p. 230, and Vol. V, p. 74.

⁶ *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. II, p. 341.

⁷ Above, Vol. X, p. 4.

The period of the reign of Vishnuvardhana III (A D 709—746)¹ would suit this identification. A close connection between both dynasties might be gathered also from the fact that the panegyric descriptions of kings in the Eastern Chalukya grants remind of those of some Pallava grants.²

TEXT³

First Plate, Second Side

- 1 Svasti [||*] Śīmatā[m*] sakala-bhuvana-samstu(stū)yamāna-Mānavya-sagotrā-
 2 n[ām*] Hārīti-putrān[ām*] Kauśiki-vara-prasāda-labdha-rājya[ā*]nām Mātri(tri)-gu-
 3 ṇa-paripālītānā[m*] bhagavan-Nārāyana-prasāda-sam[ā*]śādita-
 4 var[ā*]ha-lāñcha(ñchha)nānā[m*]⁴ āsvamēth(dh)-āvabhri(bhri)tha-snāna-pavi[tri*]-
 kri(kri)ta-vapushām
 5 Chhalukhyānā[m*]⁵ kulam=ala[m]karishnō[h*] śrī-Vishnuvarddhana-mahārāja-
 6 sya sūnōr=anēka samara-sa[m*]ghatt-ōpalabdha-yudha(ddha)-vijaya-ya-
 7 śah-prasu(sū)ty-[ā*]mōda-gandh ādi(dhi)vāsita-sakala-dig-maṇḍalasya⁶ śrī-

Second Plate, First Side

- 8 Vijayāsiddhi(ddhēh) priya-tanaya[h*] sva-vikram[ā]krānta-mahī(hi)-mandalasya⁷
 ari-
 9 tūmīra-pral[a]y[ā]ditya(tyō) yuvati-jana-Makha(ka)radhvaja(jō) vidvaktavi-⁸vīpīa-
 vandita-⁹pā-
 10 takā-¹⁰jana-Kāmadhēnumi¹¹ machhchājy-¹²[ā]lasya-naishṭūjyārshya-¹³paśū(su)nya-
 11 rahita strī-bhāla-¹⁴vri(vri)ddha-buddha-praha[r]shani(ni)ya-rū(rū)pa[h*] śrī-Vishnu-
 va[r]ddhana-ma-
 12 hārājasya¹⁵ ē[va]m-āñyā(jñā)payati [||*] Kommara-v[ā*]stavy[ā*]ya¹⁶ Ātri(tri)ya-gō
 13 trāya [Hī*]rē(ra)nyakeśi-sūtrāya¹⁷ Agniśarmmana[h*] pavutrāya¹⁸ Tāḷāśa-¹⁹

Second Plate, Second Side.

- 14 rmmāna[h*] putrāya Kēśavaśaimman[ē*] -Plōlnāndu-vishayē Jalayūru-n[ā]ma-
 15 grām[ō] pāśchima-diśāyā[m*]²⁰ Eliyēru-nadi(di)-pa[śch]imata[h*] Prabhākara-
 kshōta-²¹
 16 u[ttara]ta[h] Kākaṇḍivāda-kshētra-pū[r*]vvata(tō) valmī[ka]-dakshināta ētat(ch)-cha-
 17 tur-avadhi vi[m]śa[t]i-khaudikā-bri(vri)hi-bija-pariprāmāna[m]²² kshō-
 18 tra[m*] śakraṁti-nimittē²³ o(n)daka-pū[r]v[va][m*] [da]tta[m] grām(grā)ha-
 st[ā](sthā)n[a]m pūshpa-vāśi(tī)-
 19 -kā-sahita[m*] sarvva-kara-parihāi[ō]na[m*] pūava[r]ddhamāna-vijaya-rā-

¹ Ind Ant, Vol XX, p 99² Above, Vol VIII, p 237³ From the ink impressions⁴ Read °nānām=⁵ Read Chalukyānām⁶ Cf Ind Ant, Vol XX, p 105, text line 7 f.⁷ Read -mandalō=ri-⁸ Read vidvat-kavi-⁹ Read vandi¹⁰ Read -pāṭhaka-¹¹ Read °dhēnur=.¹² Read mātsary-¹³ Read -naisṭhury-ārshya-¹⁴ Read -bhāla-¹⁵ Read °rāja¹⁶ Read °vyāy=Ātrāya¹⁷ Read -sūtrāy=Āgni°¹⁸ Read pavutrāya¹⁹ The syllable śa was corrected by the engraver from rmma.²⁰ Read -diśāyām= or -diśya-²¹ Read -kshētrōttaratah²² Read -parimāna²³ Read samkrānti nimitta

Third Plate, First Side

- 20 jya-samvachha(tsa)rē vimśati-trir-varshē¹ śri-Maghimduvarāja-prīya-duhit[ā*]
 21 śri-Prī(pri)thivī(vī)pōthī-²nāma³ datta[m ||*] Bahubī(bhī)r=vasudā(dhā) dattā
 bahubī(bhī)ś=ch=ānu-
 22 pālitā [||*] yasya-yasya yadā bhūmī⁴ tasya-tasya tadā ba(pha)la[m] [|| 1 ||*]
 Śva-da-
 23 ttām para-dattā vām⁵ yyō(yō) harēriti⁶ vasundharā[m |*] śastir=varsha-
 sahasram viśht[ā](shthā)-
 24 y[ā][m*] jāyatē kr[1*]mī[h] [|| 2 ||*] Āñya(jña)pti[h*] kanda-eyaya(yō) Vātattā-
 nāma(mā) [||*] Tinasya⁸ grī(grī)-
 25 ha-stā(sthā)nam datta[m ||*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

Vishnuvardhana-Mahārāja (l 11 f),—the dear son of Vijayasiddhi (l 8), the son of Vishnuvardhana-Mahārāja who adorned the family of the Chalukyas (l 5 f),—orders as follows —

‘On the occasion of a Samkrānti (l 18) in the year twenty-three of (my) reign (l 19 f), a field (and) a house-site accompanied by a flower-garden were given to Kēśavaśarma of the Ātrēya-gōtra and Hiranyakēśi-sūtra, who resided at Kommara (l 12) and was a son of Tālīśarma and a grandson of Agniśarma, by Prithivipōthī, the beloved daughter of Maghimduvarāja (l 20 f)’ The field granted lay in the western part of the village named Jalayūru in the district (śishaya) of Pīṭhānādu (l 14 f) Its four boundaries were to the west of the Elyēru river, to the north of the field of Prabhākara, to the east of the fields of Kākandivāda, and to the south of an anthill (ll 15-17) It required as seed twenty *handikās* of paddy⁹ (l 17)

The executor (*ājñapti*) was the chief of the camp,¹⁰ Vātatta (?) by name By him the house-site was given to the (donee) (l 24 f)

No 7.—VAPPAGHOSHAVATA GRANT OF JAYANAGA

By LIONEL D. BARNETT.

The record belongs to the Museum of Perth, to the authorities of which I am indebted for permission to edit and reproduce it It was presented to the Museum some time ago by Mr J. Greig of Calcutta The Museum possesses a paper signed by him and containing a copy of a

¹ This curious expression is meant for *trayōvimsē varshē*

² The *th* of *pōthī* slightly differs in shape from the *th* of *Prīthivī* and of *astamēth(dh)-āradhāri(bhāri)lā-* in te 4, but it cannot be *r*, as it has been read in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1919 20, p 99 f Cf the *r* of *Elyēru* (l 15) and *-eyaya* (l 24)

Instead of *-duhitā* (l 20) and *-nāma* we would have expected *-duhitā* and *-nāmnā* The next word is a superfluous repetition of *dattam* in line 18

³ Read *dhāmsa*

⁴ Read *śhashtim*

⁵ Cf. above, Vol. V, p 121, n 6, and Vol XII, p 62, n 2

⁶ In Vol X, p 48, text line 8, read *कीडा* for *कीडे* *rāja*, ‘the chief of the royal camp,’ for which see above, Vol VII, p 184 f, and Vol IX, p 49 f According to Kittel’s *Kannada-English Dictionary*, s. v *eye* 1, the Kanarese noun *eyaya* (= *Tamil* *iraitan*) is a synonym of the Sanskrit *rāja*,

⁷ Read *-dattām cā*

⁸ Read *harēta*

⁹ Read perhaps *Tēn-āsyā*

¹⁰ As suggested in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1919 20, p 100, *kada eyaya* is the same as *kafaka-*

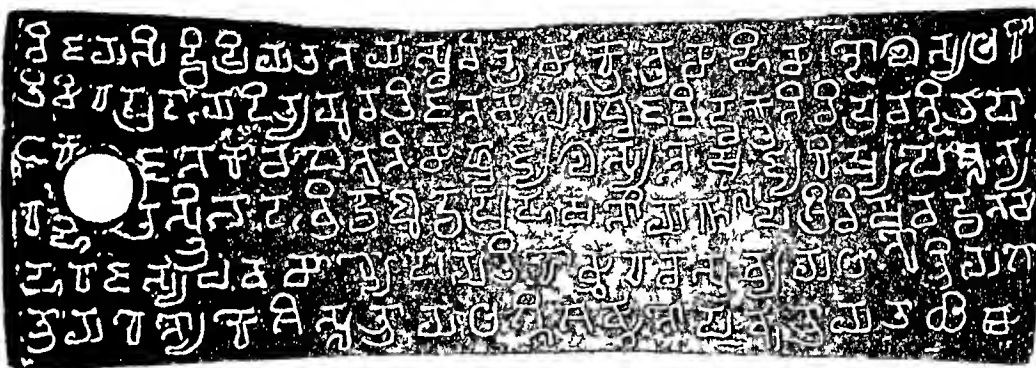
i

2
4
6



ira

8
10
12



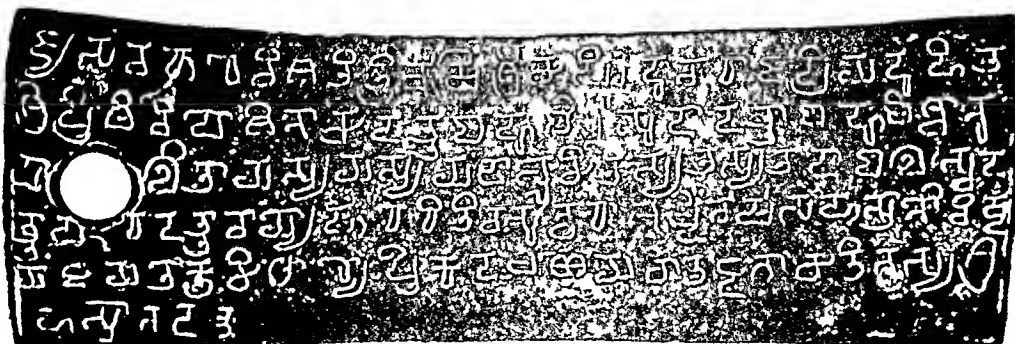
iib.

14
16
18



272

20
22
24



somewhat unsuccessful attempt to translate and annotate the plate, which bears the subscription "R. Mitro, Asiatic Society, 6th December 1854," and to which Mr. Greig has prefixed the note "Translation of a Copper Plate found in the Indigo Estate at Mallia¹ by one of Mr. James Smith's villagers, and presented to me by that gentleman in January 1855"

It consists of a single rectangular plate of copper, slightly irregular in shape, about $7\frac{7}{8}$ in in width and $5\frac{1}{2}$ in in height, with a circular seal about 3 in in diameter soldered on the proper left side. The seal, which is very much worn, shews traces of an upright female figure, apparently Lakshmi, with either one or two elephants performing the *kumbhābhishēka* over her, while in the exigue below there are the remains of a now illegible inscription. The plate itself, which is inscribed on one side only, is in very good preservation, except for a crack running down it, which has been repaired by a small rivet. Two or three letters at the end of l. 14 and a whole line of writing immediately following the latter have been deliberately erased.—The characters, which have been picked out comparatively recently with white paint, are of a well-formed upright Gupta type, apparently of the latter half of the sixth century, and average in height a little less than $\frac{1}{4}$ in. In most respects they are archaic enough to justify an ascription to the fifth century, but the forms of the initial *ṛ* (l. 11) and the bipartite *y* (*passim*), make the latter date more probable. The conjunct nasals and consonants are used in preference to the simple consonants with preceding *anusvara* (e.g. *-sambhōga-*, l. 3) *V* and *b* are confused (e.g. *-sāmbatsarē*, l. 2, *Audumvarī*[*ka-*], l. 3, but *sa-vrahmachārinē*, l. 5, *-vrahmanānāh*, l. 8, etc.) Internal *ā* is denoted either by a doubly waving line curving upwards towards the right from the top of the shaft (cf. the 8th and 18th syllables of l. 1), or by a short upward tick at the right corner of the top (cf. the 14th syllable of l. 1), or by a downward loop from the right corner of the top (cf. the 15th syllable of l. 2). Internal *ē* is represented usually by a waving line similar to the first type of *ā* but in the opposite direction (e.g. the 18th syllable of l. 2), rarely by a perpendicular tick on the left corner of the top (*-svāminē*, l. 5). Internal *ō* is made with the waving *ē* combined with either the ticked or the downward, looped *ā*. The curve of internal *ī* is sometimes single (e.g. *sī*, l. 2, *-sīmā*, l. 9), sometimes double (e.g. *grāmīna-*, l. 14). The angularity of the base of the *th* (*dāsyath=ēti*, l. 7) is noteworthy, so also is the combination of the syllable *ti* with a following *ānda*, in which the curving line denoting *i* is carried around the *t* and upwards to the right of it, terminating there in a small horizontal tick on a level with the top of the *t* (see ll. 4, 7, 13), a peculiarity which seems to have been affected by Eastern scribes, as we find it again even as late as the Tālchēr plates of Gayāda-Tungadēva (see Nagendranath Vasu's *Archæol. Survey of Mayurabhanja*, plate to face p. 154 and *J. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. XII, 1916, No. 6, pl. 4, last line).—The cursive *rya* in *Sūrya-* (l. 3) is also significant. The language is Sanskrit prose, becoming in parts loose and almost dialectal. As already remarked *b* and *v* are confused. Lexically we may note the words *ākshayanī-dharman* (l. 6), *ganginikā* (l. 9 bis), the modern *gānginā*, which possibly may be used here as a common noun meaning "dry river bed" (see above, Vol. XII, p. 66, n. 3, and p. 78, n. 5), but more probably is the name of a particular river (see below), and *tāmra-patta* (ll. 8, 11, 13, bis), which here, instead of its primary meaning of "copper-plate" (as above, Vol. VII, pp. 87, 95, 98, Vol. VIII, pp. 152, 157-59), signifies an estate granted under a warrant engraved on a copper-plate.²

The object of the document is to specify the bounds of a certain village named Vappaghoshavāta granted to the Brāhman Bhatta Brahmavīra Svāmin by the Sāmanta Nārāyaṇa-bhadra, and is dated in the reign (the word qualifying the *samvatsara* is unfortunately effaced)

¹ As I am unable to locate "Mallia" with certainty, I have judged it advisable to designate this charter by the name of the village granted in it.

² Cf. above, Vol. II, p. 383, *grāmam* *tāmraḥam* *lābhā*. The word *patta* by itself is sometimes used to denote a piece of land. Cf. *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 104 & n.

of king Jaysnāga, who was at the time residing in Karnasuvārnaka, and who, to judge from his title of *Mahārājādhirāja*, must have been a ruler of considerable importance. The document was drawn up in accordance with Narāyanabhadra's instructions by his commissioner (*vyavahārin*) Sūryasēna. On the principles of this administrative hierarchy the student may profitably compare the observations of Mr Radhagovinda Basak in his paper on the Dāmōdarpur Plates (above, Vol XV, pp 116 ff).

Of Jayanāga we know nothing from other sources. But Mr John Allan has suggested to me that he may be the same as the king whose coins, described in his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties* (*Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum*), pp lxi, civ, cv, cxxiii, 150-51, and pl xxiv, bear on the obverse the abbreviated name *Jaya* and on the reverse a seated Lakshmi with an elephant sprinkling her. This connection seems highly probable. In any case, the present document furnishes an important fact concerning the early history of Karnasuvārnaka, which, taken in connection with the Nidhanpur grant of Bhaskaravarman (above, Vol XII, p. 65), supplies material for interesting speculation.

The names of places mentioned, besides Karnasuvārnaka (l 1), are the Audumvarika-vishaya (l 3), the villages of Vappaghoshavāta (l 6), Kutkuta-grāma (ll 8, 14), and Amalapautika-grāma (l 10), Ganginikā (l 9, bis), literally "river," which here is perhaps used as a proper name, the Sarshapa-yānaka or "mustard-channel" (l 10), and the pool of Vakhata-śūmālīkā (ll 13-14). On the geographical position of Karnasuvārnaka, the ancient capital of the kingdom of the same name, see T Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol II, pp 191-93, and H Beveridge, *The Site of Karna Suarna*, in *J A S B*, 1893, pp 315 ff, the latter of whom identifies it with Rāngāmāti, near Murshidābād, which is said to have been formerly known as Kānsōnā or Kānsōnā, a name which phonetically corresponds perfectly to *Karnasuvārnaka*, through an intermediate Prakrit form *Kannasonna*¹. On the other names I am indebted to Mr S K Chatterji, M A, D Lit, for the following observations. The Ganginikā seems to be the river Jalangi, a branch of the Ganges or Padmā which unites with the Bhāgirathī near Nadiā, the classical Navadvīpa. The Bengali poet Bharatachandra Raya (c 1740 A D) in his *Annadā-mangala* (pp 136 and 151 of Muktārāma Vidyāvāgīśa's edition, Calcutta, 1857) speaks of the ancestors of the Rājās of Nadiā as living in the *parganah* of Bāgwān (Bāgoān) at a village called Āndaliyā. "Gangā herself i.e. the Bhāgirathī to the west, to the east the Gānginī, there is the village of Badagāchi, opposite to it, on the other side of the river, is Āndaliyā." In the Survey map of the Nadiā District Bāgwān is a village in the Meherpur sub-division, and close to it, on the two sides of the Jalangi, are the villages of Badagāchi ("Burgachee") and Āndaliyā ("Andoleea"), as stated by Bharatachandra. It seems likely that this river Jalangi is the Ganginikā of the present record. North of Bāgwān, at some distance from the Jalangi, is an important village named Gānganī, which may possibly preserve the name of the Ganginikā. Rivers in the plains often change their courses. None of the other place names can be located. But it may be noted that Vappaghoshavāta (*vappa* is the Bengali *bāp*, "father," and *ghōsha-vāta* = "dwelling of herdsmen") would be a likely village-name in Southern Murshidābād and Nadiā, where there was much cattle-breeding. A Ghoshpādā exists in the south, on the Bhāgirathī, and is well known as the home of the founder of the Kartābhajā sect, cf Gōṣa (i.e. Gō-vāsa or Gōpa-vāsa) in Nadiā and Murshidābād, Gōādi (i.e. Gōpa-vātikā), a suburb of Krishnagar, near Nadiā town, etc. An extended stem *Vakhataka* is apparently the origin of the Middle Bengali place-name *Bahadā* or *Baharā*, in Modern Bengali *Bay(a)ḍā* or *Bay(a)rā*, which is found in the names of e.g. Jōt-Bayṛā,² opposite Kumārkhālī

¹ This identification is not accepted by Mr Manmohan Chakravarti, *J A S B*, 1903, p 260 f. But he admits that in quite recent times a suburb of Murshidābād was named Karnasuvārnaka (see v 2 of the preface to Rādhā-kānta's *Saḍa kalpa druma*).

² Jōt is from *yōktra*, "yoke of oxen," hence a measure of land, but the name is sometimes falsely Sanskritised into the pretentious *Yadu-Bayarā* — S K. C.



in the Kushtiyā sub-division of Nadiā, Bayṛā on the Kabadāk or Kabatākh, in the Bongong (Vanagrāma) sub-division of Nadiā, Hāṭ-Bayṛā (ie Hāṭṭa-Vakhataka), and elsewhere

TEXT 1

- 1 ॐ Svasti Karnna[s]uvarnnak-āvasthitasya mahāīāj-ādhirājah(ja)-paiama-bhāgavata-
- 2 śri-Jayanāga-[d]ēvasya I [bh]yudaya-sāmbatsaiē² tat-pād-ānuddhyāta-śi-
- 3 sāmanta-
- 3 Nārāyanabhadraśy=Audumvarika-[visha]ya-sambhōga-kālē cha [ta*]d-vyavahāri-
- 4 sēnē vyavaharati | tad=asy-ājñā śi-sāmanta-pādaiḥ pradattāḥ(ttā) Kāśyapa-
- 5 sagōttiāya Chhā-
- 5 ndōga-savva(bra)hmachārinō bhatta-Vra(bra)hmavira-svāminē mayā mātā-pit(rōr)=
- 6 ātma[na]-
- 6 ē=cha puny-ābhivṛddhaye Vappaghōshavāta-grāma ākshayani-dharmmanā pra-
- 7 dattāḥ visha-
- 7 ya-mudī-ālankri(ukri)ta-tāmra-śāsanam sim-āghāta-parichchhinna[m*] dāsyath=ēti |
- 8 attā simā-
- 8 lūgāni yattā paśchimasyān=diśi Kutkuta-grāminā-viā(biā)hmanānām satka-tāmra-
- 9 patta-
- 9 simā nttā[ia]syām ganginikā pūrvvasyām=īyam=ēva ganginikā tatō nissritō
- 10 Āmalapautika-grāma-paśchimā(ma)-simn=ānugatās=Sarshapa-yānakah tēn=ai[va si]-
- 11 [ma]ā [sa]mparichchhinno yāvad=Bhatt-Ōnmilana-svāmī-tāmra-patta iti tasmāch-
- 12 cha dakṣiṇa-du(g)-bhāgā-
- 12 d=bhūyas=tēn=aiya simnā uttarān=diśam=anuvālamānas=tāvad=āgatō yāva[d*]
- 13 Bharani-svāmī-
- 13 tāmra-patta-sim=ēti | tatō=pi pragunēna Bhatt-Ōnmilana-svāmī-tāmra-patta-
- 14 simni Vakhata-[S]āmā-
- 14 likā-dēva-khātam=praviśya tāva[d*] gatō yāva[t*] sa ēva Kutkuta-grāminā-
- 15 viā(brā)hmana-sim=ēti .
- 15 (Effaced)

TRANSLATION

Hail ! In the year of the rise of the Great Emperor, the supreme worshipper of the Lord, the fortunate king Jayanāga, when he is resident at Karnasuvarnaka, at the time that the Baron Nārāyanabhadra, who meditates upon his feet, is in the enjoyment of the Audumbarika province, his commissioner the Mahāpratihāra Sūryasēna acting as administrator the command given to him by the noble Baron is as follows "The village of Vappaghōshavāta has been given by me to Bhatta Brahmavira Svāmī, a member of the Kāśyapa gōtra and colleague of the Chhāndōgas, for the increase of the merit of my mother, my father, and myself, as a perpetual endowment¹ you are to give (a deed engraved on) a copper-plate adorned with the seal of the province and specifying the boundaries" The signs of the boundary therein are on the west, the boundary of the grant belonging to the Brāhmanas of Kutkuta-grāma, on the north, the river-bed, on the east, the same river-bed, issuing thence and running along the western boundary of Āmalapautika-grāma, (the boundary) is the Saishapa-yānaka, it is limited by

¹ From the plate

² Read samvatsarē

³ Apparently ākshayani dharmān denotes the same form of tenure as ākshaya-nīti or nīti - dhārma, on which see Mr Radhagovinda Basak's note above, Vol XV, p 131, n 8.

the same [boundary], as far as Bhatta Unmīlana-svāmin's grant, from the south thereof, (the boundary), turning along further by the same boundary to the north, proceeds as far as the boundary of Bharani-svāmin's grant, thence in a straight line enters the pond of Vakhata-Sāmālikā on the boundary of Bhatta Unmīlana-svāmin's grant, and goes as far as the same boundary of the Brāhmans of Kutkuta-grāma.

NO 8—NIDUR INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA.

By K V SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR, B.A., OOTACAMUND.

The subjoined two inscriptions are engraved on the south wall of the Śiva temple at Nidūr, a village situated on the north bank of the Kāvērī in the Mayavaram taluk of the Tanjore district. This temple is one on which the Śaiva saint Sundaramūrti-Nāyanār of the 8th century has composed hymns. Though the preservation of the records is not good, there are enough traces left in them to make out the inscriptions almost completely. It would have been certainly much better if they had not suffered damage. I am editing the inscriptions from impressions secured during the field season of 1921-22 by Mr A S Ramanathier of the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, and registered as Nos 534 and 535 of Appendix B of the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for that year, where, however, the importance of these metrical records has not been noted.

The two inscriptions are dated in the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla. The king bears no distinguishing epithets but to judge from the characters employed, the records appear to be of the time of Kulōttunga I, who reigned from A D 1070 to 1119. The high regnal years 46 and 38 given to the king in these records also point to the same conclusion. As will be shown below, the inscriptions are of great value to students of Tamil literature as they almost fix the time of one of the most important works on Tamil Prosody.

Inscription A is dated in the 46th year of the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla and registers that a certain Kandan Mādavan—called also *Mīlalai-nāttu-Vēl*, *Tondai-Kāvalan*, and chief of Kulattūr (*Kārigai-Kulattūr* in B)—caused to be made of stone the shrine of *Śonnāvārariyār* and constructed a pavilion for expounding the *Purānas* in the temple at Tillai, i.e. Chidambaram. Incidentally reference is made to the Tamil Prosodist *Amudasāgara* and his work *Kārigai* which was begun and completed at Kulattūr as well as to the construction of the temple at Nidūr with stone, by the same chief, in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of the Chōla king (*Nēriyan*)¹.

Inscription B, which is dated in the 38th year of the king's reign, states that this same Kandan Mādavan—who receives here also the epithets *Mīlalai-nāttu-Vēl* and *Tondai-Kāvalan*—is stated to have built the excellent stone *vimāna*² at Nidūr. This inscription further tells us that Kandan Mādavan was the *marumagan* (i.e. nephew or son-in-law) of an un-named person at whose instance *Amudasāgara-Muni* of Tamil fame composed the work called *Kārigai*, and was the chief of *Kārigai-Kulattūr* in *Śiru-Kunra-nādu* in *Jayangonda-śōla-mandalam* (i.e. the ancient Tondai-mandalam).

The mention of the name of the Jaina teacher *Amudasāgara-Muni* and of his composing the work *Kārigai*, by which is no doubt meant the well known Tamil work on Prosody *Yāpparungalakkārigai*, is of great interest inasmuch as it enables us to determine the age when that author flourished. The fact that *Amudasāgara* was a contemporary of the uncle or father-in-law of Kandan Mādavan shows that he lived in the 12th century A D, the date of the subjoined epigraphs.

¹ *Nēriyan*, *Senai*, *Ponni ttuṟaiyar* and *Nēri-terpan* are some of the synonyms of "Chōla," according to the Tamil lexicon *Chūdāmani-Nigandu* (See *Makkatpeyar-togidi*, v 19).

² By *vimāna* is meant 'the temple' for the other inscription uses the word *kāṟṟal* in its place.

Yāpparungalakkāṛigaṇi is generally believed to be a much earlier work. In discussing the date of *Chūlāmaṇi*, one of the five smaller *kāvya*s of Tamil, the late M. C. W. Damodaram Pillai wrote the following ¹—

“Several stanzas from the *Chūlāmaṇi* have been cited as examples in the *Yāpparungalavirutti* and in the commentary² written in the interval between Śaka 200 and 300 by Gunasāgara on the *Yāpparungalakkāṛigaṇi* of Amudasāgara which was based on *Yāpparungalavirutti*. As it is known from the introductory verse of the *Chūlāmaṇi* that that work was composed during the reign of Vijayarāja who ruled from the city of Kārvētinagar in Chōlamanḍalam and as that city was earlier than Uṇḍai, the work must be not less than 1,500 years old.”

It is not possible to ascertain whence M. Damodaram Pillai obtained the date “between Śaka 200 and 300” for Gunasāgara’s commentary and what his authority was for the statement that “Kārvētinagar in Śōlamandalam was earlier than Uṇḍai (i.e. Uṇaiyūr).” There are literary evidences to show that Uṇaiyūr in the Trichinopoly district and Kāvīrippūmpattinam in the Shiyali taluk of the Tanjore district were the capitals of the Chōlas prior to Tanjore. But there is none so far to the effect that Kārvētinagar was even a famous city. Neither was this situated in Chōla-mandalam. Evidences, both literary and epigraphical, would point to Kārvētinagar having been included in Tondai-mandalam. We shall discuss the upper limit of Gunasāgara’s age after citing the opinion of Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar on the date of *Yāpparungalakkāṛigaṇi*. Writing on the age of Mandalapurusha, the author of the Tamil *Nigandu*, he says that “there are ample reasons that confirm that Amṛtasāgara could not have lived before the 10th century A.D.”³ and it is pretty certain that he must have with him materials to prove his point. These are the only two definite pronouncements that we know of regarding the date of *Yāpparungalakkāṛigaṇi*, besides the statement of M. Narasimhaacharya which will be referred to later on.

It is interesting to note here the account preserved in the Tamil literature respecting Amudasāgara and his work. From the invocatory stanza of his work it is learnt that the author was a Jain, for it is addressed to the Aṛhat under the shade of the Aśoka tree⁴. Gunasāgara, the Jain commentator on *Yāpparungalakkāṛigaṇi*, has the following say on the name of the work and the method adopted in its composition —

“Like the Pīṭkrit grammar *Pāṭṭiyam* and *Pingalam* otherwise called *Chhandopasiṭam*,⁵ this work (i.e. *Yāpparungalakkāṛigaṇi*) is made of *Kāṛigaṇi*⁶ verses, and like the *Karnāṭaka Chhandas Gunakāṅkya*, each stanza is addressed to a female and is concise. It cites examples like the *Mahēśvara-Yāppu*⁷, like the *Śeyyutturakkōvar* of Tamil music, like the *Vargakkōvar*⁸ of the Aṣṭakas in the Vēdas and like the *Nitaka-ślōkas* of the *Rūpāvatāra*, it gives the commencing portions of the verses cited as examples. As the *Nirutta*

¹ See his introduction to the work.

² For citations of the *Chūlāmaṇi* stanzas in the *Yāpparungalakkāṛigaṇi*, see the comment on verse 13 of *Urupaiyal*, v. 13 of *Śeyyupaiyal* and v. 6 of *Oṭṭipaiyal*.

³ Mythic Society Journal, Vol. XIII, page 490.

⁴ *Nandamadivil kōḍi-malar-ppinḍi-kkann āi-nalar kīl*
andam-aḍiḡil-maiy-aḍiḡ *ittu elutt-aḡai sir*
pandam-aḍi *todaḡ pāv-inan-kūruvan pallavattin*
sandam-aḍiḡai-aḍiḡān maruṭṭiya tāl-kulalē

⁵ [Perhaps *Chhandōvichit* —Ed.]

⁶ The word *Kāṛigaṇi* means beauty, woman, the metre called *Kuṭṭalakkalitturai* and the work on prosody known as *Yāpparungalakkāṛigaṇi*. It is here used in the sense of the last. According to the *Amara*, *Kārikā* means *Vṛtti*. In Sanskrit it means the concise statement in verse of any certain doctrine.

⁷ Though this work is not now extant, stray stanzas from it are found quoted by Gunasāgara himself in his commentary, e.g. see his comment on v. 17.

⁸ *Kōvaḡ* is a short verse indicating the commencement or end of a passage, or sometimes the number and order of words or sentences in the Vēdas and Upanishads. It is both an aid to memory and a measure of the contents.

(i.e. *Nirukta*) is to the *Vēdas*, as the *Kārikās* are to the *Vyākaraṇa*, as the *Nāḷadī Forty* is to *Aṇṇaya's Yāppu*, so is this work a component part of, and a jewel to, the Prosody called *Yāpparungalakkāṛigai*. The author who is stated to have made into *Kāṛigai* the great ocean of *Āṛyam* (Sanskrit Prosody) and rendered it in Tamil, was a saint who bore the name *Amudasāgara-Āchārya*. The work is divided into three chapters, viz., *Uruppiyal*, *Seyyuliyal* and *Oḷḷiyal*; there are 44 *kārikās*, containing 90 *granthas* and 28 letters,—a *grantha* being equal to 32 letters inclusive of vowels and vocalic consonants, excluding non-vocalic consonants. Of the 44 *Kāṛigai*, 21 commence with *nēr-asai* (long syllables) and have in each foot 16 letters exclusive of non-vocalic consonants, and the remaining 23 verses begin with *niraiy-asai* (short syllables) and have in each foot 17 letters thus making in all 2,908 letters (which when divided by 32 give 90 *granthas* and 28 letters) ”¹

From the extract given above, it will be observed that *Gunasāgara*, the commentator on *Yāpparungalakkāṛigai*, was acquainted with *Pingala's Chhandōvichiti*, the *Rūpāvatāra* and the *Gunakāṇḍīya*, a work on Kanarese Prosody. By *Pingala*² may be meant either the earlier Sanskrit *Pingala* or the *Prākṛit Pingala*³ on which was based *Nāgavarma's Chhandas*⁴. There were more works than one bearing the name *Rūpāvatāra*. The author of one of them was *Dharmakīrti*, who has been identified by Prof. M. Rangacharya with the Buddhist *bhikṣu* of that name who flourished in the court of *Parākramabāhu I* of Ceylon, and who, as such, belonged to the 13th century A.D. It is worth pointing out that a lithic record found at *Ennāyiram* in the South Arcot District, detailing a boarding educational institution maintained in the temple at that place, states that as many as forty students were learning the *Rūpāvatāra*⁵ and this must refer to an earlier work bearing that name and cannot refer to *Dharmakīrti's* treatise mentioned above. The best way to take it is that *Rūpāvatāra* was the name of a subject taught and that there were some treatises written bearing the name of the subject, one of which being earlier than the middle of the 11th century A.D. and another belonging to the 13th century A.D. It is not certain which work *Gunasāgara* alludes to in his commentary. If it is to the latter, he should have lived after the 13th century A.D. As regards *Gunakāṇḍīya*, Mr. R. Narasimhacharya has shown that *Nāgavarma*, called also *Nāḷiga*, the author of the Kannaḍa work *Chhandōmbudhi*, flourished during the reign of the Western Ganga kings *Rāchamalla* and his younger brother *Rakkasa-Ganga*, and that his patron was *Chēmunda-Rāja*, his own elder brother. He, therefore, belongs to the end of the 10th century A.D. when also lived *Bhōjarāja* of *Dhārā*, who is said to have made a present of horses admiring the author's other work *Kādambarī*. It appears to me that the most relevant say on the authorship and time of the Kannaḍa *chhandas Gunakāṇḍīyam* is what has been made by Mr. Narasimhacharya who in his introduction to *Kāvyaśālōka* identifies its author with *Nāgavarma*, the earliest writer on Kanarese Prosody, and the work *Gunakāṇḍīya* with *Chhandōmbudhi*, equating *Gunakāṇḍīya* (*Gunakāṇḍīya*) with *Rakkasa-Ganga* (Intr., pp. 5 f). He has also shown from internal evidence that *Nāgavarma* was a resident of *Śāiyadī*, a village in the Western Ganga territory, though his grandfather is stated to have belonged to a village in the *Vēṅgī* country. It may be noted also that this *chhandas* of *Nāgavarma* bears the description given above by *Gunasāgara*.

¹ This mode of noting the contents of a work is not common to Tamil writers but is peculiar only to Sanskrit. The commentator's knowledge of Sanskrit and *Prākṛit chhandas* shows that he was a good Sanskrit scholar.

² See Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. I, p. 376, and the 6th Vol. of Dr. Weber's '*Indische Studien*.'

³ Kittel is of opinion that this work is later than the Sanskrit *Pingala* but not later than the 6th century A.D., i.e. the time of *Varahamihira*.

⁴ See Kittel's introduction to the work.

⁵ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1918, Part II, pp. 145-6.

In any case, from internal evidence alone, it might be said that Gunasāgara could not have written his commentary on *Yāpparungalakkāraṅgai* in the interval between Śaka 200 and 300 as stated by the late Mr C W Damodaram Pillai. Now that we have definite information that Amudasāgara wrote his work in the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla I (A D 1070—1119), it is clear that Gunasāgara should have commented on it in still later times, i.e. after the beginning of the 12th century A.D. An earlier Gunasāgara-Bhatāra, also a Jain by religion, is known from inscriptions. He figures as a contemporary of the Pāṇḍya king Mārañjadāyaṇ in two inscriptions¹ of Kaḷugumalai in the Tinnevely district, dated in the 3rd year of the king's reign. This Gunasāgara,² who flourished long before his namesake—the commentator on the *Yāpparungalakkāraṅgai*—seems to have made a gift of land for meeting the expenses of feeding certain *Vairāgyas* (?) who were required to expound the *Siddhānta*. From palaeographical grounds as well as from references made in these epigraphs to the tank *Viranārāyaṇa-ēri* evidently called after Parāntaka I and the field called *Uttamasōḷaṇ* it might be inferred that this Mārañjadāyaṇ must have been a successor of the Pāṇḍya king Rājāsīmha III in whose reign the bigger Śiṅṅamanūr copper-plāts were issued.

Besides settling the date of the Tamil work *Yāpparungalakkāraṅgai*, the extract given above from the commentary of Gunasāgara enables us to know definitely the authorship of the Sanskrit work *Ohhandōvichiti* which is referred to by Dandin in his *Kāvyaadarśa* (First Parich 7 12) and which has been considered by some to be one of Dandin's own works, while others regard it to be an earlier treatise. As Gunasāgara states that *Ohhandōpīṣita* (*Ohhandōvichiti*) is otherwise called *Pingalam*, it is clear that the latter name must have been derived from the name of its author who must have been no other than Pingala and by *Ohhandōvichiti* must be meant Pingala's *Ohhandas-Śāstra*, if there was not a different work of the name *Ohhandōvichiti* by the same author.

Of the places mentioned in the two inscriptions, Nidūr, as stated already, is in the Māyavaram Taluk, and is reputed as the birth-place of one of the 63 Śaiva saints called Mupaiyaduvār who gave away all the wealth acquired by him to Śiva temples and Śaiva devotees³. Thiruvindalūr, the district in which Nidūr was situated, is a village near Nidūr. It is very likely that the epithet *Kāraṅgai* was applied to Kulattūr in commemoration of the composition of the work at the place or by the fact of its gift to the author. I am not sure if we can identify this place with Kulattūr, a village near Nidūr. *Mūlalaḷai-nādu* is stated to be a sub-division of Virudarājabhayankara-vaḷanādu in an inscription of Vēppattūr⁴.

Śīrukunra-nādu is perhaps identical with Kunrattūr-nādu, whence Śēkkilār, the author of the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam*, hailed⁵.

In connection with the construction of the pavilion at Tillai for expounding the Purāṇas it is interesting to note that according to the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam* the thousand-pillared *mandapa* in the temple at Chidambaram was the place where originally that work was first expounded by

¹ Nos 116 and 117 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894

² No 45 of the same collection refers probably to a female disciple of this Gunasāgara-Bhatāra

³ See the life of Mupaiyaduvār in the *Periyapurāṇam*.

⁴ No 47 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910

⁵ Kulattir-periyōr pīr-paḍaitta gunattir-periyōr kedaḷ-pperiyōr
talattir-periyōr-Anapāyan-raḷaitta-samugantānil-ēri-
ppalattir-peru pañcākkara niḷ-paḍiyir Periyapurāṇattai
valattir-kulai-arang ēṅṅi vaṭṭār Sōḷa-maṇḍalamē

v 76, *Sōḷamaṇḍalataḍagam*

Vinṇu-piṇakkam puṅṅal 1 Kunra-nāḍaṅ viṇṇu Tamil ppanṇir piṇakkam

Periyapurāṇam paṇḍapirāṇ

v 79, *Tondaimaṇḍalataḍagam*

Orār mahi-Puḷiyūr-kkōṭṭa naṅ Kunrattūril uḷḷa tīrar vaḷamali-pākkilavōṇ puṅṅal Chichēkalavon

v 66, *Tondaimaṇḍalataḍagam*

Śēkklār in the time of the Chōla king Anapāya,¹ identified with Kulōttunga II.² It is very likely that the *mandapa* referred to in A is the same as this thousand-pillared *mandapa*, though we cannot be sure that the *purāna* expounded in it was the *Periyapurānam*. If the identity of Anapāya with Kulōttunga I instead of with Kulōttunga II could be conceded, then the *Purāna* referred to in our inscriptions might be the *Periyapurānam* itself. In this connection it may be pointed out that the titles or surnames *Abhaya* and *Anapāya* are found applied to the Chōla king who was the contemporary of Śēkklār.³ We have references to gifts made by the author of the *Periyapurānam* and his brother Pālarāvāyar in two inscriptions⁴ which come from Tirukkadayūr and Kalappāl (Maunargudi Taluk), where the full names of the donors are given as Śēkklār Ammayyappan Paṇṭakadōvan *alias* Karikālāśōla-Pallavaraiyan of Kunrattū in Kunrattūr-nādu, a district of Puliyū-kōttam *alias* Kulōttungaśōla-valanādu and Śēkklār Pālarāvāyan Kalappālaiyan of Kunrattūr in Kunrattūr-nādu. The shrine of Śōṇṇavāravarivār in the temple at Chidambaram referred to in inscription A may have been built in honour of the visit of the Śaiva saint Śēramāṇperumāl-Nāyanār who was also called Kaṇṇiravarivār of which Śōṇṇavāravarivār is only a synonym. It is recorded in the *Periyapurānam* that the Chōla king visited Chidambaram, Tiruvārūr and many other Śaiva places in company with Sundaramūrti-Nāyanār.⁵ From the Tamil work *Tiruppādirippuliyūr-Kalambagam*, we learn that there was a shrine of Ganapati called Śōṇṇavāravarivār in the Śiva temple at Padurppuliyūr (Cuddalore). But there could not be a reference to this shrine in our inscription as the phrase *Tillai-ambalattē vadakilppāl* (i.e. on the north-east side of the temple at Chidambaram) clearly shows that the shrine referred to in our epigraph was situated in the Chidambaram temple.

TEXT OF A⁷

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] [Kūri]ya[=u]lag-anaittaiyun=kudai-kkīl-ā-
- 2 [kkiya] Kulōttungaśōlarkk=ānd=oru-nā[r]patt-ār-adan-idan-tTillai-ambalat-
- 3 tē⁹ vadakil[p*]pāl pōr-iyal amattadu Śōṇṇavār-arivār-kōyilum purāna-nūl-virikkum
- 4 purisai-mālgaiyum varisaiyāl vāṇṇa=pporuppinnāl viruppuṇa=chehēdōṇ Nēriyark=ān-
- 5 d=ēl-añj=u[da]n-mūṇṇiṇṇil nūgar-ilā=kkīrāl Nidūr-nilāvinaṇk=amattā nilāvinaṇ=
- 6 Amudasāgarai-edutta togutta-Kāriṇai kKulattūr-Mannaiyan Tondai-
- 7 kāvalan Śirukunra-nātt karpagam Mūlalai-nāttu Vēl=āndava-
- 8 n Kandan Mādavanē¹⁰ [||*]

TEXT OF B¹¹

- 1 Svasti śrī ॐ En-diśai-ulagai oru-kudai-nīlarkīl iruttiya Kulōt-
- 2 tungaśōlark=iyānd=oru-muppatt-ettinir=Chōnātt-iśai
- 3 valar Tiruvmdalūr-nātt=un dai nidiya Nidūr Umaiyo-
- 4 du-nilāvina-Perumārk=uvandu lai malai[y*]-eua=chehilaiyāl-utta-

¹ See *Periyapurānam* where it is stated that it took one full year to read the work in the *mandapa*.

² *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1912, p. 60.

³ Veṇṇi-ven-kudaiy-Anapāyan feyya-vēl-Abhayaṇ (*Periyapurānam, tīrumalai-chchirappu*).

⁴ No. 39 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906 from Tirukkadayūr and No. 445 of the same collection for 1912.

⁵ See the life of Śēramāṇperumāl Nāyanār in the *Periyapurānam*.

⁷ See verse 1 of this book where Śōṇṇavārariyum-yānai means the elephant-(faced god called) Śōṇṇavāravarivār.

⁸ This inscription is registered as No. 535 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.

⁹ These two letters are almost completely worn out in the original, but as it ought to rhyme with *pōriya*, *Nēriya* and *Kāriṇai* and aliterate with *ku*, they have been pretty surely filled in.

¹⁰ The ē sign is in the previous line.

¹¹ This is a *viruttam* in fourteen *śīr*, the measure being *viṭam-mā-viṭam-mā viṭam-viṭam mā* repeated twice in each foot.

¹² This inscription is registered as No. 534 of Appendix B of the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for the year 1921-22.

- 5 ma-vimāṇam=ing-amaittān [tuṇ-Da¹]mil-Amidasāgara-Muṇṇiyai Jayango-
 6 ndaśōḷa-mandalattu=ttai-Śrīrūkanra [nāṭṭu]² tṭirutti . ³
 7 nūr-Kārigai aṇanūr=kandaṇan-maiumāṇ Kārigai-Kulat[tūr]=
 8 kkāṇal-milāvināṇ evarkkuṇ=kaiunaiyūṇ=ti[yāgamuṇ]⁴=kāṭṭiya Mīla-
 9 lai-nāṭṭu-Vēl Kandan Mādavanē⁵ [||*]

TRANSLATION

A

Hail! Prosperity.¹ In the forty-sixth year (*of the reign*) of Kulōttunga-Chōla, who had brought under (his) parasol all the known worlds, Kandan Mādavan, the *Vēl* of Mīlalai-nādu, and the ruler of Tondai, who had earned fame by constructing in the year seven times five added to three (i.e. 38) (*of the reign*) of the Nēriyan (i.e. the Chōla king), the incomparable stone temple of the resplendent god of Nīdūr, who was the chief of Kulattūr, where Amudasā-gara began [and] completed (*his work*) Kārigai, and who was (*as it were*) the *kalpaka* (wish-giving tree) to the people (²) of Śrīrūkanra-nādu, was pleased to construct of stone the shrine of Śonnavāraṇivār in the great . . . on the north-eastern side of the hall (*ambalam*) at Tillai and the walled pavilion (*in it*) where works on *Purānas* were expounded and which were thus made to appear extensively splendid

B

Hail! Prosperity! In the thirty-eighth year (*of the reign*) of Kulōttunga-Chōla, who had brought the world with its eight quarters under the shade of his single (i.e. incomparable) parasol, Kandan Mādavan the *Vēl* of Mīlalai-nādu, who was the nephew (or son-in-law) of him that caused the fine work Kārigai-[Yāppu] (prosody), to be composed by Amudasāgaramuni of Tamil fame, who was the chief of Kārigai-Kulattūr Śrīrūkanra-nādu (a sub-division) of Jayangondraśōḷa-mandalam and who showed mercy and generosity to all, was pleased to construct an excellent stone *vimāna* as high as a mountain to the god who was resplendent with (*his consort*) Umā at Nīdūr of high (mansions) and (situated) in Tiruvindalūr-nādu (a sub-division) of Śōnādu

No 9 —A NOTE ON MANIGRAMATTAR OCCURRING IN TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS

By THE LATE MR T A GOPINATHA RAO, M A

The word *Manigrāmam* was first met with in some copper-plates belonging to the West Coast of the Madras Presidency. It is found, for instance, in the plates of Sthānu Ravi and of Vira-Rāghava-Chakravartti preserved in the Seminary at Kōttayam. The meaning of this word was discussed by the Rev Dr H Gundert in his article on the plates mentioned above, in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol XIII, Part II. In it he takes the word to mean what he believes to be one of the four immigrated merchant tribes and quotes in support of it the following extract from the *Payyanūr-pattōla*, an old Malayālam poem —

Chāvālarē-ppōlē ni agala-ppōvūm
 channātam vēnam perigay-ippōl
 Kōvātalachcheṭṭi Añjuvannam
 kūttam Manikkirāmattār-makkal
 nammalāl nālu nagarattilum
 nālaiē-kkolka-kkudikku chērnōr

¹ The letters in brackets are much worn out and the traces would admit the reading given

² *Nāṭṭu* has been filled in with references to inscription A

³ This gap may be filled up with the syllables *yāppu* ⁴ The traces for *yāgamuṇ* are very faint and doubtful

⁵ ē is expletive. The metre is the same as in A

which he translated thus —“* * * * Strong guards (or companions) are now required (to) take the children of the Gōvatala-Chetti, of Añjuvannam and of the Manigrāmam people, who, together with ourselves, are the four (classes of) colonists in the four towns”¹ The later view of Dr. Gundert regarding the meaning of the terms Manigrāmam and Añjuvannam is that they are two different trading communities of foreign merchants Drs Gundert and Burnell later on took the persons denoted by the term Añjuvannam as the colony of the Jews and that denoted by Manigrāmam as that of the Christians. It was Mr Venkayya who first rejected the idea. But he has not expressed his opinion as regards the religion of the members of the *Manigrāmam*, nor are we able to infer from his comments on the plate of Vīra-Rāghava-Chakravartti whether he took them for Christians or Hindus Some time after the interpretation given to the term *Manigrāmam* by Dr Gundert, the Rev Peet made the following observation on it — “*Manigrāmam* is the name of a class of Christians who relapsed into heathenism through the influence of a sorcerer (Mānikkavāchakar). Some of that class are still found near Quilon Each individual is called a *manī* (in native books), a jewel, on account of his apostacy and the whole of them constitutes now a sub-division of the Śūdras.” On this the Rev. Taylor comments “I venture the conjecture that they were disciples of Manī, a colony of Manichaens. such as the Arabian travellers found in Ceylon.”

Some years ago I copied the inscriptions in the rock-cut Śiva temple at Tiruvellaṟai and gave them to the late Pandit S M Natēsa Śāstrī for publication in the *Indian Antiquary* In one of them belonging to the reign of a Rājakēśarivarman the following passage occurs —

Tiruvellaṟai Tiruvāṇakkal-Perumāṇadīgal-uchcham-bōdu amudū-
śeydarulumbōdu Vēdam-vallān ora Brāhmananai ūttuvīdāga Uṟaiyūr
Manigrāmattu Nārāyanan Āchchan ivv-ūr-kkallāl vachcha poṇ
aṇṇpaḍiṇ-kalaṇṇu [||*] ponnṇ paḷṣaiyīnēl . . .²

Here Nārāyanan Āchchan is said to belong to the community of Manigrāmam of Uṟaiyūr.

The next reference to Manigrāmam is in a stone inscription in Siam, this inscription has been published by Dr Hultzsch in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for April 1913, and states that (the tank) Śrī-Nāranam was placed under the supervision of the Manigrāmattār and the Sēnāmukhattār Thus far are the references in inscriptions to the words *Manigrāmam* and *Manigrāmattār*

The word *vanigrāmattār* (a clear mislection of *Manigrāmattār*) is given, as an instance of *kulvūṇ peyar* (the name denoting a community), by Nachohinārkkūṇiyār in his commentary on the *Tolkāppiyam* (sūtra 11, *Peyariyal*)

In medieval Tamil literature, the word *Manigrāmattār* occurs in the grammar called *Nēmaṇḍam* In the commentary on verse 31 of that work we find the words *avayagattār*, *attikōsuttār* and *manigrāmattār*³ given as instances of *kudiyārpēr*, that is, of the common appellation of groups of men or communities This grammar was composed in the reign of the king Tribhuvanadēva,⁴ that is, Kulōttunga-Chōla III (A D 1178 to 1216)

¹ I would prefer to translate the passage thus “You are going a long distance like the *śavāḷar* and you (therefore) necessarily want escort, the chief Chetti of Kōva, Anjuvannam-kūttam, the children of Manigrāmam and ourselves—we of the four *nagaram*—are the only four communities esteemed as Kōkkudī (families held in high estimate by the king)”

² Nārāyanan Āchchan, a member of the Manigrāma community of Uṟaiyūr, gave (to the temple) fifty *kalaṇṇ* of gold for feeding a Brahmana versed in the Vēdas at the time the god of the Tiruvāṇakkal is offered the *māḍav* offerings, the gold was weighed by the standard stone of the town of Tiruvellaṟai in which the temple is situated

³ These are the very examples given also by Nachohinārkkūṇiyār in his commentary on the *Tolkāppiyam*

⁴ We know of Tribhuvanavīra-dēva—another name for Kulōttunga III—but not of Tribhuvanadēva—Ed]

From the above extracts the chief points to be noted are —

1. That the *Payyanūr pattōla* does not name the four communities mentioned in it as professing Christianity or any other religion, it simply implies that there resided four communities closely allied to each other by similarity of interests, namely, trade, etc

2 That the Manigrāmam community is not peculiar to the Malabar Coast alone and that it was found in the interior also, as evidenced by the Tiruvellarai inscription.

3 That Hindu institutions were placed under their protection, which would not be possible if they belonged to the Christian community¹, and

4. That it is simply the name of a certain corporation or community, perhaps engaged in trading, like the Valaṅṭiyars, as Mr Venkayya suggested

The Rev Mr Peet opined, as already referred to, that the Manigrāmakkārs were originally Christians and that a sojourner, Mānikkavāchakar, converted them to Hinduism. It is hard to believe that the conservative Hindus, who in these days of free thought refuse to take back even converted Hindus into Hinduism, would in those ancient times have consented to take wholesale communities of entirely alien religionists into their fold. Again, it is well known, that Mānikkavāchakar never visited the Malabar Coast, the religious discussion in which he took part was with the Buddhas of Ceylon, and that was at Chidambaram, according to the *Vāḍavāraṇ-purāṇam*

If *Manigrāmattār* in the Tiruvellarai inscription, were to be taken as the name of a Christian trading community of the Malabar Coast, how was it possible for Nārāyaṇaḥ Achchapp, who, from his name, may certainly be taken to be a Hindu and not at all a Christian, to belong to the Christian community of traders of the Malabar Coast, but living then in Uṇaiyūr? Again, how could the tank mentioned in the Siam inscription bearing the distinctly Vaiṣṇava name of Śrī-Nārāyaṇa, meant evidently for the use of the Hindus, be placed under the protection of the Christian traders of Malabar then residing in Siam?

In dealing incidentally with the Siam inscription I beg to differ from the interpretation of Dr Hultzsch, and offer the following fresh reading of it as I am able to make out from the impression reproduced by Dr Hultzsch in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*

- 1 . . . [ja]varmatku [y] . . .
2. . . [m]ān tēn nan[gu] rayai . . .
- 3 . [t]toṭṭa kulam [||*] pēr Śrī-
4. Nāranam [||*] Maṇikkirāmattār-
- 5 [k*]kum Śēṇāmugattārkkum
- 6 [ku]la[t*]tārkkum adaikkalam [||*]

Dr Hultzsch's remark, that the remnant of the Sanskrit name *ravarman*, in the first line of the record might perhaps be that of Bhāskaravarman, is evidently due to his conviction that the Manigrāmattār were members of a trading community belonging to the Malabar Coast of the time of the Malabar king Bhāskara Ravivarman. That this notion of his was the cause of the mistake is corroborated by the following extract from his paper "Manigrāmam occurs in Tamil inscriptions of the Malabar Coast, as shown by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, it is the designation of a trading corporation." Later on he adds "We may thus conclude that in the eighth or ninth century there existed in distant Siam a colony of traders from the Western Coast of Southern India, who had built themselves a temple of Viṣṇu." Again, he remarks "If the words which I have given are correct, they would imply that at the beginning of the inscription a lengthy passage is lost, which, if it had been preserved, might have completed and explained

¹ [The fact that some persons or a body of men were required to protect a certain gift or charity made to an institution of a particular nationality cannot by itself argue that the men belonged to that nationality. If this wrong premise is allowed to stand, Manigrāmattar can well be said to be Christians because they were required to protect the gift made to the Christian church of Taruṣāppa] in the Sthānu Ravi plates —Ed.]

the remaining portion" This statement appears to me to be doubtful, for the inscription, as in the case of many others, begins with the name and regnal year of the king, and at the most, a few words such as *śaśti śrī* and *yāṇḍu* and the numeral expressing the regnal year and the first portion of the name of the benefactor, the capitalist who dug the tank, all amounting to about five or six words could be supposed to have been lost Dr Hultzsch interprets *Sānāmukha* according to Winslow's Tamil Dictionary by (1) 'the front of an army', and (2) 'a division of an army'. Its meaning may be settled however, from the following quotations, to be the name of a military cantonment The *Mayamata* says —

सर्वजनेस्त्रयीर्ण नृपमवनयुतं तदेव तथा ।

बहुरचोपेतं यत् सेनामुखमुच्यते तद्वज्रैः ॥

And the *Kāṁikāgama* defines it thus —

राजवेश्मसमायुक्तं सर्वजातिसमन्विनम् ।

गुह्यप्रदेशसंयुक्तं सेनामुखमिहोच्यते ॥

Consequently, the place where the tank was dug was perhaps a military cantonment, consisting of a large Hindu population, and this latter was chartered to protect the charitable institution, viz., the tank *Śrī Nāranam* Dr Hultzsch says that "*Nāranam* is a neuter formed of *Nāranap*, a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *Nārāyaṇa*, and means 'a temple of Vishnu'", but *Śrī-Nāranam* is distinctly stated to be a tank and not a Vishnu temple

The translation of the record must be "(The year) . . . of (the reign of the king)

. . . yavarman . . . , . . . man . . . dug a tank in our

Its name is *Śrī-Nāranam* This is placed under the protection of the *Manigrāmattār*, the *Śrīpāṁgattār* and (his own) descendents"

We thus see that there is no ground for taking the *Manigrāmattār* to be exclusively the merchants of the West Coast of Southern India, they were found wherever trade flourished. Nor were they Christian, since Hindu institutions were placed under their protection

From the foregoing discussion, we arrive at the conclusion that *Manigrāmam* never meant or implied a community of immigrated Christian merchants who were received and settled by a Malabar king in his country and that they were peculiar only to the Malabar Coast

Regarding the *Manigrāmattār* Mr Vincent A Smith, collecting facts from the articles of a number of writers on the subject, adds an appendix (M) to chapter IX of his *Early History of India* In it he summarises his opinion on the word thus —

"Historical traditions of India and Ceylon, when read together, seem to carry the evidence for the existence of the Church in Malabar back to the third century We learn from the Ceylonese chronicle the *Mahāvamsa* (ch xxxvi), composed about the beginning of the sixth century, that in the reign of king Gōthakābhaya or Mīghavarnābhaya whom Geiger places in A D 302-15, a learned Tamil heretic overcame an orthodox Buddhist theologian in controversy and gained the favour of the king, who placed his son under his tuition The *Mahāvamsa* represents the victor in the disputation as being a monk named Saṅghamitra, 'versed in the teachings concerning the exorcism of spirits and so forth' Mr K G Seshu Ayyar interprets this statement as meaning really that the successful controversialist was a Hindu, and identifies him with the famous Śaiva saint Mārkaṇḍeya (or Mani-) Vāṭagar¹ The Tamil account of that personage affirms that the saint actually converted the king of Ceylon towards the end of his career That king may be identified with Gōthakābhaya, and it is possible that the author of the *Mahāvamsa* may have misrepresented the Śaiva Hindu Mārkaṇḍeya Vāṭagar as Saṅghamitra, a Buddhist heretic

¹ *Tamil Saṅgama*, Vol I, No 4 p 11 The writer does not cite the statement in the *Mahāvamsa* correctly The Tamil legend is given *ibid*, p. 65, and in Pope, *Tiruvāṭagam*, p xxxi

"However little credit we may be disposed to give to the story about the conversion of the king of Ceylon, or to the identification of that king with the Gōthakābhaya of the *Mahāvamsā*, I see no reason for hesitating to believe the Indian tradition that Mānikkavāsagar visited Malabar and reconverted two families of Christians to Hinduism. The descendants of those families, who are still known as Manigrāmākārs, are not admitted to full privileges as caste Hindus. Some traditions place the reconversion as having occurred about A. D. 270. If that date be at all nearly correct, the Malabar Church must be considerably older. So far as I can appreciate the value of the arguments from the history of Tamil literature, there seem to be good independent reasons for believing that Mānikkavāsagar may have lived in the third century. Some authors even place him about the beginning of the second century.¹ If he really lived so early, his relation with the Church in Malabar would confirm the belief in its apostolic origin."

Evidently the name Sanghamitra, occurring in the *Mahāvamsā*, could not belong to the Jain or Hindu community, but since he is called a Tamil heretic therein, we must take him to be a Mahāyānist, who, to the Hinayānist, is a heretic. There is nothing against his being a Tamil Buddhist, but it is impossible to identify him with a Tamil Hindu, as was attempted by Mr. K. G. Seshia Ayyar. The description of Sanghamitra as "versed in the teachings concerning the exorcism of spirits and so forth" clearly evidences his mastery of the Buddhist Tantrism and never points to a Hindu. Mānikkavāsakar refers to Varaguna-Pāndya twice in his *Tiruchchirrambala-kkōlai* and this Varaguna is the same as the Varaguna-Mahārāja who was crowned in A. D. 862, and I have long ago arrived at the conclusion that Mānikkavāsakar lived in the first half of the 10th century.²

No Tamil work dealing with the life of Mānikkavāsakar states that he went to the West Coast of the Madras Presidency. They are uniform in asserting that he went to Tirupperundurai, or the modern Āvadayārkōyil, in the eastern part of the Presidency. He must have gone to purchase horses brought down from Pogu and other places in the east—places which were familiar to the Tamils. It is only when the Arabs came to the West Coast in mediaeval times that horses were imported from Arabia. Till then the chief sources of the supply of horses must have been the Eastern Archipelago and Burma.

NO 10—INSCRIBED BUDDHIST IMAGE FROM GOPALPUR

By THE LATE PANDIT V. NATFSA AIYAR, B.A., M.R.A.S.

The village of Gōpālpur is situated some three miles to the south-east of Bherāghāt popularly known as 'The Marble Rocks,' in the Jubbalpore District. It lies on the right bank of the Narmadā. The village contains only a few scattered houses owing to its secluded position the place is seldom visited by travellers or tourists. Sir Alexander Cunningham, the pioneer archaeologist, however, seems to have visited the spot in the winter of 1874, for in one of his reports he gives an account of an inscribed stone tablet of the Chūdi dynasty which, he says, was discovered there previously by Professor Hall.³ It was this fact alone which induced me to explore the place while I was encamped at Bherāghāt some eight years ago. Although, unfortunately, the inscription in question could no longer be traced, I was lucky enough to discover within a fortified enclosure, which, I learnt, was then in the occupation of a certain *sādhu*, named Vindhya-sūri, five elegantly carved stone images of the mediaeval period. At

¹ *Ibid* pp. 73--79, and pp. 53--55, and Mackenzie, p. 138. The late Dr. Pope, shortly before his death, expressed his acceptance of the opinion that Mānikkavāsagar lived not later than the fourth century (*Tam. Ant.*, *ut supra*, p. 54).

² See my article on the "Age of Mānikkavāchakar" in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* for 1906.

³ *A. S. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 99.

the time when I noticed these images they were almost completely buried under the ground. However, sufficient remained visible to prove that they possessed great archaeological value and were worth acquiring for the Central Museum at Nagpur, which contained scarcely any Buddhist specimens of this period. I, therefore, had them extricated from the earth and carefully cleaned. And my trouble was more than repaid by the discovery of dedicatory records on three of them.

Four of these images represent the *Bōdhisattva Avalōkitēśvara*, while the fifth is that of his consort *Tārā*. They all wear elaborate ornaments and are seated in an easy posture under a richly decorated canopy, consisting of seven umbrellas rising one above the other like the familiar *hti* on Buddhist stūpas. Numerous attendant figures are ranged on all sides and portrayed as paying devotion to the main deity in the centre. From their technique and the scheme of decoration it appears that they are products of the "Magadha school."

As I have already remarked, only three of the sculptures bear dedicatory inscriptions, and of these latter, two contain barely the Buddhist formula "*ye dharmā hētuṣprabhavā*," etc. The remaining one is more detailed and, therefore, more important. The characters are Nāgarī and belong to the 11th or 12th century A.D. Subjoined are a transcript and translation of this record.

TEXT.

- Line 1 Yō dharmā hētuṣprabhavā hētu[m] tēshām Tathā[ga]tō hy=avadat [*]
tēshā[m] cha yō niro[dha*] ēva[m] vādi Mahāśrava(ma)[na]h ||
[Dē]yadha[r]mōyam pravara mahājānujāyī[nah]¹
2 param-ōpāsaka-kāyastha-śrī-Subhaktā[śya]suta-śrī-Satka(kta)-dauvā(dauvā)rikā(ka)
Dēnuvāyā [Ya*]d=atta(ttra) punyam [ta]d=bhavatv=ā[eh]āry-ōpā[dhyā]ya-
mātāpitrī(tri)-pūrvva[nga]mam [ka]- --
3 tvā sakala-satva-rā[sēr]=anu[tta]ra-jñā[n-ā*]vāpta[yē=stu]²

TRANSLATION.

Line 1 Whichever phenomena are cause-born, of them the cause the Tathāgata (Buddha) alone has said, and what annihilation also there is of them. Such is the lore of the Great Śramaṇa (Buddha).

Ll 1-3 This [is] the pious gift of the follower of the renowned Mahāyāna school, the gate-keeper Dēnuvā, devoted to the illustrious Satka³, son of the great lay-worshipper, the famous Subhaktā, a *kāyastha*. Whatever merit there is herein, let it be for the attainment of supreme wisdom by all classes of sentient beings, particularly, beginning with my spiritual guide, my preceptor and my parents.

No 11 —THE GHUGRAHATI COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF SAMACHARA-DEVA.

By NALINIKANTA BHATTASALI, M.A., CURATOR, DACCA MUSEUM.

An article on this plate by Mr. R. D. Banerji, under the title 'Kotwālīpārā spurious grant of Samāchāra-Dēva', with a prefatory note from Mr. H. E. Stapleton, appeared with a facsimile plate in the August, 1910 number of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, wherein Mr. Banerji upheld Dr. Bloch's opinion (*Arch. Surv. Rep.* for 1907-8, p. 255) that the plate was a forgery.

¹ Read *~yān-ānujāyīnaḥ*

² One of the two verbs *astu* or *bhāsatu* (l. 2) must be cancelled.

³ Possibly Satka or Śrī-Satka was the name of the master under whom Dēnuvā served as a gate-keeper.

Three other copper-plates¹ of a similar nature had, however, been found in the Faridpur district in 1891 and 1892 and been purchased for the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Dr Hoernle. These, after various vicissitudes, were taken in hand by Mr Pargiter and published in the *Indian Antiquary* of July, 1910, in a very able and critical article. The publication of these plates necessitated reconsideration of Mr Banerji's propositions, which he did in an article published in the *J A S B*, June, 1911. Shortly afterwards, Mr Pargiter published an article in the August, 1911 number of the *J A S B*, which was based on the first article of Mr Banerji and was evidently written before Mr Pargiter had occasion to see Mr Banerji's second article. In it, Mr Pargiter very ably defended the genuineness of the Faridpur plates and published a revised reading of the Ghugrahāti plate, which went a long way towards clearing it from the aspersion of ambiguity and unintelligibility cast on it by Mr Banerji. Mr Pargiter also showed, by discussing the palaeography of the grant, that it was not spurious, but a perfectly genuine one. Mr Banerji answered this article in his paper entitled "Four forged grants from Faridpur" in *J A S B*, Dec, 1914, but had no better success than before in maintaining his ground. The recent discovery of five plates from the village of Damodarpur in the Dinajpur district of Bengal, and their publication by Prof R G Basak in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XV, must perhaps induce Mr. Banerji now to reconsider his decision, as these plates bear close family resemblance to the Faridpur plates both as regards palaeography and documentary form. In this article I shall not only try to furnish additional reasons, if any are at all required, for the recognition of the Faridpur plates as genuine, but also hope to identify the Mahārājādhirāja Samāchāra-dēva as one of the kings who took the place of the Guptas in Eastern India towards the end of the 6th Century A D. It will be seen that in the presentation of the text and translation also, I have been able to improve upon Mr Pargiter's reading of the plate in several important points.

I refrain from giving the usual description of the plates, its orthography, etc., since these have been completely dealt with by Messrs Banerji and Pargiter, but proceed at once to give the text which I have read from the original plate, now in the Dacca Museum. Before doing so, I give, in brief, the contents of the inscription. It refers itself to the 14th year of the reign of a hitherto unknown emperor Samāchāra-dēva who is styled Mahārājādhirāja. In that year, Jivadatta was the viceroy or governor in Navyāvakāśikā, which appears to have been the Divisional head-quarters. The District Officer in the district of Vāraka-mandala approved by Jivadatta was Pavatruka. The latter was assisted in his administration by a District Court presided over by the Judge Dāmuka. The affairs of the village or locality to which this refers, were in the joint care of a number of Elders (*Vishaya-Mahattarāḥ*), of whom six are mentioned as in the second plate of Dharmāditya (*Ind Ant*, July, 1910 p 200). Other men of experience in the village had also a say in village affairs. These represented the villagers and like the Panchayets of the present day, transacted the ordinary civil and criminal affairs of the village.

Supratika Svāmī, a Brahman, approached the District Court presided over by Dāmuka as well as the Elders² and men of experience of the locality and applied for a piece of waste land of that locality for settling himself on it. The Elders and the men of experience decided to give him the piece of land free of any consideration, and after authorising Kēsava, Nayanāga and

¹ All my attempts at determining the exact find-spot of these three plates have hitherto been unavailing. Dr Christie, Honorary Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in his letter No 2234 of the 26th September, 1919, informed me that the plates had originally belonged to one Fehuluddin and were purchased from Abdul Kak Abid, but he could not tell me in which particular village the plates were found.

² It deserves to be noted, as already noted by Mr Pargiter, that the name endings of these Elders were Kunḍa, Palita, Ghōsha, Datta and Dāsa, all of which are to be met with in the surnames of the present day *Kāyasthas* and *Naradākhās* of Bengal.

others to mature the transaction on their behalf gave the piece of land to Supratīka Svāmī. The transaction was ratified by the District Court by the issue of a copper-plate deed. The measurement of the land, which was situated in the village of Vyāghrachōraka, is not given, but it included the whole of that place, minus three *lulyarāpas*, which had already been granted to some one else and which were, therefore, separated before the present grant was made.

TEXT¹

Obverse.

- 1 ९ स्वस्त्यस्याम्भृथिव्यामप्रतिरथे नृगनद्वययात्यस्वरीपसम-
- 2 धृतो महाराजाधिराजश्रीसमाचारदेवे प्रतपत्येतच्चरणकरल-²
- 3 युगलाराधनीपात्तनव्यावकाशिकाया सुवर्ण³वो⁴ व्याधिस्तान्तर-
- 4 ⁵इउपरिकजीवदत्तस्तदनुमोदितक[:*] वारकमण्डले विषय-
- 5 पति[:*] पवित्रको यतोस्य व्यवहरतः सुप्रतीकस्वामिना ज्येष्ठाधि-
- 6 करणिकदामुकप्रमुखमधिकरणम्वि⁶पयमहत्तरवत्स-
- 7 कुण्डमहत्तरशुचिपालितमहत्तरविहितघोषशूरद[त्त*]-⁷
- 8 सहत्तरप्रियदा⁸ स्वमहत्तरजनार्दनकुण्डादयः अन्ये च
- 9 वद्वः प्रधाना व्यवहाराश्च⁹ विज्ञाप्ता इच्छाम्यहं भवता¹⁰ प्रसा-¹¹
- 10 दाक्षिरो¹² वसन्नखिलभूखण्डलकं वलिचरुसत्प्रवर्त्तनाय¹³
- 11 ब्राह्मणोपयोगाय च ताम्रपट्टीकृत्य तदर्हय प्रसादकत्तु¹⁴-
- 12 मिति यत ¹⁵एनदभ्यर्थनमुपलभ्य ग्रंथो¹⁶परिलिखिता-

¹ From the original plate.

² Read *kamala*

³ The second *na* looks like a *ta* and is probably a sign for doubling

⁴ Mr Pargiter read *vāthyā*, but on a comparison with the other *ō* and *i* marks used in this inscription, it would appear that the correct reading is *vāthyā*

⁵ Read ^०पेरिक

⁶ [Read ^०करण विषय ^०—Ed]

⁷ The omission of the adjective *maḥattara* before the name *Sūra-Datta*, is probably due to carelessness. The *ū* mark is indicated by the sign for *u* accompanied by a short horizontal stroke or dot below, to the right. Here, the left limb of the *u* mark is curtailed for want of space, and of the two dots to the right, one is probably a natural depression.

⁸ The engraver originally inscribed *Prīyadāsa*, which was subsequently emended to *Prīyadatta*, with the result that the word now appears like *Prīyadāsta*

⁹ Read *vyavahārinatācha viñāptā* [Rather, we must read *viñāptā* as in the Damodarpur Plate—Ed]

¹⁰ Read *tām*

¹¹ Only the left half of the letter *sā* is seen. The other half was not engraved on the plate for want of space

¹² Read *rā*

¹³ The letter *nā* at first sight appears to be *ni*, but it is in reality *nā* as it should be. Compare the other long letters in the inscription, especially *syā* in l. 1.

¹⁴ Read ^०प्रसाद कर्तुं^०

¹⁵ Read *ēlad* [This correction is unnecessary—Ed]

¹⁶ Mr Pargiter had much trouble with this word which cannot be anything else than *gr̥thō*. The left loop of *gr̥* is clearly visible in the original plate, but is incised much shallower than the other letters

Reverse

- 13 नैर्व्यवहारिभिः सम्पृत्य¹ सावटा² स्थापदैर्जुष्टा राज्ञोधम्मय³ निष्फला
 14 या तु⁴ भोग्योक्तता भूमिर्नृपस्यैवार्थधर्मक⁵ तदस्मै ब्राह्मणादायतामि-
 15 त्यवष्टब्ध करणिकनयनागकेशवादीन्कुलवाराम्प्रकल्प्य प्राज्ञामपटो-
 16 क्तचेन्नकुस्यवापतयंमपास्य⁷ व्याघ्रचोरको⁸ यच्छेवं तच्चतुःसीमा-
 17 लिङ्गा⁹निर्दिष्टं कृत्वास्य सुप्रतीकक्षामिनः ताम्रपट्टोक्तव्य प्रतिपादित¹⁰
 18 सोमालिङ्गानि चाक्षः¹¹ पूर्वस्यां पिशाचपकंटी दक्षिणेन विद्या-
 19 धरजोटिका पश्चिमायां चन्द्रवम्भ¹² कोटकोणः¹³ उत्तरेन¹⁴ गो-
 20 पेन्द्रचोरकग्रामसीमाचेति ॥ भवन्ति चाक्ष श्लोकाः पट्टिस्वर्पसह¹⁵
 21 साणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता वा तान्येव नरके वसेत् ।
 22 स्रदता¹⁶ मरदत्ताम्वा यो हरेत् वसु¹⁷स्वरां स्वविष्टाया¹⁸ कृमिभूत्वा¹⁹ पितृभि²⁰
 23 सह पश्यते ॥ सप्तवत् १० ४ कार्त्ति दि २²¹ ॥

¹ The word, as Mr Pargiter very reasonably brought out, is undoubtedly *anamsritya*, but the projection of the perpendicular stroke of *sa* upwards, cannot be taken as an *anusvāra* as the other *sa's* in this inscription have also this peculiarity. The *anusvāra* over *sa* seems to have been left out through the engraver's mistakes. [The reading is सम्पृत्य and not सम्पृत्य. I do not see the *r*=sign of स्वर on the impression.—Ed.]

² Mr Pargiter's suggestion of *śhaṭā* here as the irregular instrumental case of the numeral *śhaṣṭh* is inadmissible, as it would give *śhaṣṭā*. The second letter of the word looks like *ba*, but it has also a very close resemblance to *pa*, occurring in the same line. If it is a *ba* which has in no other place been used in this plate, it is an incorrect use, as the word *avaṭa*, meaning hole, is spelt with *v* and not *b*. The letter may, however, be either *p* or *śh* and should be emended to *v*.

³ Read *dhammārīṭha*. The *ā* mark is left out. Mr Pargiter's suggestion that the word is *dhāvyarīṭha* cannot stand. The letters clearly read *dhammārīṭha*, the doubling of *m* being indicated by a peculiar stroke (*vide* *suvarāṇa* in 1, 3). The tube which makes the double *m* is broken. It is not the sign which is used in doubling *na*; for in other cases of double *m* in the inscription it is not seen.—Ed.)

⁴ The second letter on this line is clearly *tu*. The first letter has certainly been ill-formed and the simplest and the most probable emendation is *yā*.

⁵ Read *kṛtā*.

⁶ Read *Brāhmaṇāya diyatām*.

⁷ Read *trayamapāśya*.

⁸ Read *chōrakē*.

⁹ Read *liṅgaṇīrddīśṣam*.

¹⁰ Read *taṃ* [1*].

¹¹ Omit *ḥ*.

¹² Read *garvma*. *Mma* is not *mpa*, as Mr Pargiter takes it to be. Cf *dhamma* on line 14.

¹³ The word is *kōṇaḥ* and not *kēmaḥ*. The right stroke of *ō* over *k* is represented by a series of short shallow strokes, which are clearly visible on the original plate. Neither Mr Banerji nor Mr Pargiter observed these strokes, and thus missed some very important historical information furnished by the plate.

¹⁴ Read *uttarēna*.

¹⁵ Read *śhaṣṭīm varṣa*.

¹⁶ Read *svadattām paradattām vā*.

¹⁷ Mr Pargiter read *sū*, but there is no justification for it. The right horizontal stroke in the middle, which makes *ū*, is absent.

¹⁸ Read *yām*.

¹⁹ Read *rbhū*.

²⁰ Read *bhissaka*.

²¹ The figure is 2 and not 1. Both Mr Banerji and Mr Pargiter have overlooked that there is a symbol like a comma [Possibly it is not intentional.—Ed.] below the usual mark for 1 which makes the figure 2.

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 5) May success attend¹ May welfare accrue² While the Mahārājādhirāja (the supreme lord of kings), Samāchāra-dēva, who is without a rival on this earth and who is equal in prowess to Nrga, Nahusha, Yayāti and Ambarisha,—is (ruling) in splendour, Jivadatta, of the intimate class of servants (of his Majesty), master of the bullion market,³ (flourished as governor) in Navyāvakāśikā⁴ through paying court to the twin lotus-like feet of that monarch (Samāchāra-dēva) and the district officer in (the district of) Vāraka-mandala,⁵ approved of him (Jiva-datta), (was) Pavitruka

(Lines 5 to 11) While he (Pavitruka) was administering, whereas his District Court presided over by the Chief Judge (*Jyēsthādhipikarānaka*) Dāmuka, as well as the Elder⁶ Vatsa-Kunda, the Elder Śuchi-Pālita, the Elder Vihita Ghōsha, (the Elder) Śūra-Da[ta], the Elder Priya-Datta, the Elder Janārdhana-Kunda and others in charge of affairs⁷ (of the village in question), and many other leading gentlemen (of the village) skilled in Law⁸ were apprised by Supratika Svāmī (thus) —I wish through your honours' favour for a piece of waste land which has long lain neglected, for the establishment of *Bali*, *Charu* and *Sattra*⁹, (thus) getting it to be of use to a Brāhmana, do ye favour me (with it) by issuing a copper-plate deed

¹ For this explanation of the symbol at the beginning see my remarks, above, Vol XVII, p 352

² This phrase expresses the force of the word *seast*, better than the usual 'Hail'

³ *Sivarnanapithyādhipikā* is in all probability a title, honorary or otherwise *Pithi* means a market, a stall or a shop in the market, and hence I have translated the phrase literally as above The real title, however, may have been 'Master of the Mint or Treasury'

⁴ *Navyāvakāśikā* was, without doubt, the Divisional head-quarters

⁵ The name of the district was Vāraka-mandala The expressions such as *Vāraka-mandalē vishayapati-Pavitrukah*, *Vārakamandalavishayādhipikarānasya* suggest that the name of the *vishaya* itself was Vāraka-mandala From a study of the Bengal plates, it appears that *bhukti* was the largest territorial division of a kingdom, it was divided into a number of *vishayas* or districts These were again divided into *mandalas* or circles, which were again sometimes sub-divided into *khandalas* or parts

⁶ *Mahattara* is a title, something like the 'Honourable' of the present day It is of frequent use in the epigraphs of this period and survives in the term *Mahāto* applied to village Elders down to the present day It carries with it the idea of dignity and superior worth and may adequately be translated by the term Elder [In Tamil Chōla inscriptions of the 11th Century, we have the corresponding title *perundanam* or *perundaram* conferred on officers and other private persons (*S I Insers*) Vol II, p 98, 141, etc.—Ed]

⁷ *Vishaya-Mahattara* has nothing to do with the territorial division *Vishaya* *Vishaya* here means affairs

Compare the phraseology of this part of the present deed with the second plate of Dharmāditya, viz *Jyēsthā-kāyastha-Nayascānapramukhamadhikaranam Mahattara Sōmaghōsha-purahsarās=cha Vishayānām Mahattarā vijñāptāh* These deeds were the issues of a District Court, namely that of the district of Vāraka-mandala, and the Mahattaras cannot reasonably be supposed to have jurisdiction in districts other than the district of Vāraka-mandala as *vishayānām*, used in the plural number, would indicate, if, *vishaya* were to mean,—'a district', here Thus *vishaya*—here becomes a plain word meaning 'affairs' [In the first plate of Dharmāditya a very large number of *vishaya-mahattaras* 'the leading men of the district' are mentioned in connection with a grant in the very same Vāraka-mandala Perhaps *vishaya-mahattara* like *mahattara* was a title without any particular reference to a function In our inscription Vatsa-Kunda may have been a District Elder (*Vishaya-Mahattara*) in this sense, while the others were only ordinary Mahattaras (Elders) that formed a *sabhā* for the occasion, being the 'leading men' of the village, they were not necessarily men of law (*vyavahārīnāh*) —Ed]

⁸ The technical term *vyavahāra* is ordinarily used to mean law, and *Vyavahārīn* are these who are experts in law and legal procedure

⁹ Manu (Chap III, verses 87ff) enjoins on all householders the performance of the five great sacrifices (*Pāñcha-mahā yajñas*), viz —(i) Study and teaching, which together is called *Brahmayajña* or *Rishiyajña*, (ii) offering oblations to departed ancestors = *Pitriyajña*, (iii) giving food to all creatures = *Bali* or *Bhūtajajña* (iv) entertaining guests = *Ātriyajña*, (v) *Hōma* or sacrifice = *Dēvayajña* Of these, the 2nd, 3rd and 4th (which are equivalent to *Charu*, *Bali*, and *Sattra*) appear to have been the most important, and the term *Bali Charu-Sattra-procaryanam* for establishment of *Bali*, *Charu* and *Sattra* came to mean the establishment of a householder

(Lines 12—17) Wherefore, the above-enumerated Elders and others who were skilled in Law, receiving this petition and calling to mind (the following *śloka*) —‘The land which is full of pits and which is infested with wild beasts, is unprofitable to the king both as regards revenue and religious merit. That land, if made capable of being used, does bring revenue and merit to the king himself’,—and having decided—‘Let it be given to this Brāhmana’—and having recognised (*i.e.* constituted) the Karamikas Naya Nāga, Keśava and others as the representatives of the public¹ and having separated the three *kulya* sowing areas² of land previously granted away by a copper plate, (the aforesaid gentlemen) established the land that remained in Vyāghra-chōraka by the issue of a copper-plate, after the demarcation of boundaries, as being (henceforward) in the possession of this Supātika Svāmī

(Lines 18—20) And the boundary indications are these — On the east, the goblin haunted Paikkattī tree, on the south, the Vidyādharā Jotikā³, on the west, the corner of Chandravarmman’s fort, on the north, the boundary of the village Gōpēndia chōraka

(Lines 20—23) And here apply the verses —The grantor of land delights in heaven for sixty thousand years. The confiscator or one who approves of confiscation resides in hell for an equal number of years. Whoever takes away land granted by himself or others becomes worm in his own ordure and rots there along with his ancestors

The year 14, the 2nd day of Kārttika

Now, I propose to discuss the various issues raised by the inscription. The first point is the determination of the identity of Samāchāra-dēva

Mr Pargiter has pointed out that even if the grant were spurious, no forger would be so foolish as to date it in the reign of a king who never existed (*J A S B*, August, 1911, p 499). We can adduce stronger proofs of his existence. I refer to the two gold coins, described as ‘Uncertain’ on pp 120 and 122 of the *Catalogue of Coins*, I M C, Vol I, and illustrated as Nos 11 and 13 on Plate XVI. They are both of gold (considerably alloyed with silver). One of them, of the Rājāḷā type, was found near Muhammadpur in the Jessore district of Bengal along with a gold coin of Śāśānka, and another gold coin of the light-weight ‘Imitation Gupta’ type, as well as silver coins of Chandia-Gupta, Skanda Gupta and Kumāra Gupta (Allan, *Catalogue of Gupta Coins*, Introd, See 171, and *J A S B*, 1852, Plate XII). The provenance of the other coin is unknown. It is of the common Aicher Type of Gupta coins. The king’s name occurs below the right arm of the king. A letter occurs between the feet of the king which Dr Smith recognised as *Cha*. The reverse legend is recognised as Narēndia-Vināta with some hesitation. Of the Rājāḷā coin, he read the name of the king on the obverse as *Yamadha* written in characters of the close of the sixth century A D and the reverse legend as *Narēndiāditya*. Mr Allan, in his *Catalogue of Gupta Coins*, attributes the ‘Aicher Type’ coin to a period earlier than that of Śāśānka (Intro, p LXI), and, from the supplanting of the Gauda Standard of the Guptas by the Bull Standard on this coin, surmises that the coin was of a devout Śāra. The

¹ Mr Pargiter explains *kulavārān* as referees or arbitrators. The word is composed of two sections, *kula* and *vāra*, the former means the chief, the head, and the latter means the common populace, the public. Hence the meaning ‘the chief men of the people’.

² As much land as could be sown by a *kulā* (winnowing basket) full of seed. The term *Kudavā*, equivalent to Bigha, the most current land measure in Bengal, appears to be a corruption of the term *kulya-āpa*. The name survives in the form of *Kulavāya* (কুলবায়), the name of the standard land measure in the Sylhet District.

³ Mr Pargiter explains *Jotikā* as equivalent to Bengali *Jot*, meaning cultivating tenure. This is hardly defensible, though the word is a derivative form *Joṭa*. *Jot* is most likely derived from the Sanskrit word *ya-staka*, which means, one’s exclusive private property, any property in general. The word *Joṭa* is derived from the root *juṭ*=to come together. *Joṭa* is still a very common word in Bengali, meaning union or coming together. The term *joṭikā*, with the shortened form *joṭa*, occurs also in the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapālādēva (*Ep Ind*, Vol IV, p 249, text ll 36 ff). Reference is to the corrected reading of the plate in *Gaudalīkhamālā* by Mr A K Maitreya.

king's name he reads hesitatingly (Sec 165) as *Saha* or *Samācha* or *Yamācha*, and thus wants to connect it with the Rājātilā coin on which he reads the king's name as *Yamācha*. The reverse legend he reads on both the coins as *Narēndrāditya*.

In the *Archæological Survey Report* for 1913-14, Mr R D Banerji discusses these two coins again. He observes that the name of the king on the obverse of both the coins is the same, viz *Yamā*. The reverse legend is read as *Narēndravinata*.

A careful study of the two coins will convince any scholar that the name of the king is the same on both the coins and it cannot be read as anything else than *Samāchā* (समाच) and the reading is confirmed when we come to know of a contemporary king *Samāchāra-dēva* by name, whose copper-plate inscription was discovered not far from the find spot of one of these coins (the Rājātilā coin) and the *lettering of whose name, as written on his copper-plate, closely agrees to the lettering on these coins*. The coins may therefore be assigned to *Samāchāra-dēva* of the Ghugrāhātī plate and they furnish proofs, hitherto wanting, of his existence and reign and of the genuineness of the Ghugrāhātī plate. These coins may be described thus —

No 1 Coin of *Samāchāra dēva*; alloyed gold, provenance unknown, wt 148.2 gr
Diameter 9 in

Obv —The king, in traditional Gupta dress, standing in the *Tribhanga* pose with a halo round the head, to the left of which curls are shown. He has a necklace of pearls. A bow is shown in the left hand, while the right hand is offering incense at an altar. Below the left hand, in characters of the close of the sixth century A D, is found *Samā*, between the feet is *chā*, and above the Bull of the Standard, probably *ra*. The *ā* in *mā* is a superscript angular stroke and the *ā* in *chā* is a short perpendicular stroke to the proper left, exactly as found on the Ghugrāhātī plate of *Samāchāra dēva*, but in this plate *chā* has the angular stroke and *mā* the perpendicular one. These methods of marking *ā* appear to be indiscriminate.

To the right of the king appears a standard surmounted by a bull. The Bull Standard would indicate that the king was a devout Śaiva and belonged to a line different from the Gupta line so long predominant.

Reverse —A goddess, nimbate, seated on a full-blown lotus with a lotus bud in her left hand and a noose in the right. To the right of the head of the goddess is seen what appears to be an indistinct monogram and on the left margin occurs the legend *Narēndravinata*.

No 2 Coin of *Samāchāra-dēva*, alloyed gold, slightly purer than No 1, wt 149 gr.
Diameter 8 in

Obv —The king, nimbate, sitting on a couch in (for coins) a unique Rājātilā pose, and looking to his right. His left hand is raised as if to fondle the female figure standing to the left by touching her chin. The right hand is placed on the hip. Above the left hand occur *sa mā*, below the couch *chā* and beneath the feet of the female figure to the right of the king, *ra*.

Reverse —Goddess *Sarasvatī*,¹ nimbate, standing on a lotus bud in *Tribhanga* pose and looking to her right, the left hand rests on a lotus, while the goddess draws another lotus towards her face with her right hand. A lotus bud is on a stalk below the bend of the right hand, below which again is a *Hamsa* (swan) with neck stretched upwards. On the left margin occurs the legend *Narēndravinata*. The reverse type is also unique.

Some conclusions force themselves upon the careful observer of these two coins —

(1) The king was certainly not of the Gupta lineage, though he may well have been a successor of the Guptas in the dominions where the Guptas had once held sway.


¹ Allan calls the figure *Lakshmi*, but *Hamsa* (swan) is ordinarily associated only with the goddess of learning, *Sarasvatī*.

(2) Samāchāra must, on palæographic grounds, be placed earlier than Śasānka in chronology, also because there is no place for Samāchāra in chronology after Śasānka whose immediate successors in Eastern India were first Harsha and then Aditya-Sena and his descendants.

(3) He was a devout Śaiva. The continuance of the Bull Symbol by Śasānka as well as the facts (a) that the Rājatilā coin was found with a coin of Śasānka, (b) that Śasānka's lineage and parentage have never yet been satisfactorily established, make it almost certain that Samāchāra was a predecessor of Śasānka in the kingdom of Gauda and of the same lineage, perhaps his father.

(4) The Rājatilā coin may be later than the other coin, as it shows a distinctly greater change from the almost conventional type of the latter.

Two other kings stand connected with Samāchāra-dēva, viz Mahārajadhrāja Dharmāditya and Mahārajadhrāja Gōpa-Chandra of the Faridpur plates published by Mr Pringle. In order, therefore, to locate the position of these kings in the chronology of the country, it is necessary to clear up, if possible, some doubtful points in the chronology of the Gupta kings and their successors during the sixth century A D. The publication by Prof Basak of the five plates of the Gupta kings Kumāra-Gupta, Budha-Gupta and Bhānu (?) -Gupta (Above, Vol XV, No 7) has given all students interested, the opportunity of rediscussing the matter.

The evidence of the Bhānu hoard (Allan, *Gupta Coins*, Intro, 1), in which coins of Samudra-Gupta, Chandra-Gupta II, Kumāra-Gupta I, Skanda-Gupta and Prakāśāditya were found buried together, made possible the natural deduction that Prakāśāditya succeeded Skanda-Gupta and the hoard was buried in Prakāśāditya's reign. No one has yet succeeded in solving the problem who this Prakāśāditya was, and the purity of gold in his gold coins has been a puzzle. It may be now accepted that Kumāra-Gupta II was the son and successor of Skanda-Gupta and so we must see if he can be connected with the coins bearing the legend Prakāśāditya. These coins are all of the 'horseman' type and the letter which signifies the king's name on the obverse has been taken to be an otherwise inexplicable *Ru* (Allan, pp 135-36, Plate XXII, Nos 1-6). I think, however, that this reading will have to be revised. The letter on coin No 1 is almost certainly *Ku*, the *mātrā* or the top horizontal line being very prominent, though unfortunately mixed up with a band hanging from the saddle of the horse. On coins Nos 3 and 4, this letter is indistinct, while on coins 2 and 6 the letter certainly looks like *ru*. The letter on coin No 5 has been made in one stroke, thus  and it is hardly possible to read it as *ru*. This, I think, will have to be taken as *Ku*, and the letters on Nos 2 and 6 also as *Ku*, executed as badly as the horse and the horseman on the coins are.

Several scholars have attempted to identify this Kumāra-Gupta with Kumāra-Gupta, the son and successor of Narasimha-Gupta, and to thrust in the reigns of Nara and Pura between G E 148=467 A D, the last known date of Skanda-Gupta, and G E 154=473 A D, the first known date of Kumāra-Gupta. By this arrangement, Budha and Bhānu are to be placed after Pura, Nara and Kumāra. This is a rather risky proposal. There is no certainty that 467 A D is the last date of Skanda. Similarly 473 A D may not be the first date of Kumāra. If these two dates approach each other by even one year, Pura and Nara have barely four years left between them. The find of coins, which presupposes their currency in a locality, is more or less a sure measure of the importance and duration of the reign of kings represented by them and the extent of their kingdom. The *British Museum Catalogue* describes 12 coins and the *Indian Museum Catalogue* 6 coins of Nara, 4 and 3 coins respectively of Pura are described in the *British Museum Catalogue* and in the *Lucknow Museum Catalogue*. I have seen a number of coins of Nara in the Nāhār Collections of Calcutta and in the collection of the Vaidya Śāhitya Parishat of Calcutta. Some more coins of Nara are to be found in the possession of Rai Mityunājy Chondhuri Bahadur of Rangpur. To ascribe a reign of only two or three years

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO, ILL.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO, ILL.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO, ILL.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO, ILL.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO, ILL.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO, ILL.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO, ILL.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO, ILL.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO, ILL.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO, ILL.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO, ILL.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO, ILL.

From the acknowledgment about the same time of the suzerainty of the Guptas in the eastern parts of the country (modern Central Provinces) by the Parikrājaka Mahārājas and Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa, Prof. Basak has been led to suppose (*Ep Ind*, XV, 7, p 125) that Bhānu-Gupta was the victor in the battle in which Gōparāja was killed. But I do not think that the supposition is reasonable. The following facts should be considered —

(i) Gōparāja who appears to have been a powerful ally of Bhānu-Gupta was killed in the battle

(ii) If Bhānu-Gupta were victorious, the fact would certainly have been mentioned. Victory lay on the other side, hence the silence and the consolation of some high-sounding adjectives

(iii) Bhānu-Gupta had evidently lost his former power, for, had he still been the suzerain, the fact would have been mentioned, and the loss of power can only result from defeat in battle in such a situation

(iv) The suzerainty of Tōramāna is acknowledged by Dhanya-Vishnu, king of Eran, while some years previously he and his elder brother Mātṛ-Vishnu had acknowledged Budha-Gupta as the suzerain¹

From these it appears to be clear that the contest between Bhānu-Gupta and the aggressive Tōramāna took place in Eran about 191 G.E. = 510 A.D., and that the battle resulted in the Gupta Emperor being worsted and having to cede Malwa to the invader. Bhānu-Gupta was probably killed in action, as was his faithful ally Gōparāja, and also perhaps Mātṛ Vishnu, or, if Bhānu-Gupta survived, he is not likely to have survived long

Thus from Skanda-Gupta to Bhānu-Gupta we have an unbroken line of succession. Where, then, is the place for Pura-Gupta of the Bhitari seal and his line? Mr. Allan and others have assumed that during the latter days of Skanda-Gupta, Pura-Gupta, his brother or half-brother, revolted and established an independent principality (Allan, *Intio*, Sec 62). But where was this principality? We find Budha-Gupta implicitly obeyed from Mālwa to Paundriavardhana. Where is the place in which Pura-Gupta or his successors were obeyed?

Prof. Basak wrote (*Ep Ind*, XV, p 120) "But with our present stock of knowledge, it is not very easy to indicate the place where the branch line headed by Pura-Gupta may have ruled, . . . It may be believed that the rulers of the stronger branch may, by courtesy and in good-will, have suffered the other branch to rule somewhere in the eastern portion of the Gupta empire, perhaps in south Bihār."

Such courtesy to a branch whose origin was in revolt would be, to say the least, impolitic. The truth seems to be that Pura-Gupta was a child of four or five¹ when Kumara-Gupta I died and Skanda-Gupta succeeded him on the throne, and that the child was brought up in the harem,² as his name signifies. When the last king Bhānu-Gupta of the main line died, possibly without leaving any successor, this Gupta prince, the grand-uncle of the last two kings, who must now have reached an age of at least 60 years, was called to fill the vacant throne. If subsequent researches prove my inference to be correct, a tragedy like the crowning of Pura-Gupta has seldom happened in history.

Pura-Gupta cannot have reigned for more than a few years and the accession of his son Narasimha-Gupta Bālāditya may be dated in 196 G.E. = 515 A.D. Mihirakula may have succeeded his father at Sākala about this time.

We know from Yuan Chwang that Mihirakula invaded the kingdom of Bālāditya, who is called king of Magadha. In the war that ensued Mihirakula seems to have been taken

¹ [These reasons are not quite convincing — Ed.]

² [This does not appear to be a reasonable inference. The author is evidently led to it by Pura, meaning a harem. — Ed.]

prisoner and condemned to death, but was saved from death by the intervention of the mother of Bālāditya (Vatsadēvi) This contest may be dated about 525-530 A D¹

I leave out of discussion the position of Yaśodharman and Vishnu-vardhana in chronology as it has hardly any bearing on the present scheme

Narasimha-Gupta Bālāditya did not probably long survive his victory over Mihirakula, and the accession of the next king Kumāra-Gupta III may be dated in G E 213=532 A.D. The last Damodarpur plate is dated in 214 G E and it was issued during the reign of a Gupta whose name has been broken away I have reasons to think that he was Kumāra-Gupta III Prof Basak supposes that only two letters have been broken away and lost, but the letter *ra*, the last letter of Kumāra, which is simply a perpendicular stroke, does not occupy much space, and further discoveries will, I think, show that the Gupta king ruling in the East in 214 G E =533 A.D was Kumāra-Gupta III, son of Bālāditya

On the testimony of the Kalghat hoard² which contained coins of Bālāditya, Kumāra-Gupta III, Chandra-Gupta III and Vishnu(Gupta³)-Chandrāditya, we may take the successor of Kumāra-Gupta III as Chandra-Gupta III, who appears to have been succeeded by one whose name began with Vishnu and whose title was Chandrāditya³ We cannot say definitely who this Vishnu was But there cannot be any doubt that he was of the imperial Gupta line, as the Garuda standard on his coins would signify.

For the remaining period, until the first established date of Śaśānka in 606 A D, Eastern India was ruled, as Mr Pargiter has demonstrated, by the emperors Dharmāditya, Gōpa-Chandra and Samāchāra It has been already pointed out that Samāchāra was a devotee of Śiva, and it does not seem an impossible conjecture that all these kings were related to one another and formed a dynasty that took the place of the Guptas in Eastern India.

TOPOGRAPHY

As already pointed out, Vāraka-mandala was the name of the district

About the position of Vāraka-mandala I am in substantial agreement with Mr Pargiter and I think that he is right in thinking that Varendra or Varendri is derived from the same root The word *Vāraka* means obstructing, opposing, *mandala* means a collection of small areas So the word *Vāraka-mandala* should be taken to mean, an area of land consisting of smaller areas lying between and separating rivers, *Vāraka* may also be taken in the sense of 'the deltaic land that obstructs and alters the current of a river'; *Vāraka-mandala* would then be a group of deltaic areas Anyway, *Vāraka-mandala* would be the district round Kotālpāḍā in the present district of Farīdpur, almost in the heart of what was anciently known as Vanga

Kotālpāḍā is at present a *Parganāh* in the district of Farīdpur The old settlement was in and about the old mud fort there, in the vicinity of which the Ghugrahāti plate of Samāchāra-dēva was found. A number of gold coins of the Gupta emperors have been found outside the western *par* or embankment of the fort

¹ Prof H Roychaudhuri's objections to identify Narasimha-Gupta Bālāditya with the conqueror of Mihirakula do not appear to be very sound (*J A S B*, Vol XVII, p 315) Even allowing that Yuan Chwang's statements regarding Bālāditya's predecessors are historically accurate, Tathāgata is not stated to be the father of Bālāditya nor Buddha of Tathāgata, and there is no mention of immediate succession Bālāditya's son is Kumāra Gupta. Yuan Chwang gives his name as Vajra, but evidently this is a pet name or a family name and not the royal name

² See Allan, Intro, Sec 166-169 and pages 137-146

³ A sun as well as a moon. A sun of scorching rays to his enemies and a moon of pleasing and cool rays to his friends

Koṭālpādā is at present surrounded on all sides by big marshes, it is inconceivable that any sane man could think of a royal settlement in such a water-logged area. But the big fort is there, and brick constructions very often come up unexpectedly from low water-logged places. As correctly surmised by some scholars, the low level of Koṭālpādā appears to be the effect of subsidence due to earthquake. We find a new town Navyāvakāśikā springing up during the reign of Dharmmāditya which does not seem to have existed in the third year of the same king. The presumption is that, about the fifth or sixth year of the reign of Dharmmāditya, owing to an earthquake, marshes began to form round Koṭālpādā which had been a flourishing royal settlement for the past two centuries and a half, and necessity was felt for shifting the gubernatorial head-quarters to some new and safer site on more settled land. Koṭālpādā continued as a district head-quarters, but the value of its land decreased so much that we find almost a whole village, which is described as having long lain fallow, given away to a Brahmin for no consideration.

Where was Navyāvakāśī' ā, the new Divisional head quarters? Nāgadēva had his head-quarters at Navyāvakāśikā, which from the very name appears to have been a recently founded town during the reign of Dharmmāditya, in the interval between the plates A and B published by Mr. Paigter.

Atakāsa means an opening, an aperture, and its derivative *avakāśikā* may very well mean a *khāl*, a canal, and the whole name *Navyāvakāśikā* would mean, the place provided with a new canal. There is a place called Sābhār in the Dacca district which contains imposing ruins of a traditional king called Hariśchandra. Numerous gold coins of the 'Imitation Gupta' type have been found exclusively from Sābhār. The Dacca Museum cabinet possesses eight such coins from Sābhār. The place contains a fort, 250 yards by 190 yards in area. A water course breaks off from the river Bangsai about two miles above the place where the fort stands and after running through the eastern part of the site of the old town, turns to the west and re-enters the river just below the southern face of the fort. The canal, which is undoubtedly in part artificial, is locally called Kātāgāngā—'the dug-out river'. The ruins of the royal palaces and temples are situated on the south-east corner of this enclosure, outside the Kātāgāngā. This old site appears to answer to the name Navyāvakāśikā very well. The discovery of 'Imitation Gupta' gold coins throughout this site distinguishes it from any other old site in Eastern Bengal and also shows that its foundation goes back to the time we are discussing.

It would thus appear that the ruins at Sābhār may be identified with Navyāvakāśikā. The word Sābhār, a corruption of *Sambhāra*, means fullness, wealth, affluence. A visit to the site will convince anyone that it was a well-planned city of very great affluence surrounded by an artificial water-course. The latter might have been the cause of its name Navyāvakāśikā, while its subsequent opulence and splendour earned for it the name of Sambhāra—"Wealth and plenty materialised."

It is easy to prove that Koṭālpādā is the older of the two ancient sites. Below we shall show that the fort at Koṭālpādā dates from a period previous to the Guptas, but the discovery of the gold coins of the Gupta emperors exclusively from this site and only coins of the 'Imitation Gupta' type, which were undoubtedly much later currency, from Sābhār tends to show that the former site is the more ancient of the two. It is needless to notice in detail the gold coins discovered at Koṭālpādā or the 'Imitation Gupta' coins from Sābhār. This is done in a separate article in the Numismatic Supplement to the *J A S. B.* It may only be stated here

that gold coins of Chandra-Gupta II and Skanda-Gupta and silver coins with the figure of peacocks on them have been found in and about the ramparts of the fort there.

The land granted by the Ghugrahāti plate was in a village called Vyāghra-chōraka. Three *kulga*-sowing areas of land were taken away from it and the rest of the hamlet was given to the donee. The boundary indications of the land granted are thus given—On the east, the goblin-haunted Paukkaṭṭi tree, on the south, Vidyādhara Jotikā, on the west, a corner of Chandravarmman's fort, on the north, the boundary of the village Gōpēndra-chōraka. Chandravarmman's fort cannot be any other place than the big fort at Kotālpādā.

About half a mile to the north-west from the north-east corner of this fort, there is a forsaken homestead with a tank, which is called Jatiābādi or Jatiā's house. It is traditionally remembered to have been the residence of one Vidyādhara and his wife Jatiā Budī. The place is supposed to be haunted. By the north bank of the tank at Jatiābādi, there run, east-west, two curious parallel embanked roads. The one was, they say, meant for the king and his officers and the other for the common people. This double road appears to have been denoted by the term Jotikā or two roads placed together. The village of Govindapur begins a little north of this place and this was no doubt the Gōpēndra-chōraka of the plate, the words Gōvinda and Gōpēndra¹ being synonymous.

Who is this Chandravarmman, who was still remembered in his handiwork—the fort at Kotālpādā—even in the time of Samāchāra-dēva?² This fort, which measures $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, is the biggest ancient earthwork known in Bengal, the next in size being that at Mahāsthān (the ancient Paundravardhana) which is only 1,000 yards \times 1,500 yards. He must have been a powerful king who could construct so large a fort, in this low-lying tract, and the discovery of the gold coins of Gupta emperors from the vicinity show that the founder was at least as old as the Guptas. We are at once reminded of the Chandra of the Meherauli pillar inscription who “when warring in the Vanga countries, kneaded and turned back with his breast the enemies who uniting together came against him and thus wrote fame on his arms by his sword” (Fleet, *C I I* p 141). Fleet emphasised the early character of the palæography of this inscription which is not dated, and Allan, with his usual insight, rejected the identification of this Chandra with Chandra-Gupta II. Finally M. M. Haraprasad Sastri has identified this Chandra with Chandravarmman—son of Simhavarmman of Pushkaraṇḍa, of the Śūsunīā Hill inscription,—who was finally overthrown by Samudra-Gupta about the third decade of the fourth century A.D. When we see that a most impressive monument in the shape of a great fort, to which Chandravarmman's name is applied even in the sixth century A.D. turns up in Kotālpādā near the heart of old Vanga, we are finally convinced that these scholars, and particularly M. M. Sastri, are right in identifying the Chandra of the Meherauli pillar inscription,³ who came and warred in Vanga, as Chandravarmman, of whose advent in Bengal we have now a tangible proof in the shape of the great fort known after him. Chandravarmman's campaigns in Bengal and the foundation of the fortified settlement at Kotālpādā⁵ may be approximately dated about 315 A.D.

¹ [The identification is not convincing—Ed.]

² In an attempt to identify Chandra with Chandra-Gupta I, Prof. Basak writes: “Where is the evidence that Bengal had ever been in the possession of Chandravarmman? . . . We have as yet got no such historical evidence nor can we expect to get it in future” (*Ind. Ant.*, June, 1919, p. 101). This last statement only proves the necessity of caution in our prediction as to what future may bring up.

³ Kotālpādā means the *pādā* or hamlet founded on the *ālī* or ramparts of the *koṭ* or fort.

No 12—JODHPUR INSCRIPTION OF PRATIHARA BAUKA, V S 894

B. R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D., DACCA

This inscription was first edited, without any translation and facsimile, by Munshi Deviprasad of Jodhpur in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1894, pp 1 ff. I re-edit it at the suggestion of, and from an estampage kindly supplied to me by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar. The stone which bears this inscription was discovered about 1892, in the wall surrounding the city of Jodhpur, but, as Professor Bhandarkar suggests, it was probably brought there from Mandor, five miles to the north of the city.¹

The inscription consists of twenty-two lines of writing which cover a space of about 2'-10" broad by 2'-1½" high. It is generally in a good state of preservation, although some letters have peeled off here and there. The engraving is remarkably excellent. The size of the letters is between ⅞" and ¾". The characters are of the type used in the inscriptions of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty, but the following peculiarities may be noted:—

The triangle at the right lower end of *lh* is represented by a simple wedge. Both the forms of *n* illustrated in Bühler's Chart (V 24 II, III,) are used. *N* is formed by a distinct loop, as in the Dighwā-Dubauli plate.² The forms of *bh* and *s* resemble those of the Pehoa Prasasti³ and are different from those used in the Gwalior inscription of Bhōja I.⁴

The language is Sanskrit, and excepting the benedictory formula "*Om namō Viṣṇave*" at the beginning, and the date and the engraver's name at the end, the inscription is written in verse. As Munshi Deviprasad remarks, "the language offers some serious blunders." Thus we have *dhīmām* and *vansajām* in v 3, where the *anusvāra* stands for the final *n*. Similar errors also occur in v 27. *Tyagya* for *tyaktvā*, *stambhya* for *stambhivā*, and *prahatvā* for *prahatya* occur in ll 17 and 15, respectively. Other instances will be noticed in their proper places, but it appears that the writer was influenced by the idioms of the Prakrit language, which, as the Ghatiyālā inscription of Kakkuka⁵ shows, was also used in official documents, about this period. As regards orthography we have to notice (1) the regular use of the proper sign for the letter *b*, (2) the use of *upadhmānīya* before *p* (e.g. in *vah=pāyād* in l 1), (3) the doubling of *s* in place of *visarga* (e.g. in *yatas=sarga* in l 1), (4) the use of the guttural nasal instead of *anusvāra* before *ś* (e.g. in *-vansa*" in l 2), (5) doubling of *k* and *t* in conjunction with a following *v* (e.g. in *-vikkramānītān* and *-bhṛāttrā* in l 2), (6) the doubling of consonants after *r* (e.g. in *saṅga*, l 1), but note the use of single *v* and *y* after *r* (e.g. in *prāttāryam* in l 3 and *r=vrachitām* in l 19), and (7) the use of *ṭtri* for *tri* (in *kṣhattriyā* in ll 3 and 4).

The inscription records in the last five verses (27 to 31) the military exploits of a Pratihāra chief called Bāuka and gives in vv 4 to 26 an account of the dynasty to which he belonged. The eulogy of Bāuka as described in the record seems to suggest that Bāuka must have been away on a career of conquest when his kingdom was attacked by a confederacy of kings. His own partisans were unable to stand the fight and broke into disorder, when Bāuka suddenly appeared on the scene, rallied his men and gained a complete victory. This heroic feat that saved the country from a great disaster is the main theme of the inscription.

¹ *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, 1906-7*, p 30

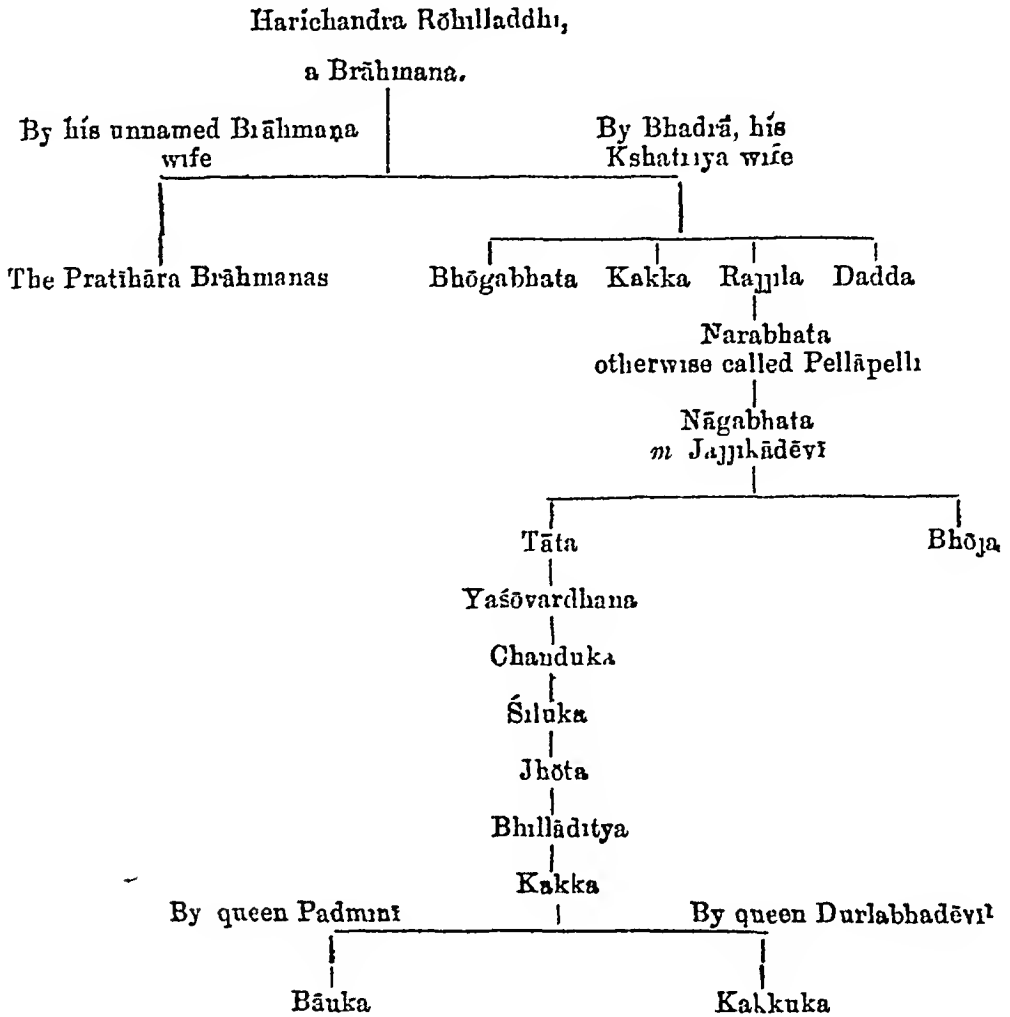
² *Ind. Ant.* Vol XV, p 112

³ *Ep. Ind.* Vol I, p 244

⁴ Published below as No 13

⁵ Above, Vol IX, pp 277 ff.

The inscription supplies us with the following genealogy of Bāuka



The Ghatiyālā Inscriptions of the Pratihāra Kakkuka, dated in the Vikrama year 918,² confirm the above genealogy, although in two cases the names are slightly modified such as Śiluka for Śiluka, and Bhīlluka for Bhīllāditya. As these inscriptions trace only the direct line of descent, they omit the names of the three brothers of Rajjula and of the brother of Tāta but add a new name to the dynastic list, viz, that of Kakkuka, the son of Kakka and Durlabhadēvi. Kakkuka was thus a step-brother of Bāuka.

The foundation of the dynasty is thus ascribed to a *Brāhmana* who married two wives from two different castes. This is very interesting from a social point of view.³ His sons are credited with the conquest of *Māṇḍavyapura* (modern Mandor) where, as already observed the stone must have been originally put up. The grandson of one of them fixed his capital at the city of *Medantaka*, which, as Munshi Deviprasad remarks, is possibly represented by the town Merta in Mārwar.⁴ Shortly after this the military ardour of the family gives way to a

¹ The names Durlabhadēvi and Kakkuka are taken from the Ghatiyālā inscriptions.

² *J R A S* 1895, p 513 ff; *Ep Ind* Vol IX, pp 277 ff.

³ [*Manuscript* (III 13) allows a Brāhmana to marry non-Brāhmana women--Ed.]

⁴ *J R A S*, 1894, p 3.

religious one, and the next king Tāta spent his last days in a hermitage. His three successors seem, no doubt, to have been powerful rulers, but his example was followed by the next two kings who spent the last part of their lives on the banks of the Ganges. Kakkū, the successor of the last of them, is described to have fought with the people of Bengal (Gauda) in distant Monghyr, and the full significance of this will be explained later on. His successor, Bāuka, who is the hero of the inscription, defeated a king named Mayūra.

The date of the inscription has given rise to much discussion. Munshi Deviprasad who originally edited the inscription read the figures as 940 but Kielhorn held that there is only one numeral figure, which is 4 and read the whole as Samvat 4¹. Professor D. R. Bhandarkar² reads the date as Sam 894. He reads the letter following *Sam* as *vra* and takes it to be a sign for 8.

As regards Kielhorn's view I entirely agree with Professor D. R. Bhandarkar that what the former reads as *vra* is more like *era* and that the sign which he reads as *t* denotes the cipher for 9. There is also undoubtedly much force in the learned Professor's contention "that there can be no question that *vra* also is a sign for some integer and that it may be taken as equivalent to 8," although as he himself admits, *vra* has never been so far found to represent the integer 8. Apart from the arguments advanced by him, there is one consideration which is decidedly in favour of his view, and seems to me to be fatal to Munshi Deviprasad's contention. If the date of the record be 940 *Samvat*, as the latter holds, Bāuka must be looked upon as a younger brother and successor of Kakkū. It is, therefore, inconceivable that his name should have been omitted from the dynastic list of our inscription which retains the names of collateral kings of earlier generations. On the other hand, as Kakkū's inscriptions do not refer to any collateral king at all, it cannot be a matter of surprise that Bāuka's name is not mentioned therein. On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to think that Bāuka was the earlier prince and that the date of the inscription is Samvat 894 or 837 A.D. as read by Professor Bhandarkar.

The historical importance of the inscription is very great. It gives us a line of chiefs extending over twelve generations. Taking twenty-five years as average for each generation the total reign-period of the dynasty would be about 300 years³.

As the dates of Kakkū and Bāuka, representing the twelfth generation of kings, are respectively 861 and 837 A.D., Harichandra, the founder of the dynasty may be placed at about 550 A.D. The Imperial Pratihara dynasty, however, cannot be traced back beyond the beginning of the eighth century A.D.⁴ So far, therefore, as the available evidence goes, Harichandra must be looked upon as the earliest Pratihara chief. The verse 5 of our inscrip-

¹ *J. R. A. S.* 1894, p. 9.

² *Progress Report Arch. Surv. W. Circle*, 1906-07, p. 30.

³ Dr. Hoernle remarks:—"The two half brothers Kakkū and Bāuka formed the twelfth generation of the Parihar dynasty. This fact, at the usual rate of twenty years for a reign, will place Harichandra, the founder of the dynasty, at about 640 A.D." (*J. R. A. S.* 1905, p. 28). Dr. Hoernle here overlooks the difference between reign and generation. A consideration of the duration of the well known historical dynasties would show that the average duration of a generation may be fairly taken to be at least 25 years. Thus—

- (i) Eight generations of Pala kings from Dharmapāla to Mahipāla I ruled for considerably more than 209 years
- (ii) Seven generations of Chalukya kings from Kirttivarman I to Kirttivarman II ruled for more than 180 years
- (iii) Nine generations of Rāshtrakūṭa kings from Dantidurga to Indrarāja IV ruled for more than 229 years
- (iv) Nine generations of Pratihara kings from Vatsarāja to Trailōchanapāla ruled for more than 244 years

These give 27, 26, 25, and 27 years respectively for the average duration of a generation.

⁴ *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XXI, p. 421.

tion says that the sons that were born of Harichandra and Bhadrā were known as Pratihāras and were wine-drinkers. This might imply a common origin of all the Pratihāra ruling clans, and it is not impossible that the Imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj also branched off from this family. The two following grounds may be urged in support of this view, although the question cannot be finally settled till fresh evidence is available —

(1) The common mythical tradition about the origin of the name Pratihāra, both tracing it to Lakshmana, the brother and door-keeper of Rāma.¹

(2) The community of names in the two families, such as those of Kakkuka, Nāgabhatta and Bhōja.

It is not easy to determine the status of the chiefs mentioned in the inscription. Their names are not preceded by titles like *mahārājādhrāja*, *parama-bhattāraka*, etc., which often accompany the names of independent and paramount sovereigns in inscriptions. But no conclusions can be based on the absence of these titles in the present instance, for we know that in some inscriptions the Imperial Pratihāras are mentioned without any of those pompous titles, which are, however, preserved in other inscriptions. Professor Bhandarkar has dealt with this point in detail² and his arguments have been fully endorsed by V. A. Smith³, and I believe it is impossible to avoid the conclusion, that so far at least as this period is concerned, titular formulas, in reality, are of extremely slight significance.

Our inscription applies the term '*rājñi*' to Bhadrā, the queen of Harichandra, the first chief, and to Jajjikādēvi, the queen of Nāgabhatta, and the term *Mahārājñi* to Padmini, the queen of Kakka. It refers to the "*rājadhāni*" of Nāgabhatta and the "*rājya*" of Tāta, Jhōta and Bhilāditya. The sons of Harichandra are called '*Bhū-dharaṇa-kṣamāh*', Kakka is styled '*Bhūpati*' and Bāuka is called *Nṛsimha*. These are the only references, direct or indirect, to the royal power exercised by these chiefs. In this respect it bears a close resemblance to the Gwalior inscription of Bhōja I published below. The latter adds no royal epithet to Nāgabhatta, the first chief, calls the second and fourth kings respectively as '*Kṣmābhṛitīśā*' and '*Kṣmāpāla*', while Nāgabhatta and Bhōja I, two of the greatest kings of the dynasty are introduced without any royal epithet. Whatever might be the reasons, the close parallel between these two contemporary epigraphic records would preclude any conclusion regarding the subordinate rank of the chiefs of our inscription, on the basis of the absence of high sounding royal epithets.⁴

As we have seen before, the first chief Harichandra must be placed at the beginning of the latter half of the 6th century A. D. This is in full accordance with the fact that the earliest reference to the Gurjaras, to which race the Pratihāras belonged,⁵ is carried back to the same period by the reference, in the *Harsha-Charita*, to the wars of Prabhākaravardhana against them. The province of Gurjaratrā, which was named after them and must, therefore, be looked upon as the province where they gained a firm footing and established themselves,⁶ was under the sway of this dynasty. This is quite evident not only from the find-spots

¹ Cf. verse 4 with verse 8 of the Gwalior inscription of Bhōja published below (also *Arch. Surv. of India*, 1903-04, p. 280 ff.)

² *J. B. R. A. S.* Vol. XXI, pp. 409-10.

³ *J. R. A. S.* 1909, pp. 248-249.

⁴ Cf. Dr. Haernle's remarks in *J. R. A. S.* 1905, pp. 27 ff.

The above discussion shows the inaccuracy of his statement that the *Prastāsa* of the Jodhpur Pratihāras "give them no territorial titles whatsoever, not even *rājā*". His other contention that the term *Mahārājñi* applied to Padmini denotes her father's rank rather than that of her husband does not commend itself to me.

⁵ *J. B. R. A. S.* Vol. XXI, p. 431.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 414-15.

of inscriptions of this dynasty which have all been found within its area,¹ but also from the express mention in the Ghatiyālā inscriptions, that Kakkuka ruled over Gurjaratrā² (v. 16). The inscription also throws some light as to the period when this province was being gradually occupied by the dynasty. Verses 9 and 10 tell us that the four sons of Harichandra built a huge rampart round the fort of Māndavyapura which was gained by their own prowess (*nija-bhuj-ārjitē*). Māndavyapura is evidently Mandor, the ancient capital of Mār-wār, near Jodhpur.³ It is evident, therefore, that the Gurjars under Harichandra and his sons had occupied the province, known after them, and proceeded up to Mandor before the end of the sixth century A D.

The period was indeed a suitable one for such conquest. After the downfall of the short-lived empires of Mihirakula and Yaśōdharman, northern India must have presented a favourable field for the struggle of nations. The Gurjars, who probably entered India along with or shortly after the Hūnas, found a favourable opportunity to press forward till they advanced as far as the Jodhpur state. Their further advance was checked by the prowess of Prabhākara-vardhana and his son, and they were therefore obliged to establish themselves in the province which was subsequently named after them. Harichandra must have been the leader, or at least one of the principal leaders, of this advanced section of the Gurjars, in any case his dynasty was ultimately able to establish its supremacy over the entire clan. This seems to be the only reasonable inference from the circumstances stated above, and I do not know of anything which contradicts this view.

Inscriptions testify to the existence of a line of feudatory Gurjara chiefs ruling at Broach.⁴ The earliest date of the third chief of this dynasty is 629 A D. Allowing fifty years for the two generations that preceded him, we get the date c 580 A D for the *Sāmanta* Dadda, who founded the line. The date corresponds so very well with that of Dadda, the youngest son of Harichandra, that the identity of the two may be at once presumed. It has been already suggested, on general grounds, that the Broach line was feudatory to the main line of the Gurjars further north,⁵ but no link, connecting the two, has been hitherto obtained. The proposed identification would not only supply such a link but would also explain why the Gurjara inscriptions record that Dadda I was of the race of Gurjara Kings (*Gurjara-nripa-camsa*) although he and his descendants are referred to as *Sāmantas* or feudatories. It further closely fits in with the theory of the Gurjara invasion dealt with above. It would appear that after Harichandra had carved a principality for himself in Gurjaratrā and the neighbouring country, the nomadic habits of the tribe led them further south till they conquered a fair portion of Lāta. The necessity of preserving their own against the rising power of the Chālūkyas probably led to the foundation of a feudatory state in the southern province under Dadda, the younger brother of the ruling king Rajjila. Instances like these are furnished by the history of the Chālūkyas and the Rāshtrakūtas.

The Chinese traveller Hsien Tsiang visited a Gurjara kingdom which was about 300 miles north of Valabhi or Surath.⁶ It is a noticeable fact that Gurjaratrā or the country round about Mandor exactly answers to this description. As Harichandra's dynasty was certainly ruling in the locality at the time of the pilgrim's visit, we are justified in identifying

¹ For the extent of Gurjaratrā as deduced from epigraphical references see *Ibid.*, p. 415.

² Gurjaratta is Skr. Gurjaratrā, no. Gujarāt as supposed by the Translator (*J. R. A. S.* 1895, p. 520).

³ *J. R. A. S.* 1894, p. 3.

⁴ For a detailed account of them, see *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 312 ff.

⁵ Thus Bühler infers from the title of *Sāmanta* used by these chiefs that "it is not unlikely that they were vassals of the Gurjars of Bhīlāmāla" (*Ind. Ant.* xvii, p. 194).

⁶ *Watter's Yuan Chwang II*, p. 249.

their kingdom with the one described by Hiuen Tsiang. Nay, I believe that we are even able to identify the king whose court was visited by the pilgrim. "The king" says he "is of the Kshatriya caste. He is just 20 years old. He is distinguished for wisdom, and he is courageous. He is a deep believer in the law of Buddha and highly honours men of distinguished ability." Now, as the pilgrim visited the kingdom about hundred years after the foundation of the dynasty we may reasonably expect four generations of kings to have passed away during that period and the young king may be looked upon as belonging to the fifth. On referring to the dynastic list we find king Tāta occupying this position. Verses 14-15 inform us that king Tāta, considering the life to be evanescent as lightning, abdicated in favour of his younger brother and himself retired to a hermitage, practising there the rites of true religion. The curious confirmation about the religious fervour of the king, who may be held on other grounds to have been contemporary with the pilgrim, gives rise to a strong presumption about the correctness of our identification.¹

The Gurjaras after their settlement in Rājputānā and Broach, had to fight for their supremacy with Prabhākara-vardhana of Thaneswar who seems to have headed the native resistance against the invading hordes of the Hūnas and the Gurjaras. We have already referred to the wars of Prabhākara-vardhana against the Gurjaras. The poetical language of Bānabhatta may be taken to imply that the further advance of the Gurjaras was stayed in the north. The struggle was not, however, a decisive one, and seems to have been continued till the time of Harshavardhana. The feudatory Dadda II of Broach is said to have protected a lord of Valabhī against the Kanauj Emperor and surprise has justly been expressed how a small state like Broach could withstand the force of the mighty emperor. Every thing however appears quite clear if we admit Broach to have been a feudatory state of the dynasty of Harichandra and remember its hereditary enmity with the royal house of Thaneswar. That the Gurjaras were not worsted in their struggle with the kings of Thaneswar appears quite clearly from the fact that they retained their independence, as Hiuen Tsiang informs us, till at least a late period in the reign of Harshavardhana. The struggle between Dadda-II and the rulers of Kanauj incidentally referred to in inscriptions, may thus be looked upon as part and parcel of the great and long-drawn battle between the two powers.

The extension of the Gurjara power to the south brought it into conflict with the rising power of the Chālukyas. It is recorded in the Aihole Inscription² that the Chālukya hero Pulakēśi II (611 to 640 A.D.) defeated the Lātas, Mālavas and Gurjaras. The Gurjaras here must be taken to refer to the Pratihāra dynasty under consideration, for it cannot denote the feudatory line founded by Dadda as it is included under the Lātas. The mention of the Gurjaras along with the Lātas and the Mālavas clearly shows that they occupied a territory contiguous to these two provinces and the kingdom of the Pratihāra line under consideration exactly corresponds to this. The struggle between the two powers must have been of long duration, for during the reign of the successor of Pulakēśi, a branch of the Chālukya dynasty was founded in southern Gujaraṭ, and this was evidently to keep in check the powerful Gurjaras in the north.

¹ It has been urged by Bühler (*Ird Ant* Vol XVII, p. 192) and V. A. Smith (*J R A S* 1907, p. 923) that the kingdom visited by Hiuen Tsiang was that of Bhīllamāla, ruled over by the Chāpa dynasty. Professor D. P. Bhandarkar has pointed out several drawbacks in this explanation (*J Bo Br. R A S* Vol XXI, p. 417). It will suffice here to point out that the identification of Pīlo molo with Bhīllamāla is far from satisfactory, in view of its distance from Valabhī as given by Hiuen Tsiang. Again, the Chāpōt-Lātas or the Cnāpas are clearly distinguished from the Gurjaras in the Nansārī grant of the Gujaraṭ Chālukya Pulakēśirāja (Kielhorn's *Northern List* No. 404) and the Chāpa kingdom cannot, therefore, be identified with the Gurjara kingdom visited by Hiuen Tsiang.

² *Ep Ind* Vol. VI, p. 6.

The Gujara Pratihāra line founded by Harichandra thus established itself in Rājputānā and fought successfully against the royal houses of Thanewar and Bādāmi. For about two hundred years they ruled in splendour over the greater part of Rājputānā but the Arab invasion of about 725 A D brought about a decline. The Nausārī plates of the Gujārāt Chālukya Pulakēśhāja, dated in October, A D 738, tell us that the Gujaras were destroyed by an invasion of the Tāpkas or Arabs, apparently shortly before that time¹.

It seems very likely that the Arab invasions referred to in the Nausārī plates were those undertaken by the officers of Junaid, the general of Khalīf Hasham (724-743 A D). Bilādunī gives a short account of these expeditions and mentions, among other things, that Junaid sent his officers to Marmad Mandal, Barus and other places and conquered Barlaman and Jurz². There can be no doubt that Marmad is the same as Maru-māda which is referred to in the Ghatiyālā inscription of Kakkuka and includes Jaisalmer and part of Jodhpur State³. Barus is undoubtedly Broach and Mandal probably denotes Mandoi. It is now a well-known fact that Jurz was the Arabic corruption of Gujara, and Barlaman probably refers to the circle of states mentioned in our inscription as Valla-mandala. It would thus appear that the Arab army under Junaid conquered the main Gujara states in the north as well as the feudatory state of Broach in the south.

This catastrophe must have taken place at the beginning of the second quarter of the eighth century A D. According to Bilādunī the Arab expeditions were arranged by Junaid during the Caliphate of Hasham who ruled from 724 to 743 A D. According to Elliot Junaid was succeeded by Tamin about 726 A D⁴. Evidently this last date is far from being definitely known and we may therefore conclude that the expeditions were undertaken shortly after 724 A D. The Nausārī plates show, however, that the expeditions referred to in them took place between 731 and 738 A D. For, according to the Balsar plates,⁵ Avamjanāśīaya-Pulakośhī-rāja did not come to the throne till the year 731 A D, and as he himself takes the credit of having repelled the Arabs from Nausārī, the event must be dated after that year.

The Chālukya prince Avamjanāśīaya-Pulakēśhāja, who successfully resisted the Arabs, probably took advantage of this opportunity to wrest the Lāta province from the Gujara kingdom. The decline of the Gujara power thus brought about by the Arab invasion in the north and the Chālukya aggression in the south favoured the growth of a rival Pratihāra dynasty which was ultimately destined to play the imperial role in India. The origin of this dynasty is described in verses 4 and 7 of the Gwalior *prastāva* of Bhōja published below. It records that Nāgabhatta, the first king, defeated the Mlechchhas, and after him ruled his two nephews Kakkuka and Dēvarāja. Vatsarāja, the son of the latter, became a very powerful king and wrested the empire from the famous Bhandi clan. Now, our inscription tells us that Śiluka who was the protector of Valla-mandala (a circle of kingdoms) defeated Bhattika Dēvarāja (v 19). As Dēvarāja of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty was the father of Vatsarāja whose known date is 783-4 A D, he probably flourished about the middle of the eighth century A D. Śiluka, according to our scheme of chronology must also have been ruling about the same time and the identity of the two kings called Dēvarāja may be at once presumed. A careful study of the two inscriptions seems to show that Nāgabhatta, the founder of the Imperial Pratihāras, successfully resisted the Arab invasions which proved so disastrous to the other Pratihāra line. His successors were not slow to take advantage of this favourable situation, and Dēvarāja entered into a contest for supremacy with Śiluka. He was defeated by the latter.

¹ *Transactions of the Vienna Oriental Congress*, Asian Section, p. 231.

² *Elliot-History of India*, Vol I, p. 126.

³ *Above*, Vol IX, p. 278.

⁴ *Elliot-History of India*, Vol I, p. 442.

⁵ Referred to in *J Bo Br R A S*, Vol XVI, p. 5, and above, Vol VIII, p. 231.

but his son Vatsarāja pursued his policy with signal success and wrested the empire from the family of Harichandra.

All these successive changes in the fortune of the dynasty are reflected in our inscription. According to our scheme of chronology Chanduka was on the throne when the Arab invasion took place. It becomes therefore a significant fact that whereas he is passed over with mere conventional praises, tribute is paid to the prowess and heroism of his successor Śiluka. Then, again, the two successors of Śiluka are said to have taken to religious life and not a single act of martial glory is attributed to any of them. This was apparently the time when their rivals gradually established themselves in the position of recognised suzerainty over the entire confederate clans which was so long enjoyed by them. The subsequent kings of the line of Harichandra retained possession of their own kingdom, although they lost their supreme position, and gradually seem to have reconciled themselves to their new situation. Kakka, the great grand-son of Śiluka appears to have accompanied the new suzerain power in its wars of conquest. For we are told in verse 24 that he fought with the Gaudas at Mudgagiri or Monghyr. Apparently he fought as a feudatory of Nāgabhatta II one of whose known dates is 815 A.D., and who is said in the Gwalior inscription of Bhōja (below) to have defeated the king of Vanga.

There was, however, a temporary revival of the Pratihāra power in the middle of the ninth century A.D. The Daulatpurā copper plate of Bhōja, dated in the year 843 A.D., records the grant of a piece of land situated in Gurjaratrā, but the Ghatiyālā inscription of Kakkuka refers to the province as being held by that king. As this inscription is dated in 861 A.D. Bhōja must have lost this province between these dates. In fact a close study of the Daulatpurā plate seems to indicate that the province was held by Vatsarāja and Nāgabhatta but lost by Rāmabhadra and regained by Bhōja before 843 A.D. For it speaks of the original grant by the first, its continuation by the second and renewal by the fourth king, leading to the evident conclusion that there was a break in the possession of the territory during the reign of the third. This view entirely agrees with what we know of the rival Pratihāra dynasty, for Nāgabhatta II was crushed by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III and Rāmabhadra's reign was an inglorious one. The difficulty of the rivals must have presented the requisite opportunity to the Jodhpuri Pratihāras to regain the power that they had lost. Thus whereas the two successors of Śiluka are described as practising austerities—an unmistakable indication of their political and military inactivity—Kakka, the third king after Śiluka is described as a great fighter and his queen consort is called a *mahārājānī*. Their son Bāuka was also a great hero and his military exploits are described at great length in our inscription. According to the Ghatiyālā inscriptions Kakkuka also ruled over a vast dominion. Nothing is at present known about his successors but it is likely that with the revival of the Imperial Pratihāras under Bhōja during the latter part of Bhōja's reign, their territory was finally annexed by the latter.

A few words may be said regarding the geographical names contained in the inscription. *Mandavya-pura* and *Mṛdantaka-pura* (l. 7) most probably denote the cities of Mandor and Mṛdanta. Verse 11 contains the names of Stravani and Valla-dēśa, two provinces, close to each other. As Śiluka is said in the same line to have been '*Vallamandala-pālaka*', Valla must denote the region over which these Pratihāra chiefs ruled. As Śiluka is also said in verse 18 to have fixed the boundaries between Stravani and Valla, the former would appear to have formed a neighbouring kingdom. Stravani is probably the same as Tamani of the Ghatiyālā inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka as the latter occurs along with Valla in a list of contiguous kingdoms. The identity of this Stravani or Tamani has not been established so far. It seems to me, however, that it is to be identified with the kingdom of Taban referred to by the Arab geographers of the ninth century A.D. A comparison of the various references to this kingdom

by Arab writers¹ seems to show that it consisted of a part of the Panjāb just to the north-west of Rājputānā. Reference is twice made (vv 27, 29) to Mayūra, a king defeated by Bāuka. We know of no such king, but Hiuen Tsiang refers to a city called Mo-Yu-lo (or Mayūra) situated near Gangādvāra² mentioned in v 23. Mayura of our inscription may refer to the king of the locality.

Trētā-tirtha (v 20) and Bhūakūpa (v 27) cannot be identified. But Gangā-dvāra (v 23) and Mudgagiri (v 24) are well known names denoting respectively Haridvār and Monghyr.

TEXT.

[Metres used vv 1 to 26, *Anuṣṭubh*, vv 27-28, *Sragdharā*, v 29, *Āryā*, v 30, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, v 31, *Mālinī*]

- 1 Ōm namō Viṣṇavē || Ya[smiṇ=viśa]nta bhūtāni yatas=sargga-sthiti matē ; sa vah=pāyād=Dhrishikēśō nirggunas=sagunaś=cha yah || [1*] Guṇāḥ=pūrvvam pu(pū)uṣhānām ki[rṭṭyāntē] tēna³
- 2 panditāḥ | guṇa-kīrttir=anaśyanti svaṅga-vāsa-karī yataḥ || [2*]⁴ Atah śrī-Bāukō dhīmām⁵ sva-Pratihāra-vanśajām⁶ | praśastau lēkhayāmāsa śrī-yaśō-vikkrama-ānvitān || [3*] Sva-bhīṭtā Rā-
- 3 -mabhadrasya pratihāryam kṛitam yataḥ | śrī-Pratihāra⁷-vanśō=yam=ataś=ch=ōnnatim=āpnuyat⁸ | [4*] Viprah śrī-Harichandr=ākhyah=patni Bhadrā cha kṣhattṛiyā⁹ | tēbhyān=tu [yō su]tā jātāḥ [Pratihā]rāmś=cha tān=vi-
- 4 duh | [5*] Babbhūva Rōhīladdhyankō Vēda-sāstr-ārttha-pāragah | dvijah śrī-Harichandi-ākhyah Prajāpati-samō guruh || [6*] Tēna śrī-Harichandrēna parinitā dvij ātmajā | [dvi]tiyā kṣhattṛ-
- 5 yā⁹ Bhadrā mahā-kula-gun-ānvitā || [7*] Pratihārā dvijā bhūtā Brāhmanyām yē=bhavamt¹⁰=sutāḥ | rājñī Bhadrā cha yāmt=sūtē tē bhūtā madhu-pāyinaḥ | [8*] Chatvāra[ś]=ch=ātma-jās=tasyām jātā bhū-dharana-kṣha
- 6 māh | śrīmān=Bhōgabhataḥ Kakkō Rājñlō Dadda ēva cha | [9*] Māndavya-pura-durggē=smiṇn=ēbhīr=nnuja-bhuj-ārjūtō | prākērah kārtaś=tungō vidviśhām bhīti-varddhanah | [10*] Amishām Rājñlāj=jātah
- 7 śrīmān=Narabhataḥ sutah | Pēllāpēll=Iti nām=ābhūd=dvi[tīyam] tasya vikkramaḥ || [11*] Tasmān=[Narabha]tāj-jātah śrīmān=Nāgabhataḥ¹¹ sutah [1*] rājadhāni sthīrā yasya mahan=Mēdantakam puram || [12*] Rājñyām śrī-
- 8 Jajjikā-dēvyās¹²=tatō jātāu mahā-gunau | dvau sutau Tāta-Bhōj-ākhyau sau-¹³ daryau īpu-marddanau || [13*] Tētēna tēna lōkasya vidyuch-chamchala-jīvitam | budhvā¹⁴ rājyam laghōr=bhrātū¹⁵ śrī-Bhōja-

¹ Elliot-History of India, Vol I, pp 4, 5, 13, 21, 25

² Watters Yuan Chwang I 328-9

³ The letter na looks like nri

⁴ The Ślōka-metre here employed is faulty—the sixth syllable in the first pāda being short against rule.

⁵ Read dhīmān

⁶ Read vanśajām

⁷ The doubling of t in pratihāra is apparently due to the exigencies of the metre. Read -vamśō-

⁸ Read =āpnuyāt

⁹ Read Kṣhattṛiyā

¹⁰ Read^o भवन्सुता and यानसुते in the same line, as per sūtra नृय (VII-3-30) of Pāṇini

¹¹ Read su

¹² Read -dēvyāms=

¹³ Read sō

¹⁴ Read budhvā

¹⁵ Read bhrātū

- 18 -ta-charanēn=āsi-hastēna śatrum
 chhivā¹ bhivā² śmaśānam kṛitam=atī-[bha]yadam Bāuk-ānyēna tasmīn ||
 [28*] Nava-mandala-nava-nichayō bhagnō hatvā Mayūyam=atī-gahanō | tad=anu
- 19 -bhṛit-āsi-taramgā śrī-mad-Bāuka-nri-singhōna³ || [29*] Sārddh-āddhah=praga[la]d-
 bhirakta⁴-sushirair=bbā[h]-ūru-pād-āngakair=ēnti aīś⁵=ch-ōpari-lamvī(bī)taī=virachitam⁶
 śava-griham phētkāra⁷-satv-ākulam |
- 20 yach=chhri-Bāuka-manda[l]āgia-rachitam prāk=chhatṛi-samgh-ākulē tat=samsamitya
 na kasya sampratī bhavēt=trās-ōdgamaś=chētasi [l] [30*] Nannu sama[ra*]—
 dhriāyām Bāuk nṛityamānē śava-tanu-
- 21 śal'al-āntīśhv=ēva vinyasta-pādō | śamam=iva hī gatās=tō tishtha-tishth=ēti
 gītād=bbaya-gata-nri-k[u]iāngās-chittiam=ētat=tadā=sit⁸ || [31*] Sam 804
 Chaittra su dī 5⁹
- 22 Utkinnā cha hēma-kāra-Vishnuravi-s[ū]nūnā Kṛishnēśvarēna ||

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Om ! Salutation to Vishnu !

(Verse 1) May Hrishikēśa, in whom all elements enter and from whom creation and protection are supposed (to proceed), who is both *niguna* and *saguna* (i.e., with and without attribute) protect you

(Verse 2) The glories of ancestors are first sung by wise men because perpetual recitation of glories (has for its effect) the dwelling in heaven

(Verse 3) Hence the illustrious wise Bāuka caused (the glories of his ancestors), belonging to his own Pratihāra clan, and possessed of wealth, fame and prowess, to be written in (this) *prasasti*

(Verse 4) Inasmuch as the very brother of Rāmabhadra performed the duty of door-keeper, (*pratihāra*), this illustrious clan came to be known as Pratihāra¹⁰ May it prosper

(Verse 5) (There was) an illustrious Bāhmana named Harichandra and his wife (was) Bhadrā, a Kshatriyā. The sons born of them are known as Pratihāras

(Verse 6) There was an illustrious Bāhmana named Harichandra Rōhulladdhi, who was versed in the meaning of the Vēdas and the *sāstra*, and who was a preceptor like Paṇḍita¹¹

(Verse 7) That illustrious Harichandra married (first) the daughter of a Brahmana, and, (as) second (wife), the Kshatriyā Bhadrā, belonging to a noble family and possessed of good qualities

¹ Read *chhivā*

² Read *bhivā*

³ Read ° *simhōna* Some such phrase as *sēnā hatā* has to be supplied in order to complete the sense

⁴ Read *pragalad-virakta* If *bh* is retained, we should, grammatically have expected *pragaladbhī* (Pāṇini, VI. 8, 111)

⁵ Read ° *āntīśhv*

⁶ The word *virachitam* is redundant since later on occurs also the word *rachitam* It may be omitted in order also to set the metre right

⁷ Read *phētkāra* ° Read *lamvī(bī)taīś=Śaīa-*

⁸ There is the figure of a 'wheel' after this word

⁹ There is the figure of a 'conch' after this word

¹⁰ The word *Pratihāra* is variously written as *Pratihāra* (l. 2) and *Pratihāra* (l. 3) I have adopted the first form throughout the translation

¹¹ The meaning of the word 'Rōhulladdhi' in this verse is uncertain [Harichandra's surname or *brāda* may have been Rōhulladdhi though it sounds rather outlandish —E.]

(Verse 8) Those sons who were born of the Brāhmana wife became Pratihāra Brāhmanas. Those who were born of queen Bhadrā became 'drinkers of wine'¹

(Verse 9) Four sons, fit to hold the earth, were born to her, viz, the illustrious Bhōgabhata, Kakka, Rajjila and Dadda.

(Verse 10) In this fort of Māndavyapura, conquered by their own arms, they erected a high rampart, (which was) calculated to increase the fear of the enemies

(Verse 11) From Rajjila among them was born the illustrious son Narabhata. On account of his prowess his second name was 'Pēllāpellī'

(Verse 12) From Narabhata was born a son, the illustrious Nāgabhata, who had his permanent capital at the great city of Mēdantaka

(Verse 13) From him, begotten on Jajjikādēvī, were born the two uterine accomplished sons named Tāta and Bhōja, who were oppressors of enemies

(Verse 14) By Tāta, who realised that the world was evanescent as lightning, the kingdom was conferred on his younger brother, the illustrious Bhōja

(Verse 15) Tāta himself retired to the pious hermitage of Māndavya, adorned with streams and rivers, and practised there the rites of pure religion

(Verse 16) From him (Tāta) was born the son, the illustrious Yaśōvardhana renowned for his prowess, (who earned) fame by his own arms and rooted out all the thorns (i.e. enemies)

(Verse 17) From him was born the son, the illustrious Chanduka of great valour, (who was) full of splendour, of charitable disposition and invincible to enemies in war

(Verse 18). From him was born the son, the illustrious Śiluka of irrepressible prowess, who fixed a perpetual boundary between the provinces of Stravanī and Valla

(Verse 19) Who, -the protector of Vallamandala, having knocked down Bhattika Dēvarāja on the ground, at once obtained from him the ensign of the umbrella

(Verse 20) Who had a tank excavated, a city established, and the lofty temple of Siddhēśvara Mahādēva constructed, at the holy place called Trētā

(Verse 21) From the illustrious Śiluka was born the excellent son, the illustrious Jhōta, who proceeded to the Bhāgirathi (Ganges) after enjoying the bliss of kingdom.

(Verse 22) From him was born Bhūllāditya, possessed of *satva* quality and disposed to austerities (*tapas*); he governed the kingdom, while young, and then bestowed it on his son

(Verse 23) Then proceeding to Gangā dvāra he stayed for eighteen years and finally went to heaven by practising fast (i.e., dying by abstinence from food)

(Verse 24) From him, too, was born the noble son, the illustrious Kakka, who gained reputation by fighting with the Gaudas at Mudgagiri

(Verse 25) (Whose) knowledge of Prosody, Grammar, Logic, Astronomy, with attendant arts, and Poetry in all languages was extraordinary

(Verse 26) From king Kakka, begotten on the pure illustrious great queen Padminī, of the Bhatta clan, was born the illustrious son Bāuka

(Verse 27) Having found the matchless enemy gone to Bhūakūpa after killing Nandāvalla, while the good Pratihāra princes, born in the family of the Brāhmana king and belonging to his party, had broken in disorder, the illustrious Bāuka, a single man despised by the enemy, suddenly burst forth and killed, with his weapons, first Mayūra and then his men who were like deer, and thus was his glory manifest

¹ It is curious to note that the Arab travellers of the ninth century A. D. have also laid it down as a distinct characteristic of the Brāhmanas, that they abstain from wine (Elliot's History of India, Vol I, p. 9)

(Verse 28) What other king but Bāuka, while his authority over other kings was destroyed, his own younger brothers and ministers had left him and his army on all sides was seized with terror, could, unaided, stand firm like a pillar, and, leaving the horse-back and standing on the ground unperturbed, sword in hand, pierce the enemy through and through, causing thereby a terrible burial ground in that battlefield?

(Verse 29) After having dispersed the recent gathering of the newly formed confederation, and killed Mayūra, Bāuka, the lion among men, killed the army which was supporting waves of swords

(Verse 30) Whose mind would not now be filled with terror on remembering the house of dead made by Bāuka's sword, which ere long was put in confusion by the enemy's host—the house of dead which was made by the arms, thighs, legs and other limbs, rent in twain, with oozing as well as bloodless cavities, together with the entrails hung above, and which was full of jackals?

(Verse 31) Verily, when Bāuka was dancing in the battle field, placing his feet on the very entrails and other parts of the dead bodies, the frightened men (enemies) who were like deer, became quiet as it were with strain *tishṭha, tishṭha*¹ This indeed was very strange!

(L. 21) The year 894, (the month of) Chaitra, the fifth day of the bright fortnight.

(L. 22) Engraved by Krishnēśvara, son of the gold-smith Vishnuravi.

NO 13 —THE GWALIOR PRASASTI OF THE GURJARA-PRATIHARA KING BHOJA

By R C MAJUMDAR, M A, PH D, DACCA.

The stone which bears this inscription was discovered in 1896, about half a mile west of Gwalior town, at Sāgar Tāl in the Gird-Gwalior district. It contains 17 lines of writing covering a space of about 3' 4½" broad by 1' 2" high. The first twelve lines are incised with great care and neatness and the letters are so distinct and beautiful that they can be read without hesitation even from a distance. The remaining lines, for some unaccountable reasons, are not so distinctly engraved, but can be read, without any great difficulty, especially from the reverse side of the estampage. The whole inscription is thus clearly legible except two letters at the end of line 5 where the stone surface is damaged.

It was first edited by Pandit Hirananda in the *Arch Surv Report* for 1903-4 (pp 277-285), with a facsimile Plate. Then, in March 1905 Dr Kielhorn gave a short account of the inscription in *Nachrichten von der Koniglichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen* (pp 300-304) without any reference to the first edition. I re-edit the inscription from fresh impressions kindly procured for me by Prof D R Bhandarkar, M A. My excuse in taking up the subject again, is that, in my opinion, the great historical importance of the record requires further scrutiny and comment. I follow the previous Editors as far as possible but give my independent opinion only in cases where I feel it necessary to do so.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and except the benedictory formula *om namō Vishnavē* at the beginning, it is throughout composed in metrical form. The author shows himself to be well versed in the best form of the Kāvya style, and his chaste dignified verses make one sincerely regret that no further production from his able pen has been preserved for us. Special attention may be drawn to the ease with which *ślēshas* and *dhvanis* have been frequently introduced into this historical poem.

¹ [The word *tishṭha* is onomatopœic. As one plunges his legs in miry ground and lifts them up with force, the steps are likely to make the noise *tishṭha, tishṭha* — Ed.]

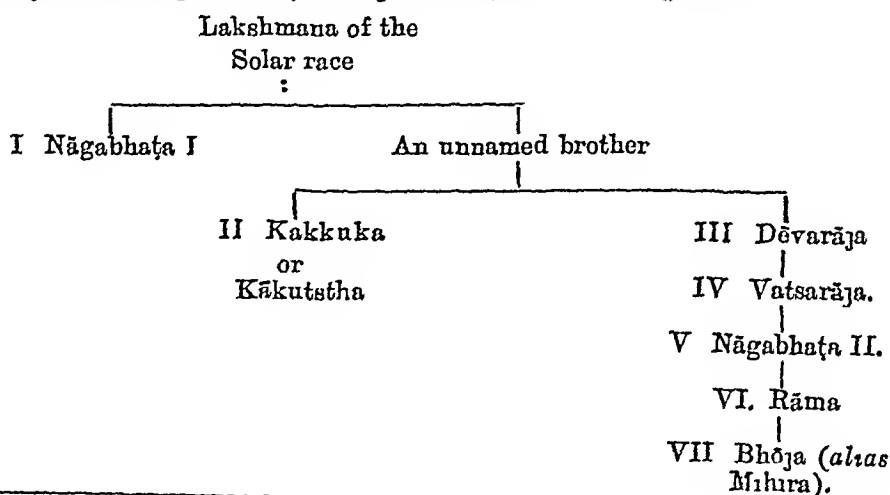
The important points to note in the matter of orthography have been already mentioned by Pandit Hirananda in A S R for 1903-04 pp 277 ff

The use of dental nasals instead of *anusvāra*, e.g. in *hinśraṁ* (v 3), and in *vanśē* (v. 4), the different spellings of the same proper name as in *Pratīhāra* (v. 3) and *Pratīhāra* (v. 4) and the change of the *visarga* followed by *s* into that letter, e.g. in *yasy-aitās-sampadaś-cha* (v. 6), *°stais=samuchita-charitaih* (v 12), and *upāyais=sampadāḥ* (v 13) may be noticed

The characters of the inscription are of the Nāgarī type current in Northern and Western India during the ninth century A D Pandit Hirananda remarks that they resemble most closely those of the Peheṇā grant of Mahēndra-Pāla But a close examination of the two records shows that the letters *z*, *t*, *n*, *th*, *dh*, *n*, *m*, *l*, and *ś* of our inscription are different from those employed in the Peheṇā grant¹ As a matter of fact, the only published inscription to which our record shows the closest resemblance is the Gwalior inscription of Bhōja of the year 933² The only noticeable difference between the two records is to be found in the new forms of *bh* and *ś* used in the latter, in addition to those employed in our inscription The close resemblance between these two records is only quite natural as both come from the same locality and belong to the same reign.

It may be noted that the new forms of *bh* and *ś* which we find in the Gwalior inscription of the year 933 along with those in our record, have alone been used in all the later inscriptions of the dynasty, of which facsimiles are available, with the single exception of the Peheṇā grant of Mahēndra-Pāla On the other hand, only the forms used in our record are found in the Buehkalā inscription of Nāgabhata, dated V S 872,³ the only known record of the dynasty before the time of king Bhōja It may thus be presumed that the record is earlier than 933 V S, although much stress should not be laid on this conclusion in view of the recurrence of the forms in the Peheṇā grant.

The inscription records the erection of a house in his seraglio, by the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king Bhōja in honour of Vishnu, and begins with an invocation to that God Verse 2 describes the creation of the Sun and names some important kings born in the Solar race Verse 3 refers to Rāma and his terrible fight with Rāvana The family to which Bhōja belonged is traced from Lakshmana, the younger brother of Rāma (v 3) The genealogy of the family, as furnished by this inscription, may be explained by the following table⁴ —



¹ Cf the plate, above, Vol I, p 244

² *Ibid*, p 160

³ Above, Vol IX, p 198

⁴ Some of these kings had also other appellations, Cf. the genealogical table above, Vol XIV, p 179.

Of these, Nāgabhaṭa I defeated a Mlēcchha army (v. 4), and Dēvarāja is said to have defeated a host of kings (v. 5). His son Vatsarāja, a famous king, forcibly wrested the empire from the Bhandi clan (vv. 6-7) and Nāgabhaṭa II defeated Chakrāyudha and also conquered kings of the Ānartta, Turushka, Mālava, Vatsa, Matsya and other countries (vv. 8-11). Bhōja, also called Mihira, is said to have defeated his powerful enemies and verses 16-26 describe his greatness in general terms.

The chronology of the kings mentioned in this inscription may be fixed with a tolerable degree of certainty. We have the dates 756-7 A.D. for Nāgabhaṭa I, 783-4 A.D. for Vatsarāja, 815 A.D. for Nāgabhaṭa II, and dates ranging from 843 to 881 A.D. for Bhōja. Again, we learn from a Jaina book, the *Prabhāva-charita*, that king Nāgavalōka of Kānyakubja, the grand-father of Bhōja died in 890 Vikrama-Samvat, and this Nāgavalōka has been correctly identified with Nāgabhaṭa II.¹ Thus the first three kings of the genealogical table may be placed between 725 and 775 A.D., and the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh kings may be taken to have ascended the throne respectively at about 775, 800, 833 and 840 A.D.

Before the discovery of this inscription, our knowledge of the Gurjara-Pratihāra kings, who played such an important part in Indian history, was very limited and inaccurate. Although the late A. M. T. Jackson, M.A., I.C.S., and Prof. Bhandarkar² laid the true foundation of our knowledge about the Gurjara-Pratihāra history, a complete understanding of the subject, in all its bearings, was impossible, in consequence of the view held by Dr. Fleet, Dr. Kielhorn and others, that the homonymous kings referred to in the copper-plates lived earlier than, and were thus different from, those mentioned in the stone inscriptions. It was the discovery of this inscription that finally settled the question and facilitated the proper treatment of the Gurjara-Pratihāra history.³ Dr. V. A. Smith has clearly pointed out,⁴ that the express mention of the family name of the kings in this inscription helps us to definitely assign the royal dynasty of Kanauj to the Gurjara-Pratihāra clan.

The rise and growth of the great Gurjara empire, which played such a conspicuous part in Indian polity in the ninth century A.D., is clearly traced by our inscription. The names of the early kings of the dynasty, recorded in inscriptions, such as the Daulatpurā copper-plate of Bhōjadēva,⁵ Dighwā Dubauli plate of Mahēndrapāla⁶ and the Bengal Asiatic Society's copper-plate of Vināyakapāla⁷ are but a mere string of names without any details such as are to be found in the present inscription. This invests our record with particular importance, and the data it furnishes may be justly said to have revealed an altogether new chapter of Indian history.

The founder of the royal line is named Nāgabhaṭa, a name not yet found in any other record of the family. He is said to have defeated the Mlēcchha army, and the manner in which this solitary fact is mentioned with regard to him, seems to show that it was looked upon

¹ Above, Vol. XIV, p. 179, foot note 3.

² A. M. T. Jackson, in *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, App. III, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 405 f., 413 f.

³ This point is fully brought out by Dr. Kielhorn (*loc. cit.*)

⁴ *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 58.

⁵ Above, Vol. V, p. 208.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 105.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

as of great importance in the history of the family. Now the locality of Nāgabhatta's kingdom and the period when he flourished may be gathered from a passage in the *Jaina Haruamśa*.¹ The passage has been noticed by various scholars, and the following remarks of Dr. Fleet may be taken to represent the earlier views regarding its interpretation. "A passage in the *Jain Haruamśa* of Jinasēna tells us that that work was finished in Śaka-Samvat 705 (expired), = 783-784 A.D., when there were reigning—in various directions determined with reference to a town named Vardhamānapura, which is to be identified with modern Wadhvān in the Jhālāvād division of Kāthiāwār,—in the north, Indrāyudha, in the south, Śrīvallabha, in the east, Vatsarāja, king of Avanti (Ujjain), and in the west, Varāha or Jayavarāha, in the territory of the Sauryas."² This seems to have been the accepted view till 1902 when Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar gave a somewhat different interpretation of it. He translated the last portion as follows:—"In the east, the illustrious king of Avanti, in the west, King Vatsarāja, (and) in the territory of the Sauryas, the victorious and brave Varāha."³ Quite recently Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has drawn my attention to a passage in an unpublished copper-plate grant in his possession⁴, which runs as follows:—

"Hiranyagarbham rājanyair=Ujjayanyām yad=āsitam |

Pratīhārikritam yēna Gurjar-ēś-ādī-rājakam ||"

This points to a Gurjara-Pratihāra kingdom in Ujjayini, for, the word *Pratihāra*, apart from its usual meaning, is evidently an allusion to the name of the clan. This is decisive in favour of Dr. Fleet's interpretation of the passage.

It has been unanimously held by scholars that Vatsarāja, referred to in the above passage, is the Pratihāra king of the same name, the grand-nephew of Nāgabhatta. As Vatsarāja was reigning in 783-784 A.D., Nāgabhatta may be taken to have flourished in about 725 A.D. Again, Avanti must be looked upon as the home-territory of the dynast, for, although Vatsarāja ruled over a vast kingdom, he is simply called the ruler of Avanti in the passage quoted from the *Haruamśa*. It may be held, therefore, that Nāgabhatta ruled over Avanti about 725 A.D.

As we have seen, in connection with the Jodhpur inscription of Pratihāra Bānka⁵, this was the period when the great Arab raid took place. As Bilāduri⁶ clearly mentions Ujjain as being attacked by the Arabs, there can scarcely be any doubt that the Gwalior inscription, like the Nausāri plates, refers to the Arab expedition described by Bilāduri.

Our inscription tells us that the Arab forces were defeated by Nāgabhatta I, and this is fully in keeping with the account of Bilāduri, who observes:—"They (i.e., the Arabs) made incursions against Uzzain, and they attacked Baharimand and burnt its suburbs. Junaid conquered Al Balamand and Jurz . . ." Thus whereas other places were conquered, the Arabs merely sent

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 141, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 197, f n 2.

² Above, Vol. VI, pp. 195-6.

³ *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 421, f n 4.

⁴ It was formerly in the possession of his elder brother, late Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar and noticed by him in *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 117. It will be henceforth referred to as the Sañjān copper plate. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar is engaged in editing it for the *Ep. Ind.* and I take this opportunity of expressing my indebtedness to him for having kindly permitted me to use the inscription before its publication.

⁵ See above, p. 93.

⁶ For Bilāduri's account of the Arab expedition, cf. Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 126.

incursions against Ujjain, and if we remember that this is from the pen of an Arab historian, it must be looked upon as a tacit admission that the Arabs failed in their expedition against Ujjain. It is also significant, that the Nausāri plates¹ do not include the king of Avanti in the list of those that were defeated by the Arabs. Further, Bilādunī himself admits that Junaid's successor was feeble, and, in his days, the Muslims retired from several parts of India and left some of their possessions.

Thus all the available evidence shows that Nāgabhatta I established the greatness of his family by his triumphant success over the Arabs. The Hānsōt plates of the Chāhamāna feudatory Bhatrīvaddha II² records a grant that was made at Broach, in the increasing reign of victory of the glorious Nāgavalōka, in the year 756 A.D. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar³ upheld the view that this Nāgavalōka is no other than Nāgabhatta I, and Dr. Sten Konow⁴ has accepted it. It would then follow that he re-established the Pratihāra sovereignty over Broach which the family of Jodhpur must have lost during the Arab expeditions. A reminiscence of Nāgabhatta's struggle with the neighbouring powers seems to have been preserved in the Raghōla plates of Jayavardhana II, a king of the Śaila dynasty, ruling over part of the Central Provinces. We are told that Prithivardhana, a king of the family, who probably ruled about the middle of the eighth century A.D., conquered the country of the Gujjaras⁵.

We have seen above, in connection with the Jodhpur inscription of the Pratihāra Bāuka, how, as an indirect result of the *Mlēcchha* invasion, the suzerainty hitherto enjoyed by the dynasty of Harichandria passed into the family of Nāgabhatta. It would appear that shortly after 725 A.D., when the Arab invaders seemed to have carried away everything before them, and, in particular, defeated the Pratihāra clan who had been ruling in Rājputānā for about two centuries, Nāgabhatta gained successes over the *Mlēcchha* forces and established his supremacy over the clan. The struggle which thus began between the two Pratihāra families was long and tedious. Śiluka, the king of the Rājputānā family, succeeded in regaining his territory after defeating one Dēvarāja, probably the nephew of Nāgabhatta I. Vatsarāja, the son and successor of Dēvarāja, however, continued the struggle and gave the final blow to the tottering rival power. The empire over which it had ruled for well-nigh two hundred years then finally passed into the hands of the family of Nāgabhatta.

The data furnished by our inscription, supplemented by a few other known facts, enable us to sketch a brief history of the empire that was thus founded by Vatsarāja. Verses 6 and 7 describe his mighty prowess and splendour, and mention, in particular, that he had subdued the whole world. This statement, allowing for the natural exaggeration of the *Prasasti* writers, cannot be said to be altogether inaccurate, inasmuch as it is pretty certain that Vatsarāja had conquered the lord of Gauda and was thus probably master of by far the greater part of Northern India. This state of prosperity, however, did not continue long. The Rāshtrakūta king Dhruva inflicted a crushing defeat upon him, overran his territory as far as the Gauges

¹ Transactions of the Vienna Oriental Congress, Arian Section, p. 231.

² Above, Vol. XII, p. 197.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 240.

⁴ Above, Vol. XII, p. 200.

⁵ Above, Vol. IX, p. 41.

and Jumna, and forced him to take shelter in the deserts of Rājputānā¹ The effects of the Rāshtrakūta blow seem to have been disastrous The Pālas took advantage of this opportunity and entered the field as rivals of the Gurjaras Dharmapāla, the second king of the dynasty, carried a campaign of conquest from one end of northern India to another, and placed his own nominee Chakrāyudha on the throne of Kanauj, apparently as a bulwark against the possible Gurjara invasions² The Gurjara power was, however, merely stunned by the blow for the time being, and Nāgabhatta II, the son and successor of Vatsarāja, once more sought to realise the imperial dreams of his father (vv 8-11) The poet tells us in v 8, that kings of Sindhu, Āndhra, Vīdarbhā and Kalinga succumbed to his power like moths unto fire Now, moths are attracted by the glare of the fire and approach it of their own accord, although it leads to their ultimate destruction The force of this simile is preserved if we suppose that the kings of these four countries were not conquered by Nāgabhatta but joined him of their own accord in the first instance, although, ultimately, they lost their power thereby The position of these four countries confirms this view Joined to Mālvā and Rājputānā which were the home territory of the Gurjaras, the four countries form a central belt right across the country, bounded on the north by the empire of the Pālas, and, on the south, by that of the Rāshtrakūtas It appears quite likely, therefore, that they formed a confederacy against the two great powers that pressed them from the two sides, although, as so often happens, the most powerful member of the confederacy ultimately reduced the others to a state of absolute dependence This seems to me to be the real significance of the eighth verse In the next, the poet describes the first achievements of the confederacy thus successfully launched by the Gurjara king, viz the defeat inflicted upon Chakrāyudha War with Chakrāyudha was, however, but a prelude to the war with the Pāla king whose protégé he had been, and this is described in the next verse, in words befitting the occasion The simile which the poet employs in this connection is, again, significant We are told that after defeating the dark dense array of the lord of Vāṅga, Nāgabhatta revealed himself even as the rising Sun reveals himself by dispelling the dense darkness This means, in plain language, that the rise of Nāgabhatta was possible only if he could defeat the Vānga king, and that is why he first turned his arms in this direction. The Sun of Gurjara glory had set with Vatsarāja, and the fortunes of his family, crushed by his powerful enemies, lay enveloped in the darkness of night as it were, till a defeat inflicted upon them ushered in a new dawn for the Gurjaras in the east Soon the dawn passed away and the Sun reached its noonday height, for, the next verse informs us that Nāgabhatta captured the strongholds of the Ānartta, Mālava, Kīrāta, Turushka, Vatsa and Matsya countries The poet leaves his hero in the height of his glory, but we know from other records that the Sun reclined to the west and the dusk set in even in the life-time of Nāgabhatta II. We learn from the Rāshtrakūta records that the kings of Gurjara, Mālava and other countries along the Vindhya mountains were defeated by Gōvinda

¹ Cf verse 8 of the Rādhanpur plates of Gōvinda III, above, Vol VI, p 243 That Dhruva actually proceeded as far as the Ganges and the Jumna is clear from the following passage of the Barōdā plates of Karkarāja —

“Yō Gangā-Yamunō taranga-subhagē grāhnan=parēbhayah samam |
sākshāch-chihna-nibhēna ch=ōttama-padam tat=prāptavān=aiśvaram ||
dēh āsammita-vaihhavair=iva gunair=yyasva bhramadhhr=ddisō |
vyāptās=taaya bahhūva kīrti-purushō Gōvinda-rājah sūrah ||”

Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p 159.

Dr Fleet who edited the above inscription took the first two lines as referring to Gōvinda III (*Jb-d*, p 168), and Mr B. Chanda also adopted the same view (*Mānasī*, Vol VII, p 589) In my humble opinion this is a mistake and the last line clearly shows that the reference is not to Gōvinda rāja but to his father Dhruva

² Cf v 6 of the Khālpur copper-plate (above, Vol IV, p. 243 f.) and v. 8 of the Bhāgalpur copper-plate of Nārāyanapāla (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol XV, p 304 f.)

III¹ and one inscription specifically refers to the defeat inflicted upon Nāgabhatta by the same king, and his triumphant march to the Himālayas² It would thus appear that the Gujara empire so laboriously rebuilt by Nāgabhatta II once more fell beneath the crushing blows of the hereditary foes of his family. There are reasons to believe that this was brought about by a confederacy between the two chief enemies of the Gujjaras, viz the Pālas of Bengal and the Rāshtrakūṭas of the south. For the same inscription that records the defeat of Nāgabhatta II in the hands of Gōvinda III also mentions the fact that Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha visited or submitted to the last named king of their own accord³

The victory of the Rāshtrakūṭas, although by no means final and decisive, was no doubt disastrous to the Gujjaras. The province of Mālwa passed into the hands of the Rāshtrakūṭa, and Āndhra, Vīdarbhā and Kālinga also possibly shared the same fate. The Pratihāras, however, did not cease to give trouble to the Rāshtrakūṭas, for we are told in the inscription of the feudatory chief Karkarāja of Gujārāt, that the Rāshtrakūṭa king had "caused his arm to become an excellent door-bar of the country of the lord of the Gujjaras"⁴

But ere long the political situation changed. The Rāshtrakūṭas themselves were torn asunder by internal dissensions. Karkarāja of Lāta, the son and successor of Indrarāja, was expelled by his younger brother in 812 A.D., and what was worse still, the revolutionary movement, thus set on foot, afterwards developed into an attempt to prevent the accession of Amoghavarsha I⁵

This unexpected embroglio in the Rāshtrakūṭa affairs left the Pālas and the Gujjaras free to fight among themselves. It appears that Nāgabhatta retained his hold upon Kanauj

¹ Cf. Rādhanpur plates, v. 15 (above, Vol. VI, p. 244), and the Nūlgund ins., v. 5 (*ibid.*, p. 102). Two passages in the Barōdā plates of Karkarāja also seem to refer to the conflict between Nāgabhatta and the Rāshtrakūṭas. Thus it is said with reference to Indrarāja, the brother of Gōvinda III, and the founder of the Gujārāt branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas —

"Yen=akēna cha Gūrjar ēśvara-patī =yōddhām samabhyudyatah
śaurya-prōddhata-kandharō mṛga iva kṣipram disō giāhitaḥ |
bhīt-āsau(m)hata-Dakṣhināpatī mahā-sāmanta-chaḥram yatō
rakṣhām=āpa vilanthyamāna-vibhavam Sīvalabhēn=ādarāt ||

Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 160

As it is explicitly stated that Indrarāja was placed on the throne of Lāta by Gōvinda III, this defeat of the Gujjaras must have taken place during his reign. It was thus different from the expedition undertaken by Dhruva against Vatsarāja, and the word *akēna* distinguishes it from the campaign of Gōvinda III referred to in the Rādhanpur plate or the Nūlgund inscription. Thus the opponent of Indrarāja was most likely Nāgabhatta himself who is represented in the above passage as entering into some alliance, protective or defensive, if not offensive, with the *mahāsāmantas* of the south against Gōvinda III and actually prepared for war (cf. Fleet's remarks, *ibid.*, p. 158). This fully confirms what I have suggested above on the strength of the eighth verse of our inscription.

The other passage refers to Karkarāja as follows —

Gaud-ēndra-Vaṅgapatī-nirjjaya-darvīdagdha =
śad-Gūrjar ēśvara dig-arggalatām cha yasya ||
nītvā bhujam vilāta Mālva-rakṣhapārttham |
svānī tatīā=nyam=apī rājya chha(pha)lāni bhuktō ||

Dr V. A. Smith identified the "Lord of Gujjaras" in the above passage with Vatsarāja (*J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 252). But this is untenable. As Gōvinda died about 814 A.D., it must be maintained that the Gujara chief against whom he employed his nephew in 812 A.D. could not be any other than Nāgabhatta who is specifically mentioned as being defeated by him (see f. n. 2 below). As Nāgabhatta defeated Vaṅgapatī, the phrase "Gaud-ēndra Vaṅgapatī nirjjaya-darvīdagdha" might well apply to him, and the Buchkalā inscription (above, Vol. IX, p. 189) shows that he was ruling in 815 A.D.

² The Saūjān copper plate, *J. B. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 118.

³ Śaṣyam=śi=śpanatan cha yasya mahatas=tan Dharma-Chakrāyudha || (*ibid.*)

⁴ Barōdā plates of Karkarāja, ll. 39-40, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 160.

⁵ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 403, 409.

which he had conquered from Chakrāyudha, transferred his capital there, and probably succeeded in offering an effective resistance to the Pālas till his death in 833-834 A D

Of Rāmabhadra, the son and successor of Nāgabhatta II, we know very little, but that the Gurjara power declined during his reign is quite evident from the scattered notices we possess about him. The twelfth verse of our inscription seems to imply that Rāmabhadra freed his country from the yoke of foreign soldiers. It seems likely that the band of foreign soldiers belonged to the Pālas, for the other rival power (the Rāshtrakūtas) is not known to have advanced as far as the Gurjara kingdom at this period. The Daulatpurā plates¹ also lead to the same conclusion. It renews the grant of a piece of land in Gurjaratrā which was originally made by Vatsarāja, and continued by Nāgabhatta, but had fallen into abeyance in the reign of Bhōja. This seems to indicate that the province was held by Vatsarāja and Nāgabhatta II but lost by Rāmabhadra and regained by Bhōja, some time before 843 A D, the date of the inscription.

Bhōja, the son and successor of Rāmabhadra, seems to have been a very powerful king and is described in nine grandiloquent verses. He inflicted a crushing defeat upon his powerful enemies and the poet seems to imply in verse 18, that the Goddess of Fortune forsook Dēvapāla and chose Bhōja as her lord. It would thus appear that Bhōja regained the power and prestige of the family by defeating the Pāla king. Our inscription closes with the resuscitation of the glory of the Gurjara Pratihāra clan under Bhōjadēva. The poem reflects the true sentiment of the Gurjaras whose revived enthusiasm, after a long period of stress and storm, led them once more to embark on that struggle for empire which had been unsuccessfully waged for four generations.

The hereditary struggle with the Pālas and the Rāshtrakūtas which seems to be the cardinal fact in the history of the Gurjaras is also referred to in the inscriptions of the feudatory princes of the latter. Thus the Jodhpur inscription of the Pratihāra Bāuka published above informs us that Kakka defeated the Gaudas at Mudgagiri or Monghyr. Most likely he had accompanied Nāgabhatta II in his eastern wars. Another chief that probably accompanied Nāgabhatta II on the same occasion was Vāhukadhavala, the chief of Surāshtra. For, we learn from an inscription of his great-grandson Avanivarman II, a feudatory of Mahēndrapāladēva, that he defeated king Dharma in battle, and as Kielhorn observes, this king Dharma may be identified with the Pāla emperor of the same name². We can still trace a third chief who joined Nāgabhatta in his expedition against Bengal. This is Śamkaragana, the Guhilot prince, referred to in the Chātsū inscription of Bālāditya³. Again, Harsharāja,

¹ Above, Vol V, page 208

² Above, Vol IX, p 2 f. Kielhorn held that Vāhukadhavala lived in the middle of the ninth century A D and was a feudatory of Bhōja (*ibid*, p 3). Dr V A Smith (*J E A S*, 1909, p 268) and Mr R Chandra (*Gauda-rāja-mālā* p 28) have supported this view. But as his great-grandson was a feudatory of Mahēndrapāla at the end of the ninth century A D it is more reasonable to hold, as Mr R D Banerji has done (*Bānglār Itihāsa*, p 167), that Vāhukadhavala was a feudatory of Nāgabhatta at the beginning of the ninth century A D.

³ Above, Vol XII, p 10 f. It contains the following verse with reference to Śamkaragana —

"Pratijñam prāk-kṛtvā dēvabhata kari-ghatā-samkata-ranē bhatam jtvā Gauda-kṣatṛpam=avanim samgara-kṛtārṇ balād-dāsim chakrē [pra]bhū charanayōr=yaḥ pranayinīm tatō bhūpah sō=bhūj=ṛta balu-ranah Samkara-ganah ||"

Prof D P Bhandarkar who edited this inscription concluded from the above that Śamkaragana conquered Bhata, the king of the Gauda country, and made a present of this kingdom to his overlord. He further suggested that this Bhata might be Śūrapāla. I beg to differ from these views of the learned scholar. The verse seems to mean that Samkaragana defeated the king of Gauda, a great warrior (bhata), and made the whole world, gained by warfare, subservient to his overlord. Secondly, Śamkaragana was the great-grandson of Dhanika, one of whose known dates is 725 A D (*ibid*, p 11). Samkaragana should therefore be taken as a contemporary of Nāgabhatta and Dharmapāla at the beginning of the ninth century A D. The verse thus shows that Samkaragana helped his overlord Nāgabhatta to wrest the empire from Dharmapāla by defeating the latter.

the son of Śaṅkaragana, is said to have conquered the kings in the north and presented horses to Bhōja, who has been rightly identified with the great Pratihāra emperor Bhōja by Prof D R Bhandarkar¹ Further Guhila II, the son of Harshavarāja, is said to have defeated the Gauda king and levied tribute from the princes in the east.²

TEXT³

[Metres vv 1, 8-11, 26, *Vasantatilakā*, vv 2, 4, 7, 18, 19, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv 3, 5, 6, 12, 27, *Sragdharā*, vv. 13, 14, 16, 21-23, 25, *Anushtubh*; vv 15, 24, *Upajāti*, v. 27, *Śikharinī*, v 20, *Haripī*]

1 Om^{sa} namō Viṣṇavē ||

Śēsh-āhi-talpa-dhaval-ādharā-bhāga-bhāsi-

vakṣah-sthal-ōllasita-Kaustubha-kānti-śōṇam |

śyāmam vapu[h*] śaśi-virōchana-vimva(bimba)-chumvi(mbi)-

vyōma prakāśam=avatān=Naraka-dvishō vah || 1 ||

Ātm-ārāma-phalād=upārjya vijaram dēvēna Dantya-dvishā

gyōtir-vvijam⁴=akṛittrīmē

2 guṇavat[1] kṣhētrē yad=uṇtam purā |

śrūyah-kanda-vapus=tatas=samabhavad=Bhāsvān=ataś=oh=āparē

Manv-Ikshvāku-Kakustha⁵-mūla⁶-Prithavah kṣhmāpāla-kalpa-ddi[u]māh || 2 ||

Tēshām vamsē sujanmā krama-nihita padē dhāmnī vajr ēshu-ghōram

Rāmah Paulastya-hinēram⁷ kṣhata-vihati-samit-karmma cakrē palāśaiḥ |

ślāghya-

3 s=tasy=ānujō=sau Maghava-mada-mushō Mēghanādasya samkhyē

Saumittis=tivra-dandah pratiharana-vidhēr=yah prathāra āsit || 3 ||

Tad=vanśē⁸ Pratihāra-kētana-bhṛti ttrailōkya-rakṣh-āspadē

dēvō Nāgabhatah purātana-munēr=mūttir⁹=vva(bba)bhūv=ādbhutam |

yēn=āsau sukṛita-pramāthi-va(ba)lavan¹⁰-Mlēchchh-ā-

4 -dhīp-ākṣhauihniḥ

kṣhundāna¹¹sphurad-ugra-hēti-ruchirē(rar)=ddōrbhīś=chaturbhīr=vvaabhau¹² || 4 ||

Bhrātus=tasy=ātma-jō=bhūt=kalita-kula-yaśāh khyāta-Kakustha¹³-nāmā

lōkē gitah pratika-priya¹⁴-vachanatayā Kakukah kṣhmēbhīd-iśāh |

śrīmān=asy=ānujanmā Kulīśa-dhara-dhurāmi=udvahan=Dēvarājō

yaññē¹⁵=chchhinn¹⁶-ōru-pakṣha-kṣhapita-ga-

¹ Above, Vol XII, p 12

² Verse 28 of the Chāṭā inscription *Ibid*, p. 15

³ From the ink-impressions supplied by Prof D R Bhandarkar, M A

⁴ Expressed by a symbol

⁵ Read -bbijam=

⁶ Read -Kakustha=

⁷ [Could Mūla stand for Mūla for which see Fargiter *Ancient (Ind) Hist* Trad p 147—Ed.]

⁸ Read -hinēram

⁹ Read =mūttir=

¹⁰ Read =mūttir=

¹¹ Pandit Hirananda reads it as 'Valana' and Prof D R Bhandarkar reads it as *Valaoko* (*Ind Ant.*, 1911, p. 240) The third letter, however, seems to me to be clearly a *va*, it being quite distinct on the reverse of the stampage I therefore read the whole expression as *valavan-Mlēchchhā* ° The loop of *m* in the conjunct consonant *nmī* is probably omitted through the engraver's mistake.

¹² Read *kṣhundāna*

¹³ Read =bbabhau

¹⁴ Read -Kakustha-

¹⁵ Read -priya-

¹⁶ Read *gaññē*

¹⁷ Read =chchhinn-

yasy-ābhūt-kṛtinah prītyai n=ātm-āchchhā-viniyōgatah || 14 ||
 Jagad-vitrishṇuh sa viśuddha-satvah
 prajāpatitvam viniyōktukāmah |
 suṭam rahasya-vrata-suprasannāt=
 Sūryād=avā-

11 -pan=Mihir-ābhūdhānam || 15 ||
 Uparōdh-aika-samruddha-Vindhya-vṛiddhōr=Agastyatah
 ākramya bhūbhṛitām bhōktā yah prabhur=Bhōja ity=abhāt || 16 ||
 Yaśasvi śānt-ātmā jagad-abhita-vichchhēda-nipunah
 parishvaktō Lakshmyā na cha mada-kalankēna kalitah |
 vabhūva¹ prēm-ārdrō gunishu vishayah sūnṛita-

12 guām=
 asau Rāmō v=āgrē sva-kṛti-gaṇanāyām=iha Vidhēh || 17 ||
 Yasy-ābhūt=kula-bhūmi-bhṛit-pramathana-vyast-ānya-samy-āmvudhēr²=
 vvyūdhām cha sphuṭit-āri-lāja nīvahān=hutvā pratāp-ānalē |
 guptā vṛiddha-gunair=ananya-gatibhih śāntais=sudh=ōdbhāsibhir=
 dDharmm-āpatya-yaśah-prabhūtir=aparā Lakshmiḥ punarbhū-

13 r=anayā || 18 ||
 Prītaḥ pālanayā tapōdhana-kulāḥ snēhād=gurūnām gaṇair=
 bhaktyā bhātya³-janēna nīti-nīpupair=vṛindair=arīnām punah |
 viśvēm=āpi yadiyam=āyur=amitam kartum sva-jīva-aishinā
 tan-nighnā vidadhē Vidhātari yathā sampat=par-ārdhhy-āśrayē || 19 ||
 Avitathanam=idam yāvad=viśvam śrutē-

14 -r=anūsāsanād=
 bhavati phala-bhāk=karttā n=ēśah kṣhitindra-satēshv=api |
 adharita-Kalch kīrttēr=bharttus=satām sukritair=abhūd=
 vidhurita-dhnyām sampad-vṛiddhir=yad=asya tad=adbhutam || 20 ||
 Yasya vairi-vṛihad⁴-vanśān=dabatah kōpa-vahninā |
 pratāpād=arṇasām rāśin-pātur=vvatīrshnyam=āvabhau⁵ || 21 ||
 Kumāraiva vidyānām

15 vṛindēn=ādbhuta-karmmanā |
 yah śaśās=Āsurān=ghōrān=straṇṇēn=āstr-aika-vṛittinā || 22 ||
 Yasy=āksha-ṇṇalē rājñah prabhutvād=viśva-sampadah |
 hlēkha mukham=ālōkya prātīlēkhyā-karō Vidhih || 23 ||
 Uddāma-tējah-prasara-prasūtā śikh=ōva kīrttir=dyumanim vijitya
 jāyā jagad=bhartu-

¹ Read *babhūva*

² Read *-āmbudhēr* [Read *āmbudhēr=vyūdhā*. Ed.]

³ Read *bhṛitya*-

⁴ Read *bṛihad-vanśān*.

⁵ Read *-ābabhau*.

16 -r-iyāya yasya chitram tv=idaṁ yaḥ-jaladhī¹=śatāra || 24 ||

Rājñā tēna sva dēvīnām yaśah-puny-ābhuvriddhayaḥ |
 antah-pura-puram nāmnā vyadhāya Naraka-dvishah || 25 ||
 Yāvan=nabhah Sura-sarit-pa(pra)sar-ōttariyam
 yāvat=su-duśchara-tapah-prabhavah prabhāvah |
 satyañ=cha yāvad=uparistha(śhṭha)m=avaty-aśśham
 tāvat pu-

17 -nātu jagatim=iyam-ārya²-kīrtiḥ || 26 ||

Pātur=vviśvasya samyak=parama-muni-mata-śrīyasas=samvidhānād=
 antar-vṛttar=vivēkah sthitaiva purato Bhōja-dēvasya rājñah |
 vidvad-vṛind-ārjyatānām phalam=iva tapasām Bhattadhannēka-sūnur=
 vVālādityah³ prastastēh kavir=īha jagatā sākam=ā-kalpa-vṛttich || 27 ||

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Om, adoration to Vishnu !

(Verse 1) May the dark-blue body of the Enemy of (demon) Naraka protect you,—that body which shines like the sky kissed by the discs of the Sun and the Moon, (inasmuch as) it is illuminated by the white lower part of the serpent Śēsha used as a bed, and is made crimson by the brilliancy of the (jewel) Kaustubha glittering on its breast

(Verse 2) As from the fresh seed taken from a fruit in a garden, and sown in a natural fertile soil, grows bulbous root of a superior kind, from which again spring forth Kalpa trees, so from the (particle of) light evolved by the Enemy of Demons from self-delightedness (*ātma-ārama*) and sown by him in soil well qualified by nature, was born the Sun, the root of all that is good, and from the Sun, again, a line of kings such as Manu, Ikshvāku, Kaku(t)stha and the first Pṛithu ⁴

(Verse 3) In their race, in the family in which Vishnu set foot, Rāma, of auspicious birth, carried on a war of destruction and slaughter with the demons—dire on account of the adamant arrows—which killed Rāvana

All praise unto his younger brother, Lakshmana (Saumitṛa),—a stern rod of chastisement in war with Mēghanāda, the destroyer of Indra's pride,—who served as the door-keeper (of Rāma), owing to (his) commandment not to allow others to enter (lit to repel others) ⁵

(Verse 4) In that family, which bore the insignia of *Pratīhāra* (door-keeper), and was a shelter of the three worlds, the king Nāgabhata I appeared as the image of the old sage (Nārāyana) in a strange manner, inasmuch as, having crushed the large armies of the powerful

¹ Read =jaladhīm-

² Pandit Hirananda reads *asya* but *ārya* is quite clear

³ Read =vVālādityah

⁴ There were several kings called Pṛithu Cf e.g. *Mahābhārata*, (Madras edition), Ādi-parva, 201, 18, 206, 11; Vanaparva, 205, 2 Mūla-Pṛithu may, therefore, be taken to denote the first king of the name, viz, the son of Vēna.

⁵ The allusion is to the incident described in the *Rāmāyana*, VII, 116. Kāla in the shape of an ascetic visited Rāma and told him that he was there to talk about something very confidential. He extracted a promise from Rāma that any one who listened to, or observed them, would be put to death. Thereupon Rāma asked Lakshmana to send away the gate-keeper and guard the door himself. The sequel of the story describes how Lakshmana was forced to interrupt the conversation of Rāma with the ascetic owing to the importunities of Durvāsā, and died a voluntary death in fulfilment of the promise of Rāma

Mlēcchha king, the destroyer of virtue, he shone with four arms brilliant on account of the glittering terrible weapons¹

(Verse 5) His brother's son, who added to the renown of the family and had the well-known name Kākustha (Kākutstha), but who, on account of his (habit of) saying welcome things in an inverted manner, was known in the world as Kakkuka (i.e., one who always laughs), was a paramount king²

(Then) was born his illustrious younger brother, Dēvarāja who performed the same task as the great Wielder of thunderbolt (Indra), (for) he curbed a multitude of kings (*bhūbhrit*) by having destroyed their powerful allies (*pakshah*) and caused them to cast off their (free) movements (*gati*), Indra also curbed a multitude of mountains (*bhūbhrit*) by having destroyed their powerful-wings (*pakshah*) and thus caused them to cast off their movements (*gati*).

(Verse 6) His son, king Vatsarāja, who was compassionate towards the entire world he had subdued, and resembled the Sun in prowess, revealed himself by attaining his own kingdom which rivalled the mountain Udaya

His riches, too, highly fragrant by reason of the flavour of the wine of elephant ichoi, and shining in company of the needy, appeared exceedingly beautiful, having eclipsed the lotus-eyed women, who too became exceedingly merry by having tasted wine which was like ichoi of elephants and appeared charming in the fond embrace of their lovers

(Verse 7.) With strong bows as his companion he forcibly wrested the empire, in battle from the famous Bhandi clan, hard to be overcome by reason of the rampart made of infuriated elephants

Having successfully wielded a position weighty with renown, he, the foremost among the most distinguished Kshatriyas, stamped the noble race of Ikshvāku with his own name by virtue of his blameless conduct

Both Dr. Kielhorn and Pandit Hirananda take the fourth line of the verse to mean that Lakshmana was Rāma's door-keeper since he repelled the enemies (*pratiharana-vidhēh*). This meaning does not seem satisfactory for there is no connection between the repelling of enemies and acting as a door-keeper. One of the well known meanings of *pratiharana* is 'to avoid,' 'shun,' etc., and *vidhē* also means a commandment, a precept, which enjoins something for the first time. In the well-known incident of the Rāmāyana, quoted above, Rāma enjoined for the first time that all persons should be excluded from his private interview with the ascetic, and appointed Lakshmana as the door-keeper to successfully accomplish this purpose. This makes it quite clear why Lakshmana is described in the inscription as *pratihāra* owing to *pratiharana-vidhē*. In other words, the poet implies that Lakshmana was not an ordinary door-keeper, but served as such on account of the particular commandment laid down by Rāma.

The fourth verse of the Jodhpur inscription of Pratihāra Bānka also traces the origin of the name of the Pratihāra dynasty to this incident, and it certainly well deserves the dignity, because literally as well as figuratively, it was the last act of self-sacrifice on the part of Lakshmana, whose whole life was one of sacrifice for his brother.

[The derivation of the name Pratihāra which is given here is evidently not the same as that indicated by the word *pratihārya* in the Jodhpur *Prasasti* of Bānka. Here the poet suggests that the *pratiharana-vidhē* displayed by Lakshmana in his fight with Māghanāda, is the origin of the family name Pratihāra and not the traditional *pratihārya*=door-keeper's place. This is a grammatically possible derivation since *harana*=*hara*=depriving or taking away or destroying.—Ed.]

¹ The obvious implication is, that the terrible weapons glittering in the two hands of Nāgabhrta made it appear as if he had four hands, and he thus resembled, although in a strange manner, the old sage Nārāyana who possessed four hands too.

² Pandit Hirananda translates "*khyāta-Kākustha nāmā*" as "celebrated the names of the descendants of Kākustha" and gives Kakkuka as the only name of the king. But the two expressions *khyāta Kākustha-nāmā* and *lōkē gīta* placed side by side seem to indicate that he had the well-known name *Kākustha*, but was popularly known as *Kakkuka*. The root *kak* means 'to laugh' and *Kakkuka* was a fit appellation of one who laughed and made people laugh by his inverted way of saying things.

(Verse 8) The primeval man was again¹ born to him, and, being far-famed, and possessed of elephant hosts, was called Nāgabhata (II)

The kings of Āndhra, Sindhu, Vīdarbha and Kālīṅga succumbed to his youthful energy as moths do unto fire²

(Verse 9) Who, desirous of the great growth of virtuous acts enjoined in the Vēdas, performed a series of religious ceremonies according to the custom of the Kshatriya families;³ and, after having defeated Chakrāyudha, whose lowly demeanour was manifest from his dependence on others, he became eminent, although he (lit. his body) was humble through modesty⁴

(Verse 10) Having vanquished his enemy, the lord of Vanga, who appeared like a mass of dark, dense cloud in consequence of the crowd of mighty elephants, horses and chariots, Nāgabhata, who alone gladdens (the heart of) the three worlds, revealed himself, even as the rising Sun, the sole source of manifestation of the three worlds, reveals himself by vanquishing dense and terrible darkness⁵

(Verse 11) Of him, whose mode of life was beneficial to all mankind, the incomprehensible royal qualities⁶ (like eloquence, statesmanship, etc.) became manifest in the world, even from boyhood, by his forcible seizure of the hill forts of the kings of Ānartta, Mālava, Kīrāta, Turushka, Vatsa and Matsya

(Verse 12) (The great Rāma), the protector of virtue, after having forcibly bridged over the oceans (lit. the lords of rivers), full of exceedingly cruel animals, by means of continuous chain of rocks placed by the best monkey force, looked bright by having killed the evil-doers who served as obstacles and (as he thereby) got (lit. was joined by) his wife and renown. His (Nāgabhata's) son, Rāma by name, also shone forth like tans (homonymous) predecessors, by similar worthy deeds, for he, the defender of religion, too, had the haughty and cruel commanders of armies forcibly bound down by (his subordinate) kings who had the best cavalry under their charge, and looked radiant by having destroyed the obstacles caused by the evil-doers (as he thus) attained the fame which was unto him even as a consort⁷

(Verse 13) That lord of prosperity, who had overpowered the points of compass by means of valour (alone), unsupported by the other expedients (such as *sāma*, *dāna*, *bhēda*), was yet

¹ The phrase *punar-apt* denotes either that the primeval man who was once born as Nāgabhata (cf. v. 4) appeared again, or that Nāgabhata, the first man in the family (*ādyah pumān*), was again born as such

² There is a pun on the word *kaumāra-dhāmanī*. *Kumāra* means fire as well as youth

³ [In verse 9 *balī-prabandah* must mean the collection of taxes as Mr Hirananda Sastri interprets. A king has to collect taxes if he has to perform Vedic sacrifices and protect the Dharma. Rid of all *alamkāra*, the verse means that the King collected taxes only as per prescribed law for increasing Vedic merit, and conquered King Chakrāyudha who had joined the enemy. With *alamkāra* it means "he excelled Vishnu—though like him he also imprisoned Bali since he was not low like Vāmana nor proud like Trīvikrama, but was full of *cinaya*."—Ed.]

⁴ There is an implication in this verse to the effect that Nāgabhata excelled Vishnu (Chakrāyudha). Both were *Trayy āspadasya sukritasya samriddhim-icchhuh*, but Vishnu could not, like Nāgabhata, be said to have been *Kshattra-dhāma-vidhi-baddha-bali-prabandhan* as he could not subdue Bali by Kshatriya rites. Then, Vishnu was *par-ākṛaya-kṛita-sphuta-nīcha bhūvaḥ*. This refers to the Vāmana incarnation in which Vishnu took the body of a dwarf. Again, whereas Nāgabhata was *namra-rupah* only through *cinaya*, Vishnu's body was actually *namra* inasmuch as he was a dwarf

⁵ There is an implied *Śīśha* in this verse. The adjective *tri-jagad-ēka-vikāśakō* applies both to Nāgabhata and the Sun, and both vanquish darkness, in the one case literally, and in the other, figuratively

⁶ Pandit Hirananda translates *ātma-saibharam* by "greatness of soul." It is better to take it, as suggested by my friend Mr J. C. Ghatak, M.A., as equivalent to the technical term *ātma-sampat* meaning a group of royal qualities as explained in *Kāmandakīya Nīṭisāra*, Ch. IV, vv. 14-18

⁷ The phrase *sanqatah kīrti-dāraḥ* seems to be a significant one. The obvious meaning is, that as in the case of Rāmachandra, he was joined by his wife after she had been in enemy's stronghold for some time, Rāmabhadra, too, regained the fame which was so long in his enemy's possession. This seems to show that Rāmabhadra's power was overshadowed by his enemy till he defeated him and captured his commanders

demurely waited upon by the other Means (i.e. although he neglected them as not necessary, they were within his beck and call) ¹

(Verse 14) The production of the wealth of that successful one was merely a source of delight; it was at the disposal of the supplicants, but never a means to satisfy his own desires

(Verse 15) A pure soul, averse from the world, he obtained a son, by name Mihira, by (the favour of) the Sun, propitiated by mysterious rites, in order to dispose of the lordship over his subjects ²

(Verse 16) The lord, who ruled over many kings (*bhūbhrit*) after having overcome them, and (being therefore) known as Bhōja, shone more gloriously than Agastya who (merely) checked the rise of (a single *bhūbhrit*, i.e. mountain) Vindhya through favour (and not by his own prowess).³

(Verse 17) Famous, unperturbed, adept in removing the evils of the world, embraced by Lakshmi (sovereign power), but not soiled by the stain of arrogance, he was affectionate towards the meritorious and an asylum of good and pleasant words Does he or Rāma stand foremost when Brahmā counts his own creation?

(Verse 18) The other Lakshmi, the source of the fame of Dharmma's (Dharmapāla's) son, who was cast out of the ocean of hostile forces, churned by the Kula mountains in the form of kings of his (Bhōja's) own race, who was married by offering (as an oblation) fried grains, which were the destroyed enemies, in the fire of his valour, and who was protected by (his) superior accomplishments, mild, uncommon and pure like nectar, became a fit remarried bride of that king ⁴

¹ The ancient writers on Hindu polity laid down *sāma*, *dāna*, *bhēda* and *danda* as the four *upāyas* or expedients which a king should adopt towards other kings (Some add three more, making the total number to be seven cf. the *Kāmandakiya Nitisāra*, Ch. 18) Now the poet implies that of these the king followed only one, viz. *danda* and did not take resort to the rest His position was, therefore, similar to one who possesses many wives but cares for only one But, as in this case the neglected wives, as in duty bound, would still continue to pay their humble devotion to him, so the other political expedients, although not adopted by the king, were always within his beck and call The poet thus indicates that though in practice the king used only one expedient, it should not be concluded therefrom that he was ignorant or incapable of handling the rest

² The general meaning conveyed by the verse seems to be that although he was averse to the worldly pleasures he wanted a son, not for his own delight, but merely for the reason that he might leave a ruler for his subjects

³ The allusion is to the mythical story that the Vindhya mountain once got angry with the Sun and began to rise higher and higher in order to check his daily course At the request of the gods the sage Agastya approached the mountain and asked it to bow down in order to make room for him on his way to the south, and not to rise up till his return The Vindhya agreed, and as Agastya never returned, had to remain in the same position Cf. *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, Chap. 104

The poet contrasts the deeds of Agastya and Bhōja The contrast is between (1) *Vindhya* and *bhūbhritān* (2) *samruddha-vṛddhān* and *bhōktā* and (3) *uparōdha* and *ākramya* One had to do with only one *bhūbhrit* (mountain), the other dealt with a number of *bhūbhrit* (kings as well as mountains situated within their kingdoms), then in one case the question was merely of checking the growth, in the other, of complete conquest, lastly, one gained his object by request while the other had achieved his purpose by means of prowess

⁴ The principal clause in the sentence *Yasy-ābhūd=aparā Lakshmiḥ punarbhū=nayā* clearly means that Lakshmi who belonged to another became properly his *punarbhū* or remarried wife According to the poet Lakshmi acted properly (*nayā*) A similar sentiment occurs in an almost contemporary record. (Cf. e.g. verse 3 of the Rādhapur plates of Gōvinda III, above, Vol. VI, p. 243)

The expression *dharm-āpatya-yasah prabhūti*, applied to Lakshmi has been translated by Pandit Hirananda as "source of fame, progeny and virtue" But Lakshmi who is merely a conventional representation of sovereign power can hardly be said to be the source of progeny or virtue I have, therefore, taken *dharm-āpatya* in the sense of "son of Dharma or Dharmapāla, (i.e. Dēvapāla)" This fits in well with the context, implying that Lakshmi who was the consort of Dēvapāla now belonged to Bhōja or in other words, the supreme position passed from the one to the other, and this has been shown to be a historical fact.

(Verse 19) In order to extend the duration of his life beyond all measure, the king was pleased on account of the protection afforded to them, the preceptors, out of affection, the servants, out of devotion, the multitude of foes, out of policy, and mankind in general, for the sake of its livelihood, made their respective services (to him) tributary out to him, who was as worthy a recipient as the Creator Himself¹

(Verse 20) According to the injunction of the Śruti, there is a transitory world that lasts, that he who does a thing enjoys the fruits thereof, and not (another) though he be the lord of even hundred kings. It is strange that the meritorious deeds of that king, whose character was undefiled, went to increase the prosperity of that king, who was the conqueror of Kālāśī the lord of Fame²

(Verse 21) Of him, who had burnt the powerful hostile race by the fire of his rage, and guarded the oceans by his valour, the absence of greed (for further conquest) showed itself (even as the satiety of a man who had drunk a large quantity of water)³

(Verse 22) Iṅka Kumāra (Kārtikāya) with his host of Mātṛikās who performed marvellous deeds, he subdued the terrible Asuras with the help of a band of women that lived upon arms⁴

(Verse 23) Vidhi (Fate), a ruling power (the destinies of the world), wrote in the character of that king, looking at (i.e. being guided by) his face, since the latter was the cause of the world in consequence of his prowess. (In other words the destiny of the world was absolutely at the command of that all powerful king)

(Verse 24) Fame, resulting from the unbounded energy of that lord of the world, was unto him even as a consort, and like a flame, issuing out of a flood of luxuriant lustre, rose red after conquering the Sun. It is a wonder that she crossed the ocean

(Verse 25) In order to increase the fame and religious merit of his subjects, the king erected a house within his tergho compound in the name of Naraṇḍīśī (Vibha)

(Verse 26) As long as the sky has the flowing celestial stream (Gaṅgā) as its upper garment, as long as there lasts the power originating from severe religious austerities, as long as Truth protects all that is above, so long may this noble and famous work⁵ purify the world

(Verse 27) Balaḍitya (14) the poet of this *prasaḍi* which would exist along with the world up to the end of the *Kalpā*, (he,) the son of Bhattadhaṇḍaka and the fruct of penance, as it were of a number of learned men, (15) the (personified) mind faculty of discrimination, standing before king Bhōjadēva, the protector of the world, inasmuch as he (Balaḍitya) follows the good rules sanctioned by the best of sages

¹ The verse apparently means that all tried their best to prolong the life of the king. The ascent was by religious observances on his behalf, the preceptors, by teaching him proper mode of life, the servants, by looking to his comforts, the enemies, by not disturbing him, and the subjects, by loyally carrying out his orders, would all contribute towards the same end, viz. a long and happy life to him

² This verse completes the sense of the previous one wherein it was implied that the king enjoyed the fruits of the meritorious deeds of various categories of people

³ [*Pratishnyam* in my opinion, means here the opposite of 'absence of greed,' i.e. thirst (for conquest). This thirst, says the poet was evident because the King had burnt the *varas* (races or bamboos) of his enemies and had drunk (or protected) on account of that great heat (*pratāpa*), the oceans.—Pd.]

⁴ The allusion is to the fight between the Dēvas and the Dānavas in which Kumāra was the commander-in-chief of the former and had in his army a number of Mātṛikās. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, Sahasra-yoga, Ch. 45 (Madras Edition). Although the female companions of Kumāra are usually called Mātṛikās, the use of the word *Vidyā* is probably to be explained by the fact that it is sometimes used as a synonym of *Mātṛikā*, both meaning, *Durgā*. [*Vidyā* in the case of the King should be taken to mean 'Source of Knowledge'—Ed.]

⁵ This verse furnishes another instance of the use of the word 'Kṛti' in the sense of 'any work of public utility calculated to render famous the name of the constructor of it.' For full discussion on this point, cf. Fleet *Gupta inscriptions*, p. 212, f. n. 6

⁶ I am indebted to Mr. Radhagovinda Basak, M.A., for valuable suggestions regarding the translation of the inscription

No 14 —PATTATTALMANGALAM GRANT OF NANDIVARMAN

By K V SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A , OOTACAMUND

In October 1922, when I was in charge of the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, Mr P V Jagadisa Aiyar obtained the following set of copper-plates from Mr Rm St Sivananda Pillai of Kumbakōnam and sent it to me for examination. As I had soon after to go away to Ootacamund, I left the plates to be noticed by Mr Venkoba Rao in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1922-23. The set is marked as No 5 Appendix A in the Report for that year and finds a short notice in Part II which will be referred to in the sequel. I edit the inscription on the plates with the help of one set of impressions kindly placed at my disposal by M R Ry Rao Bahadur H Krishna Sastri. Recently an article entitled "the Kot-rangudi plates of Nandivarman II" has appeared in the *Mythic Society Journal*, Vol XIV, pp 125 to 129, under the editorship of Mr T. N Subramaniam. There the discovery of the plates has been described in detail.

The set consists of five plates of which the first and last are engraved only on their inner sides. They were originally strung together on a ring bearing a massive seal, 3 inches in diameter. The emblems and legend on the seal are so badly obliterated that they cannot be made out. A couchant bull is all that could be faintly seen. The ring had been cut when the plates reached me and it is not known when and by whom it was cut. The plates measure nearly 10" by 3½" and the ring-hole, bored at the left margin, is ¾" in diameter. The five plates with the ring and seal weigh 320 tolas and the plates alone weigh 175 tolas.

The inscription on the plates is neatly executed and is in good preservation. The only places where some damage is done to letters are at the commencement of lines 7 and 8 of IIb, lines 1 and 2 of IIIa, lines 5 and 6 of IIIb and line 8 of IVb. It has been found possible to restore with certainty all the damaged portions except that in line 1 of IIIa. The reading of the damaged portion in line 6 of IIIb is tentative. As is usual with most of the copper-plate charters of South India, this inscription consists of two parts of which the first is in Sanskrit poetry (eleven verses in all) written in Grantha characters and runs from line 1 to line 22, where the second part in Tamil prose commences and runs to the end, i.e., line 60. The few Grantha letters and words employed in the Tamil portion are *sāmā*, *sarva-parihāram* and *brahmādē* (l 37), *hāram* (l 38), *brahmādē* (l 42), *gautā* (ll 43 and 45), *nyz* and *kra* (l 43), *bhatta* (ll 44 and 45), *jalva* (l 44), *Hiranya* (ll 44 and 48), *Agnisarma* and *gōtra* (l 47), *dē* (l 48), *śarma* (ll 45, 53, 56, 57, and 58) and *śrī-Dandī* (l 60).

A few alphabetical peculiarities deserve notice. — The symbol for secondary *ṛ* (long) is a concave curve with a commencing loop engraved on the top of the consonant, while in the case of *ṛ* (short), this loop is absent. The three letters *mu*, *pu* and *lu* are almost similar in shape, but can be well distinguished on close examination. While the *u* symbol of *mu* is written immediately below the horizontal line, it is engraved at the end of a vertical downward stroke drawn from the right end of the horizontal in the case of *pū*. Though *lu* is formed like *pu*, it is distinguished by having a small indenture at the right end of the horizontal stroke. Two forms of *ya* occur of which one is a semi-circle with two upward arms on the right side, while the other is a simple loop twice wound round. The shape of *va* is almost that of a triangle with its base at bottom. *La* has not got the usual convex curve on the right side, it has only an angle. The *rēpha* is invariably marked in this epigraph and in most cases the *pulli* also. The Tamil *sandhi* rules have to account for the change of *l* into *ṛ* in *pērūr-brahma* (l 42). But it may be pointed out that the same change noticed in the word *vinappattūr* occurring before *Ālappākka* (l 27), in *īlūyār* occurring before *mapai* (l 31) and in *Mayilāppir* before *Nandi*

(l 44 f) is unusual and against the rules of grammar. Among the *gōtra* names, Jātvakaranna (l 44) and Kondina (l 54) stand for Jātūkarna and Kaundinya respectively.

After an invocation to Vishnu (v 1) and the primeval cause of the Universe (v. 2), the mythical genealogy of the Pallavas is given in verse 3 which states that from the lotus-navel of Narakār, (i e, Vishnu) came Brahmā, from him came Angiras, from him Dēvaguru (i e, Brihaspati); from him the renowned sage Śamyu, from his son Bharadvāja was born Drōṇa of established skill in handling the bow in battles, from him Drauṇi (i e, Aśvatthāman) of unsurpassed valour, and from him Pallava. Prosperity and Earth rested with the Pallavas to the exclusion of other kings (v 4) and the sovereigns of this family obtained glory by conquering all enemies (v 5). In the line of kings counting from Virakūrcha and others who had obtained *śārga*, there was king Hiranyavarman and then came Nandivarman (v 6). He was a powerful monarch and it is stated of him that he came to rule the kingdom while he was very young and conquering all enemies, he had his foot-stool adorned with the crowns of the lords of earth who bowed before him (v 7). The darkness of the world was removed by the splendour of his fame (v 8). Waiting to get entrance, it is said, there were at his gate the Vallabha, Kalabhra, Kērala, Pāndya, Chōla, Tulu Gongana (Konkana) and others (v 9). Verse 10 gives out that the chief officer of his, who was ruling the province of Mangala-rāshtra and who was a great hero, virtuous and respected by the good, having petitioned the king, gave (a *brahmadēya*) to a number of Brāhmanas. The Tamil portion records that at the request (*vinṇappam*) of Mangalanādālvān and at the *ānatti* of Ālappākka-Vijayanallūlān, king Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman issued an order in the 61st year of his reign to the *nāttār* of Tenkarai-Ārvalakūrṇam in Śōla-nādu granting as *brahmadēya* 40 *vēlis* of land, which included an old *brahmadēya* of 24 *vēlis*, another *brahmadēya* of 12 *vēlis* granted in the 59th year of the same king's reign at the request of Mangalanādālvān and the *ānatti* of Ālappākka-Vijayanallūlān and the remaining 4 *vēlis* now assigned. The *nāttār* made obeisance to the order, received it on their heads, circumambulated the granted land and planting boundary stones and milk bush, issued their order freeing every kind of land in this grant portion from all the rights of the king—which are here specified—and constituted it as a new village under the name of Pattattālmangalam. The names of the donees are then mentioned (see table below). The inscription was engraved by a certain Śrī-Dandi son of Vidēlvīdugu-Pallava-perundachchan of Aimpapaichchēri (Aimbuṇaichchēri) in Kachchippēdu.

There were more kings than one of the name Nandivarman or Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman in the Pallava family. The earliest of them is he who issued the Udayēndiram copper-plate grant¹ wherein he is stated to be the son of Skandavarman, grandson of Simhavarman and great-grandson of Skandavarman. The Vēlūrpālayam plates which say that Simhavishnu was the son of Simhavarman and grandson of Nandivarman², seem to refer to this Nandivarman. The second sovereign of the Pallava family who bore the name Nandivarman was the son of Hiranyavarman and a lineal descendant of Bhīma, the younger brother of Simhavishnu.³ He bore the surnames Kshatriyamalla, Pallavamalla and Vidēlvīdugu⁴. The third of the name was the grandson of this Nandivarman Pallavamalla⁵ and it was during his reign that the Vēlūrpālayam plates were issued.

The first question to determine is to which of the three Nandivarmans we should ascribe the present inscription. Mr Venkoba Rao in noticing this inscription in his report for 1922-23

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p 145

² *Sou. Ind. Insce.*, Vol II, p 508, vv 9 and 10. The exact relationship between Simhavarman and Nandivarman is not mentioned.

³ *Ibid* p 350, vv 28-30

⁴ *Ibid*, p 350, line 78.

⁵ *Ibid*, p 511, vv 16-19

states that it must belong to the reign of Nandivarman III. I consider this conclusion of his to be quite untenable. I would at the outset point out that the Tandantōttam plates which are supposed to have been issued in the reign of Nandivarman III should correctly be attributed to his grandfather Nandivarman II Pallavamalla. According to the Tandantōttam plates the king bore the surname *Ēkadhīra*¹ and this was the surname of Nandivarman Pallavamalla as is clear from the fact that the grant made in the Kāsākudī plates was constituted into a new village under the name *Ēkadhīramangalam*² which should have been so termed after the king's surname *Ēkadhīra*. The second point to note is that the Nandivarman of our plates was the successor of Hiranyavarman as was the Nandivarman of the Kāsākudī and the Tandantōttam plates. The third ground, which is much stronger than all, is furnished in the Vaikuntha-Perumāl temple inscriptions³ explaining the sculptures representing the events that took place immediately after the death of Paramēśvaravarman II leading to the accession of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. It says —

After the death of Paramēśvaravarman II, a deputation consisting of the *Mātras*, the *Mūlaprakṛitis* and the *ghaṭakayars* waited on Hiranyavarman Mahārāja and represented the fact that the country was without a ruler and requested him to grant them a sovereign. Thereupon king Hiranyavarman sent for the chief potentates (*kulamallars*) and enquired which among them would accept the sovereignty. All of them refusing, he asked his sons Śrīmalla, Ranamalla, Saṅgrāmamalla and Pallavamalla. Pallavamalla humbly offered to go, but king Hiranyavarman was at first unwilling to risk his son, who was then only twelve years of age, in such a perilous undertaking. But Hiranyavarman was soon persuaded by Daranikondapōśar to give his consent. Receiving the weapons presented to him both by his father and Daranikondapōśar, Pallavamalla proceeded to Kāñchīpuram, crossing on his way several hills, rivers and forests. Hearing of his approach a certain Pallavadi-Araiyar came with a large force, and placed him on an elephant's back and returned to the city where he was received by the feudatory chiefs, the members of the merchants' guild, the *mūlaprakṛitis*, and Kādakka-Muttaraiyar. He was then crowned king under the name Nandivarman and with the insignia of *Vidēlvīdugu*, *Samudraghōsha*, *Khatvāṅga dhraja* and *Vṛṣabhā-lāñchhana* by the ministers, the feudatories, the *ghaṭakayars* and the *ubhaya-gana*.

The above facts show that Nandivarman Pallavamalla's accession to the throne took place without any bloodshed, the whole country being instrumental in getting him as their sovereign. This fact does also find expression in the Kāsākudī plates which state that he was chosen by the subjects⁴. The statement that Nandivarman was quite young (i.e., 12 years of age according to the Vaikuntha-Perumāl temple inscription) when he became the ruler of the Pallava dominions is correctly reflected in the present grant which states of him *आवत्त प्रथिवली युवैव राजः*. A further point in favour of our view is that Nandivarman Pallavamalla bore the surname

¹ *South Ind. Inscrns.*, Vol. II, p. 520, v. 4 and p. 529, note 4.

² *Ibid.* p. 359.

³ *Ibid.* (Texts), Vol. IV, G¹ No. 135, pp. 10 ff.

⁴ *South Ind. Inscrns.*, Vol. II, p. 357, v. 27.

Vidēlvīdugu as stated already, and it is after this title that the father of the engraver of the grant must have been called Vidēlvīdugu-Pallava-perundachchan¹

It is noteworthy that the *ājñapti* of our inscription, viz., Ālappākka (Ālambākka) Vijayanallūlān figures in an inscription of Pallavatīlaka-Nandivarman found at Tiruvellarai in the Trichinopoly district² This chief's younger brother, Kamban Araiyan by name, figures as the constructor of a big well in the same place as recorded in an inscription of Pallavatīlaka-Dantivarman³ It is now beyond question from the present grant that these kings Pallavatīlaka-Nandivarman and Pallavatīlaka-Dantivarman, in whose inscriptions figure the two brothers Vijayanallūlān and Kamban Araiyan as donors, are identical with Nandivarman Pallavamalla and his son and successor Dantivarman Thus it becomes clear that the term *Pallavatīlaka* was not the surname of any particular king of the Pallava line which was later on adopted as a title by his successors In editing the Tiruvellarai well inscription⁴ I was inclined to follow the late Mr Venkayya in considering the successors of Dantivarman as belonging to the family of Pallavatīlaka, that being almost the special designation then known to be of Dantivarman as indicated in the Triplicane inscription of that king⁵ The present grant shows that charter-writers did not mean any distinction between *Pallavakula* and *Pallavatīlakahula* Therefore, in case we meet with inscriptions of Nandivarman or Dantivarman with the word Pallavatīlaka or Pallavatīlakahula prefixed to their names, we have to distinguish the king from those who bore similar names, by other evidences than what is furnished by the mere title *Pallavatīlaka* In this connection, it may be pointed out that Adigal Gandan Māṅambāvai, who figures as donor in a record of the early Chōla king Rājakēśarivarman (Āditya I) and who is stated to be the queen of Pallavatīlaka-Nandivarman⁶, cannot be the queen of Pallavamalla, for Āditya I and Pallavamalla are separated by over a century in all probability she must have been the queen of Pallavamalla's grandfather Nandivarman III

As has been noted, the present inscription is dated in the 61st year of the king's reign In my *Historical Sketches*⁷, I gave my consideration to the question whether or not Nandivarman Pallavamalla could have reigned for a long time, usurper as he was then known to be, and taking only into view the several conquests he effected and the time of rule of his contemporaries, I arrived at the conclusion that he should be credited with a long period of rule This conclusion is now made certain by a study of the Vaikuntha-Perumāl label epigraphs and the present copper-plate grant according to both of which the prince was quite young i.e. 12 years of age, when he became king and by the fact of the present inscription being dated in the 61st year The latest regnal year, however, of Pallavamalla is the 65th which is furnished in a Mahābalipuram inscription recently discovered by me in the courtyard of the Varāha-Perumāl cave⁸ If this be the last year of his rule, the king should have lived up to his 77th year of age

¹ It may be noted that the titles Perumbīdugu, Vidēlvīdugu and Mārāpīdugu which had been assumed by the feudatory chiefs of the Muttaraiyans might have been derived from the Pallavas who were their overlords In the extract given from the Vaikuntha-Perumāl temple inscription, it is seen that at the time of Pallavamalla's coronation he was invested with the new name Vidēlvīdugu while the Tiruvellarai well inscription shows that Pallavamalla's son Dantivarman was called Mārāpīdugu

² No. 53 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905

³ and ⁴ above, Vol IX, pp 154 ff

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, p 292

⁶ *South-Ind. Inscrns*, Vol III, p 229

⁷ *Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan*, pp 45 ff

⁸ This inscription is under publication in the Memoirs of the Arch Surv. Department by M. R. Ry. Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, along with 4 other new inscriptions and some sculptures discovered by me at Mahābalipuram in the year 1922

The object of the inscription is, as stated already, to register the grant of certain lands in the vicinity of a village situated in Ārvala-kūrṅam, a sub-division of Śōla-nādu, constituted into a new village under the name Pattattālmangalam to a number of Brahmans who are introduced by the collective term *nalgūr-narpāppār*. It is worthy of note that in the Tandantōttam plates also, the donees are similarly styled ¹ Two possible modes of interpreting the term *nalgūr-narpāppār* have been given by Mr Krishna Sastri ² viz, "the good Brahmans of Nalgūr" and "the poor good Brahmans" Since in two instances the donees have been so styled, it does not seem probable that Nalgūr means a village of that name Accordingly, we may adopt the second interpretation The grant must have been made on their request which was conveyed to the king by the chief of Mangala-nādu, and this is perhaps clear from the Sanskrit portion which tates विप्रानां गनाय वर ददान् If Nalgūr were a village, it might have been mentioned in the Sanskrit portion also It is to be noted that most of the donees were highly learned men being Kramavits, Shaṅgavits and Trivēdins Since the villages in Ārvala-kūrṅam are mostly found in the Negapatam taluk of the Tanjore district, we have to look for Pattattālmangalam in that same taluk Ārvalam is at present called Alivalam Ālabākkam, of which Vijayanallūān was a native, has already been identified by me with the village of that name in the Trichinopoly District, 12 miles from Lalgudi on the road to Ariyalūr ³ Mangala-nādu was a sub-division of Arumolideva-valanādu and in it was situated the village of Mangalam now called Mangal ⁴ It is needless to say that Kachchippēdu mentioned in the record is identical with Conjeeveram and Aimpapaichehēri is Aimpapaichehēri, a quarter of it

We may here add a short note on some of the important words occurring in this inscription As "*arai*" means "to beat" and "*ōlai*" "a (written) palm-leaf," we may take the compound "*araiy ōlai*" (l 32) to mean "the draft whose contents had to be proclaimed by beat of tom-tom" *Tirumugam* (l 33 f) is only the Tamil form of the Sanskrit word *śrīmukha* "a sacred order, a royal writ" *Kollagāram* (l 35) seems to be the Tamil adaptation of the Sanskrit *gōshthā grāha* "a cow-pen, kraal" it is sometimes employed in the sense of a king's residence, palace *Maṅru* (l 38) is a word which is largely met with in Tamil inscriptions e.g., *maṅrupādu*, *maṅrum laṅru mēy-pāhum*, etc As such, its meaning deserves to be noted In *Puram* 34, occurs the phrase *iratti-nīdriya aṅa-ṛalar-maṅram* which, according to the commentator, means "the extensively spacious common ground (*podiyil*) with the long *iratti* tree standing on it" *Maṅru-ppalavin* "in the jack-tree standing on the common ground (*podiyil*)" occurs in *Puram* 128 Again, we meet with this word in the phrase *pērisai-mūdūr-maṅraṅ-kandē* in *Puram* 220 In all these cases the commentator takes the word *maṅru* or *maṅram* in the sense of "a common meeting ground" (*poduvidam* or *podiyil*) A distinction is, however, made between *podiyil* and *maṅram* in *Tirumugāṅruppadai*, one of the ten Tamil idylls known as *Pattuppāttu* ⁵ Nāchehinārkkupiyār takes the word *podiyil* to mean an *ambalam*,—which, by the way, we may remark, is another term used in inscriptions—and the word *maṅram* he explains as "the space under a tree in the middle of a village where all people meet (*ūrukku naduvēy-ellārum irukkum marattāḍe*)" From the references quoted here, it will be plain that *maṅram* refers to the place where the village assembly met to transact its business and that this was under a (big) tree (which afforded them shade) Epigraphical references are not wanting to support the fact that in the assembly grounds there were trees and that provisions had been made to have them washed and swept clean An inscription of the time of Rājā-dhirāja I states that an assembly of a *brahmadēya* village met under a tamarind tree that

¹ *South-Ind. Inscriptions*, Vol II, p 521, l 37 f

² *Ibid*, p. 518, note 3

³ Above, Vol IX, p 155

⁴ *South-Ind. Inscriptions*, Vol II, p 521, l 37 f and Introduction, p [21].

⁵ Line 226

stood on the bank of a channel while making a grant to a temple ¹ From other inscriptions we learn that the ancient practice of convening meetings was by blowing trumpets ² The Tandantottam plates of Nandivarman (Pallavamalla) actually provide for the man who had to water the *ambalam* ³ and we have to take it on the authority of Nachchinārkkiniyār, to refer to keeping clean the meeting ground of the village assembly under the trees

TEXT.

[Metres v 1 *Śikharinī* ; vv 2, 3, 6 and 10 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* , vv 4 and 5 *Indravajrā* , v 7 *Praharshinī* , v 8 *Pushpūāgrā* , v. 9 *Rathōddhatā* and v. 11 *Āryā*]

First Plate

- 1 स्वस्ति श्री [1*] । श्रियो भर्तुर्भू[र्त्ति]र्भरकतसमानैर्भुजयतैश्शयानस्याश्वोधावु-
रसि विल-
- 2 सत्कौस्तुभरुचिः⁴ [1*] पयः पातुं सिन्धोर्जलधरघटेवासु पतिता तटित्युक्ता⁵
- 3 भान्ती दिशतु भवताम्भंगलमसौ ॥[१*] यन्मुक्तेः पदमुत्तम यदचलं
यद्यापि यद्यो-
- 4 गिगान्धेयन्धोरधिया स्तुवन्ति यदलन्ध्रयासकङ्कसुराः [1*] आश्रित्य त्रिगुणी-
न्निधास्थि-
- 5 तिलयोत्पत्ति(त्ती)र्विधातुं गतम्भेदं यत्स्व[म*]भिन्नमप्यवतु वस्तुद्वस्तु विष्वम्सुखम्⁶
॥[२*] व्र-
- 6 ह्याभून्नरकारिनाभिकमलात्तस्माद्भूदंगिरास्तस्माद्देवगुरुस्ततो मुनिवरशंभु-
- 7 भर्तृदाजतः [1*] द्रोणस्तत्तनयादजायत धनुःप्रख्यातवोर्यो रणे तस्माद्दौणिर-
- 8 वार्यवोर्यमहिमा तस्माद्भूत्पल्लवः ॥[३*] लक्ष्मीभुवौ य[त्कु]लसम्भवानां राज्ञां
समासा-

Second Plate : first side

- 9 [द्य] कळत्रभावम् [1*] सम्प्रत्यसाधारणताम्परेषामासेदतुः पार्थिवमण्डला-
नाम् ॥[४*] य-
- 10 'दङ्गजानामवनोपतीनामात्मिकतं विश्वरिपून्विजित्य [1*] वस्तु प्रदायास्थिजनाय
भूयः कु-

¹ Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1910, Part II, para 21.

² See my Annual Report on Archaeology of the Travancore State for 1920, pp 41 and 49, and No 156 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1919 The actual words used in the Śuchindram inscription are " mahā sabhayaṛ lālam-ūdvichehu = kkuṛ sār = ttruv = akkirasālaiyir = kkuṭtam nramba = kkuṭi-arukka

³ South-Ind Inscr., Vol. II, p 527, text-line 199

⁴ Read कौस्तुभ The first half of this verse reminds us of vv 10 and 11 of canto X of the Raghuvamśa — प्रमातुलितश्रीवत्स लक्ष्मीविभूददर्पणः । कौस्तुभाख्यमपा सार विमूपा दृष्टीरसा ॥ बाहुभिर्विदपाकारैर्दिव्याभरणभूयितः ।

⁵ Read तटित्युक्ता

⁶ Read विष्वम् With the latter half of this verse compare नमी विश्वसृजे पूर्वं विश्व तदनु विभूते । अथ विश्वसृजं त्वय वेधा म्यितात्मने । रसान्तराष्ट्रिकरु यथा दिव्य प्रयोजुते । देशे देशे गुणेष्वेवमवस्थास्त्वमविक्रय । vv 16 and 17 of the same canto Compare also with the first verse of Kādambarī which contains the same idea couched in similar words — रजोवृत्ते जन्मनि सखदृष्टये स्थितौ प्रजानां प्रलये तम सृष्टे । अजाय सर्गस्थितिनाशहेतवे तथैवमाय विगुणात्मने नमः ।

⁷ Read ०५०.

32	கருவெனதுமடையாநூற்றுக்கூறாநகையாநகையுருகலுந்நூறுபக்கென	32
	பொருந்தியதுநனையுமடையாநகையுருகலுந்நூறுபக்கென	
34	மொண்டபயிர்நூற்றுக்கூறாநகையுருகலுந்நூறுபக்கென	34
	பயிர்நூற்றுக்கூறாநகையுருகலுந்நூறுபக்கென	
36	மொண்டபயிர்நூற்றுக்கூறாநகையுருகலுந்நூறுபக்கென	36
	பயிர்நூற்றுக்கூறாநகையுருகலுந்நூறுபக்கென	
38	மொண்டபயிர்நூற்றுக்கூறாநகையுருகலுந்நூறுபக்கென	38
	பயிர்நூற்றுக்கூறாநகையுருகலுந்நூறுபக்கென	

10 a

40 புகழ்நாட்டினைப் புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து
 42 புகழ்நாட்டினைப் புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து
 44 புகழ்நாட்டினைப் புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து
 46 புகழ்நாட்டினைப் புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து புகழ்ந்து

176

48	<p> ௪௮ ௪௯ ௫௦ ௫௧ ௫௨ ௫௩ ௫௪ ௫௫ ௫௬ ௫௭ ௫௮ ௫௯ ௬௦ ௬௧ ௬௨ ௬௩ ௬௪ ௬௫ ௬௬ ௬௭ ௬௮ ௬௯ ௭௦ ௭௧ ௭௨ ௭௩ ௭௪ ௭௫ ௭௬ ௭௭ ௭௮ ௭௯ ௮௦ ௮௧ ௮௨ ௮௩ ௮௪ ௮௫ ௮௬ ௮௭ ௮௮ ௮௯ ௯௦ ௯௧ ௯௨ ௯௩ ௯௪ ௯௫ ௯௬ ௯௭ ௯௮ ௯௯ ௧௦௦ </p>	<p> ௪௮ ௪௯ ௫௦ ௫௧ ௫௨ ௫௩ ௫௪ ௫௫ ௫௬ ௫௭ ௫௮ ௫௯ ௬௦ ௬௧ ௬௨ ௬௩ ௬௪ ௬௫ ௬௬ ௬௭ ௬௮ ௬௯ ௭௦ ௭௧ ௭௨ ௭௩ ௭௪ ௭௫ ௭௬ ௭௭ ௭௮ ௭௯ ௮௦ ௮௧ ௮௨ ௮௩ ௮௪ ௮௫ ௮௬ ௮௭ ௮௮ ௮௯ ௯௦ ௯௧ ௯௨ ௯௩ ௯௪ ௯௫ ௯௬ ௯௭ ௯௮ ௯௯ ௧௦௦ </p>	<p> ௪௮ ௪௯ ௫௦ ௫௧ ௫௨ ௫௩ ௫௪ ௫௫ ௫௬ ௫௭ ௫௮ ௫௯ ௬௦ ௬௧ ௬௨ ௬௩ ௬௪ ௬௫ ௬௬ ௬௭ ௬௮ ௬௯ ௭௦ ௭௧ ௭௨ ௭௩ ௭௪ ௭௫ ௭௬ ௭௭ ௭௮ ௭௯ ௮௦ ௮௧ ௮௨ ௮௩ ௮௪ ௮௫ ௮௬ ௮௭ ௮௮ ௮௯ ௯௦ ௯௧ ௯௨ ௯௩ ௯௪ ௯௫ ௯௬ ௯௭ ௯௮ ௯௯ ௧௦௦ </p>	<p> ௪௮ ௪௯ ௫௦ ௫௧ ௫௨ ௫௩ ௫௪ ௫௫ ௫௬ ௫௭ ௫௮ ௫௯ ௬௦ ௬௧ ௬௨ ௬௩ ௬௪ ௬௫ ௬௬ ௬௭ ௬௮ ௬௯ ௭௦ ௭௧ ௭௨ ௭௩ ௭௪ ௭௫ ௭௬ ௭௭ ௭௮ ௭௯ ௮௦ ௮௧ ௮௨ ௮௩ ௮௪ ௮௫ ௮௬ ௮௭ ௮௮ ௮௯ ௯௦ ௯௧ ௯௨ ௯௩ ௯௪ ௯௫ ௯௬ ௯௭ ௯௮ ௯௯ ௧௦௦ </p>
----	--	--	--	--

D

56 பதஞ்சலிபதிநிர்வாககருணை... 56
 58 பதஞ்சலிபதிநிர்வாககருணை... 58
 60 பதஞ்சலிபதிநிர்வாககருணை... 60

- 11 लव्रत कीर्तिसमार्जनं हि ॥[५*] तद्वक्ष्ये नृपेषु सिन्धुरशनां सम्भुज्य
१धात्रिश्चिरम्भो-
12 क्रुम् स्वर्गमुपत्यितेषु² कृतिषु श्रीवीरकूर्वादिषु [1*] आसीत्तत्र हिरण्यवर्ण-
नृपतिर्भू-
13 पालभर्ता ततस्सर्वज्ञचकिरोटघृष्टचरणश्चोनन्दिवर्माभवत् ॥[६*] आधत्त प्रथित-
14 जलो युवैव राज्यम्प्रात्खातस्फुरितकृपाणपाणिरेकः [1*] यो हत्वा सकल-
रिपून्वि-
15 जित्य भूयस्त्रयस्त्रयिपतिमौलिपादपौठः ॥[७*] धवळितककुभा यदो[य*]कोत्था
भुवनम-
16 भूत्सकल हतान्धकारम् [1*] रवितुहिनकरो तु सार्धकौ स्तः कुसुद-
सरोरुहदोर्ग्विका[म्]³

Second Plate Second Side

- 17 प्रबोध्य ॥[८*] यस्य वल्लभकळभ्रकेरळा[*] पाण्ड्यचोळतुळुगोणदयः [1*]
हारि वे-
18 शसमयाभिकांचिणी⁴स्सेवितुन्निरवकाशमासते ॥[९*] भृत्यस्तस्य⁵वरन्तपोगुण-
19 निधिर्वीरो वरिष्ठस्तत्मान्यो मानधन[*] स्वकीर्तिविसरव्याप्ता⁶खिलाशान्तर⁷
विप्राणाम-
20 ददाद्विषय नितराम् विज्ञाप्य स स्वामिने यस्मिन्मंगलराष्ट्रभूतमिहितः⁸ ख्याता जग-
21 त्वाभवे ॥[१०*] मंगलजनपदभर्तुर्दत्तिरियम्यल्लवेन्द्रभृत्यस्य [1*] आ धरणेरा जल-
22 धेराचन्द्रदिवाकरं स्वेयात् ॥[११*] Kō-

Vijaya-Nandivikkirama-parumarku yāndu arubat-

- 23 t-on[rāvadu Man]galanādālvān vinnappattāl Ālappākka-Vijayanallūlān=ā-
24 nattu[y-ā]ga Śō[la-nā]ttu=tTenkarai-Ārvala-kkūrrattu nāttār kūnga tanga-nāttu=

Third Plate : First Side

- 25 ttan[yūr] lī-chuṛru nāppadīṛru-vēlyullum paḷam piramadēyam=irubat-
tu-nāl-
26 [vēlyum] nīkka nīṇṇa padinaṇṇu-vēlyullum yāndu aymbatt onbad-āvadu¹⁰ Mangala-
27 nādālvān vinnappattār¹¹ Ālappākka-Vijayanallūlān=ānattiy-āga perumā-
28 nadigaḷum piramadēyam-āga aruḷi-chocheyda panniru-vēlyum yāndu arubatt-o-
29 nṛ-āvadu Mangalanādālvān vinnappattāl=Ālappākka-Vijayanallūlā-

¹ Read धात्री² Read स्वर्गमुपत्यितेषु³ Read दोर्विकाम⁴ Read चिण⁵ [The Reading परन्तपो would be better- Ed.]⁶ Read विसरव्याप्ता⁷ Read नर[*]⁸ Read च्चसिहित⁹ Read इ¹⁰ Misread as aymbatt on rāvadu in the *Mythic Society Journal*, Vol. XIV, p. 128¹¹ Read vinnappattāl

- 30 p=āṇattiy-āga arul-chcheydā nāl-vēhyum ulittu paḍiṇ-aru-vēlīyūm ūrkkū-
 31 ru pulli-valiyār¹=manaiyūm manai ppaḍappum oliv-inṛi=ppiramadēyam-āga-ppaṇi-

Third Plate · Second Side

- 32 ttēm=enru nāttārku vitta tīrumugan=nāttār toḷudu talaikku=vaitt=ell[ai]
 33 pōy=kkallun=kanniyun²=nātti=ppadāgai valaṇ-cheydu nāttār vidunda³ arai-
 34 y-ōlaṇppaḍi ūr-kkūru-pulli vaḷiyā=ppaḍiṇ-aru-vēlīkkum nīṇṇa manaiyūm manai p-
 35 paḍappum kuḷamun=kottagāramum uvariyaṇ ūr-pālūm kāḍam ōḍaiyūm nīr pūṣi
 36 nedum-paramb-cu[ndu udumb-ō]ḍiy-āmai-tavaḷndad-ellām kōvum [po]riyu-
 37 n-tirandu [kudiyil sāmātya kūrut]⁴ paḍi ppaḍi[yār]⁵ sarvva-parihāra[m] pe[rṛu]
 brahmadē-
 38 yaṁ=āy[irru][||*] Ivv-[ū]r perra parihāra[m] [vat]ti-nāliyaṇ pudā nāliyaṇ maṇṇu pādum
 ūrāt[chi]-

Fourth Plate · First Side

- 39 yūm taraguṇ=kūlamum ilam-pūṭchiyum=idai-ppūṭchiyum nādu-kāvalum ūdu-pōkku[m]
 40 uppu-kkōchcheygaiyūm nall-āvun=nall-erudum nēr-vāyamum ivaiy-ulittu
 41 kō=ttott=unnappālav-ellām evvagaippattavum unna-pperādār-āga[vu*]m[||*]
 42 Pattattālmangalam-ēnum pērār⁶-brahmadēyam āga peṇṇa nalgūr nal-
 43 ppāppār Gautama-gōttirattu Iranyakēśi-sūttirattu Nerṇkunrattu kra-
 44 mavittanā[r*] Kūlabhattanum||—Jatvakaranna-gōttirattu Hiranyakēśi-sūttirattu Mayilā-
 45 ppiṇ⁷-Nandisarmma-bhaḷtanum||—Gautama-gōttirattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Kummangl
 46 Vennaya chchadangaviyaṇ||—Irādhītara-gōttirattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Kuravaṣiri

Fourth Plate Second Side

- 47 Agnisarmma-ttīruvēḍiyum||—Vādūla-gōttirattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Tiruvēḍi-
 48 -[p]Pottaśarmmanum||—Mādala-gōttirattu Hiranyakēśi sūttirattu Ēnūr Achchavi-
 49 nna-chchadangaviyaṇ||—Āttiraiya-gōttirattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Kombarut-
 50 tuKumāraśarmma-chchadangaviyaṇ||—I-kkōttirattu i-chchūttirattu Uṇuputtūr Kālī-
 51 mandai-chchadangaviyaṇ||—Kappa-gōttirattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Śīrupulū—
 52 gūl Śēndaśarmma-chchadangaviyaṇ||—Gōdama-gōttirattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Van-
 53 gipparuttu Śadangaṇi Tāyaśarmmanum||—I-kkōttirattu i-chchūttirattu ivv-ūr Kumā-
 54 ra[krama]-ttīruvēḍiyum||—Koṇḍina-gōttirattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Vangip-

Fifth Plate First Side

- 55 paṇuttu Tēvaḍi-kkīṇamavittanum||—Gōdama-gōttirattu Āvattamba sūttirattu Va-
 56 [n]gipparuttu -Pappaśarmma-chchadangaviyaṇ||—Vādūla-gōttirattu Āvattamba-sūttira-
 57 ttu Kārambichchēttu Śēndaśarmman pangaraiyaṇ||—Āttiraiya-gōttirattu Āvattam-
 58 ba sūttirattu Kombaruttu Śēndaśarmman paṇṇ-araiaṇ||—Dēvaṇḍiḍan Aññūṇṇu-
 59 vanum||—Ivv-eluttu vēttiṇēn Kachchippōṭt-Aimpanaichchēri Viḍēlvīḍugu-
 60 Pallavā-pperuntachchan magan Śrī-Daṇḍiyēṇ||—

¹ Read *valiyāl*² Read *valiyūn*³ Read *vidulla*⁴ The reading in brackets is tentative badly damaged in the original⁵ Read *ṇāl*⁶ Read *pērāl*⁷ Read *ṇāl*

TRANSLATION

(Verse 1) Hail ' Prosperity ' Let that body of the husband of Śrī (i.e., Vishnu), which is resplendent with the *laustubha* jewel on its chest and which with a hundred *marakata*-like arms is lying on the ocean, resembling a collection of clouds lustrous with the interspersed lightning and settling on the waters of the ocean to imbibe (its) water, grant you welfare

(V 2) That which is the highest place of salvation, is immutable, is omnipresent, is contemplated on by *yōgis* and that which the Brahmans excessively extol always with firm wisdom and with the chanting of the Vēdas, which though itself undivided, assumes three differentiations by adopting the three qualities in order to accomplish (the work of) protection, destruction and creation—may that all-pervading object protect you

(V 3) From the navel-lotus of Narakāri (i.e. Vishnu) was born Brahmā, from him was (born) Angiras, from him Dēvaguru (i.e., Bṛhaspati), from him (came) Śamyu the best of sages, from his son Bharadvāja (was born) Drōṇa who was renowned as an archer in the battle field, from him (came) Drauni (i.e., Aśvatthāman) who was of irresistible great power, and from him came Pallava

(V 4) Lakshmi and the Goddess of Earth having attained the status of consorts to the kings of this family they could not be appropriated by the assemblage of (other) kings

(Vv 5 and 6) In this dynasty of kings, whose family vow was the accumulation of fame by giving largesses to suitors after having made the wealth their own by conquering all enemy kings, after the illustrious Virakūrcha and others had gone to Heaven after having enjoyed the sea-girt earth for a long time, there came Hiraṇyavarman, the foremost of rulers and then Nandivarman, whose glorious feet were rubbed against by the diadems of all kings

(V 7) This king of renowned prowess, whose foot stool was the crown of prostrate kings, ruled his kingdom, even while young, after having killed his enemies and conquered the kingdom single-handed with his unsheathed sword scintillating in his hand

(v 8) The entire world was rid of its darkness by his fame with which all the quarters were whitened, and the sun and the moon were (only) useful for awakening (i.e., opening) the lotus and lily ponds respectively

(V 9) At his gate there await without (getting) opportunity (to enter) the Vallabhas, the Kaṭabhras, the Kēralas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Chōlas, the Tulus, the Konkanas and others desirous of obtaining admission to serve (him)

(V 10) The servant of this (king) who was the storehouse of austerities and virtue, who was heroic, highly distinguished, respected by the good, whose wealth was honour, whose spreading fame enveloped the interior of all the quarters, and in whom, who was the relative of the world, the name Mangalarāshtra-bhartri (the lord of the district called Mangala-rāshtra) became well-known, gave to a concourse of Brahmans (their) desired object, having repeatedly petitioned the king

(V 11) May this gift of the ruler of the country of Mangala, the subordinate of the Pallava king, stand as long as the Earth, the Ocean, the Moon and the Sun (exist)

(Ll 22 to 32) In the sixty-first year of (the reign of) king Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman, the following order to the residents (of Ārvala kūṛram) was issued at the request of Mangalanādālvān and at the command (ānatti) of Vijayanallūlān of Alappākam —

“ Let the residents of Tonkarai-Ārvala-kūṛram in the Chōla country (Śōla-nādu) observe Out of the forty-five *vēli* (of land) round about the free village of in your sub division, after excluding the old *brahmadēya* of twenty-four *vēli* there remain sixteen *vēli* (of land) These sixteen *vēli*—formed by adding together the twelve *vēli* (of land) which the king (Perumānādigaḷ) had been pleased to grant as a *brahmadēya* in the fifty-ninth year (of his reign)—at the request

of Mangalanādālvān and at the instance of Vijayanallūlān of Ālappākkam and the four *vēl* (of land) which (the same) had been pleased to be converted into a *brahmadīya* (now) in the sixty-first year (of his reign) at the request of Mangalanādālvān and at the command of Vijayanallūlān of Ālappākkam,—without excluding the houses of the residents of the persons who settle the village and house-sites (*maṇai-padappu*)—these we have ordered (to be) a *brahmadīya* "

(L1 32 to 38) The residents of the district made obeisance (to the royal order), placed it on their heads, planted stones and milk-bush, went right round the *paḍāgai* and issued the order for publication (*arai-ōlai*). According to it, the sixteen *vēl* (of land) including houses, house-sites, tanks, kraals, *uvar*, village-waste, forest, streams and all (other) kinds of lands covered with water and ploughed with *paṇambu* where inguanas run and tortoises crawl were removed from the exercise of the rights of the king and (his) authorities and were granted all *parihāras* in order¹. it (then) became a *brahmadīya*

(L1 38 to 43) The *parihāras* which this village received were —Inclusive of *iaḷṭi-nāḷi*, *puḍā-nāḷi*, *maṇrupādu*, *ūṛūṭchi*, *taragu*, *kūlam*, *iḷam pūṭchi*, *nāḍu-kūal*, *ūdupōllu*, *uppu-ḷḷo-chcheyyar*, *nall-ā*, *nall-erudu*, *nēr-vāyam* and all other kinds of taxes which the king had a right to levy and enjoy shall not (henceforth) be paid (to him), that under the name of Patṭattāḷman-galam, the undermentioned poor Brahmans received the *brahmadīya*

Serial No	Number of line	Gōtra	Sūtra	Village	Name of person.
1	43	Gautama	Hiranyakēśi	Neṅkuyyāram	Kramavittanār- Bhattan
2	44	Jātūkarnna	Do	Mayilāppil .	Nandisarma- Bhattan
3	45	Gautama . .	Āvattamba (Āpas tamba)	Kummaṅgi .	Venṇaya Chadangavi (Shadāngavit)
4	46	Irādhidara (Rat- hītara)	Do	Kuravaśiri .	Agnisarma Tiruvēdi (Tiruvēdin)
5	47	Vādūla (Vādhūla)	Do		Tiruvēdi- Pottasarmaṇ
6	48	Mādala (Māthara)	Hiranyakēśi .	Eṇūr . .	Achechavanna Chadangavi
7	49	Āttiraiya (Ātrēya)	Āvattamba .	Kombaṅu .	Kumārasarma Chadangavi
8	50	Do	Do .	Urupputtūr .	Kāḷimanda Chadangavi
9	51	Kappa (Kāpya)	Do .	Sirupulugul .	Sēndasarma-Chadangavi
10	52	Gōtama (Gautama)	Do	Vaṅgipparu	Sadangavi Tāyaśarman
11	53	Do	Do .	Do .	Kumāra-krama-Tiruvēdi
12	54	Koṇḍina (Kaṇḍi- ṇiṇya)	Do	Do .	Tēvaḍi kramavittan
13	55	Gōtama (Gautama)	Do .	Do .	Pappasarma Chadangavi
14	56	Vādūla (Vādhūla)	Do	Kārambichechēṭṭu	Śēndasarmaṇ
15	57	Āttiraiya	Do	Kombaṅu . .	Śēndasarmaṇ
16	58		..	.	Dēvaṇchidan Aṇḍūṇṇuṇ

(L1 59-60) The inscription was engraved by Sṛi Daṇḍi, son of Viḍēlvīḍugu-Pallava-perun tachchan of Aṁpanaichchēri in Kachchippēdu.

¹ The doubtful words *kudiyil sāmāya kūṇu* are not translated.

No. 15 —DEOGARH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SVAMIBHATA

BY DAIYA RAM SAHNI, RAI BAHADUR, M A

The antiquities of Deogarh situated about 22 miles from Lalitpur in the district of Jhansi are described in Dr Fühler's *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, pp 119-121 and 338, Mr P C Mukherjee's *Report on the Antiquities in the District of Lalitpur* and General Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol X, pp 100-110. The ancient fort at Deogarh is designated Lnachchhagira in the Deogarh pillar inscription of Bhōjadēva of Kanauj, Vik Samvat 919¹ while the Deogarh rock inscription of Kirtivarman of the [Vik] year 1154 gives it the name of Kirttigiri.²

This inscription is engraved on a much-worn rock-cut flight of steps which led down on the south side of the Deogarh Fort to the water of the river Betwā which encloses it on three sides. This flight of steps is locally known as the Nahar or Nār Ghātī and possesses as many as eleven niches all contemporaneous with the Ghāt some of which still contain their images. The panel occurring at the top of the Ghāt, with which we are here concerned, contains a row of nine seated figures which represent, beginning from the left —(1) A male figure holding a rīṇḍ between both hands, probably Virabhadra, (2) Bīāhmi with three faces, (3) Māhēśvari seated on a lion and holding Gaṇēśa in her left hand, (4) Kāmāri on her peacock, (5) Vaiṣṇavi on the Garuḍa, (6) Vārāhi, (7) Indrāṇi, (8) four-armed Chāmundā, seated on a human corpse and (9) two-armed Ganapati.

The inscription under description is engraved immediately above this panel of the divine Mothers. The inscribed surface is 1' 11" wide and 1' 1" in height. The inscription consists of seven lines and is in a fairly good condition of preservation though six letters in the beginning of the first line and a few letters in the beginning of each of lines 5—7 are mutilated. The characters which belong to what Dr Bühler styles the "acute-angled alphabet" of Northern India, are closely allied to the alphabet in which the Bōdh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman of the Gupta year 269³, the *Prasasti*⁴ of the temple of Lakhā Maṇḍal at Mādhā in Jannār Bāvar Pargana of the Dehra Dun District, the Benares inscription of Pantha⁵ and several other documents are written. The striking peculiarities of this alphabet are the highly ornamental *kōnas* and *mātrās* and these are fully shared by the epigraph under discussion. Dr Bühler assigns the Lakhā Maṇḍal *prasasti*⁶ to about the end of the 6th century A.D. In my paper on the Benares inscription of Pantha referred to above I assigned that document erroneously to the beginning of the 8th century A.D. In reality it must be as early as the other inscriptions referred to. This is obvious, besides other considerations, from the use of the archaic form of *y* consisting of the loop and two vertical lines. This form of *y* is also used throughout in the present inscription, and I feel no hesitation in assigning it to the 6th century A.D. The language of the document is Sanskrit and except for the opening words *Om namaḥ* at the beginning of line 1, the inscription is in verse throughout. In the matter of spelling and *sandhi*, only one or two irregularities are observable in our inscription. One of these is the use of *prāptāns=tridaśa* instead of *prāptāms=tridaśa* in line 5. Similarly although the doubling of consonants in contact with *r* after vowels is quite regular, the form *kkramāgata* (l. 4) in the beginning of the third quarter of v. 4 is objectionable, as the consonant *k* concerned

¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol IV, p. 309 seq.² *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XI, pp. 811 ff and Vol XVIII, pp. 237 ff.³ *Fleet. Gupta Inscriptions*, Pl. XLI, A.⁴ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 10 seq.⁵ *Ibid*, Vol IX, p. 59 and Pl. facing p. 60.⁶ *Indian Palaeography*, edited by Dr. Fleet as an Appendix to the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XXXIII, p. 49.

is not preceded by a vowel. The word *prathi* in l. 5 is not found in dictionaries. It is probably the engraver's mistake for *pathi*, locative singular of *pathi*, meaning 'range', 'reach', etc.

The inscription does not appear so far to have been published anywhere. Its existence is referred to by Mr P. O. Mukherji,¹ but all that he has to tell us about it is that in it "the name of the reigning king is lost." Dr Führer appears, however, to have deciphered a part of the inscription as he has the following remark about it: "Near the Naharghūti, there is a valuable record of Svāmibhata, dated Samvat 609, written in characters of the latter Gupta period."² Now, though the first part of the remark is quite correct, there is no trace of a date any where to be seen in the inscription.

The inscription consists of seven verses. The verses are not numbered. The interpunctuation is also not regular, for though the ends of the verses are everywhere marked by the usual double vertical stroke (*ānṭa*), the half verses are only occasionally indicated by a curved horizontal stroke which in one or two cases has a more complicated form. As to the contents of the document, the first verse invokes the blessing of the divine Mothers. Verses 2 to 4 contain the pedigree of a certain Svāmibhata whose high qualities are eulogised in verse 5. The next verse states that this Svāmibhata caused an imperishable abode to be constructed for the divine Mothers on the mountain on which the Deogarh Fort is situated. The *Prasasti* was composed by a certain Jāta, the son of Yākṣhadatta and engraved by Bhānu, the son of Durgga. The abode of the Mothers whose erection is recorded in this epigraph is probably identical with the niche in which the group of the seven mothers and the inscription are engraved unless we are to suppose that the upper part of the flight of steps was originally covered with a roof and did duty as a temple. The building of temples for the worship of the divine Mothers appears to have been common in ancient times. One such temple was erected by a certain Mayūrākṣhaka, a minister of Viśnavarman,³ in the year 480 of the Mālava era, i.e. the Vikrama era.

Nothing is known about the donor (Svāmibhata) mentioned in this inscription from any other source. In the inscription he is described as the grandson of Gōmilaka who was an ornament of the Solar race and might therefore have been a man of some consequence.

TEXT

[Metres Vv 1, 4, 6 and 7, *Anuṣṭubh*, V. 2, *Āryā*, V. 3, *Sālinī*, V. 5, *Śiṣharinī*]

1 [ॐ न]मः ।

.....स्थाना जगद्रक्षात्मनो नमः

मातृणां लोकमातृ(तृ)णा मण्डलं भूतयेस्तु व ॥[१*]

अभवद्भोमि[ल-

2 क] इति [सहस्र]किरणावदातकुलतिलकः ।

सुचरितपदवीमनुयान्ति यस्य नाद्यापि सम्प्रभयाः ॥[२*]

तस्माज्जज्ञे

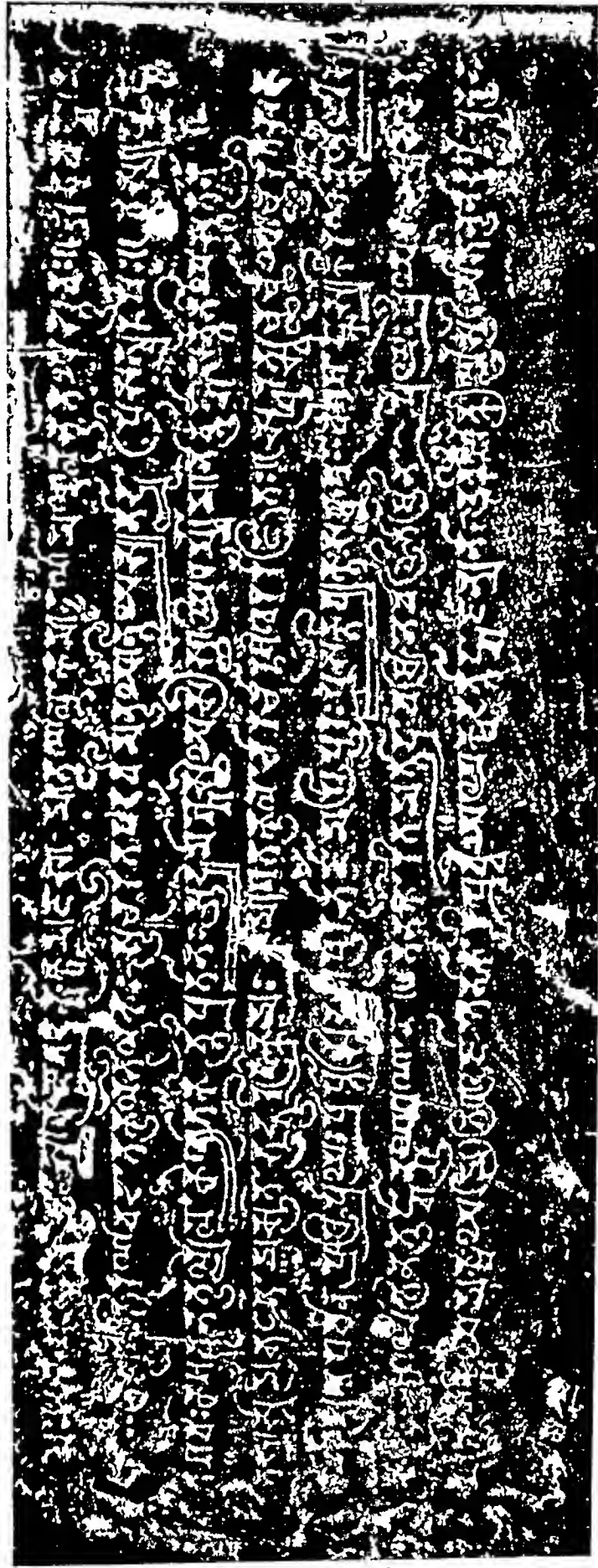
¹ Report on the Antiquities in the District of Lalitpur, Vol I, p. 11

² The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in North-Western Provinces and Oudh, p. 333

³ Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, p. 74

⁴ The letter 'ह' is written below the line.

ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SVAMIBHATA FROM DEOGARH



H. KRISHNA SASTRI

SCALE TWO FIFTHS

Photo engraved & printed by Survey of India Calcutta 1924

- 3 केशवः केशवेन तुल्यो लोके स्यात्कीर्त्तिप्रदानः[1*]
आद्ये मार्गे स्थेयसी स्यायिधर्मा मानीतुङ्गा सन्ततिं यस्तान ॥[३*]
- 4 तस्य स्वामिभटो नाम सुतोभूद्विरविक्रमः [1*]
क्षमागतकुलाचारचारुशेखरराजितः ॥[४*]
स्फुरत्स्वच्छच्छायाच्छुरितसक-
- 5 [लाशा]न्मुखपथान्
प्रथि^१प्रायः प्राप्तान्छि[द]शपुरभाजामपि पुरः [1*]
प्रसक्तव्यक्तः सञ्छश इव शशाङ्कस्य किरणा-
- 6 न्कालिर्यस्या-
[गगयान्स्थ]गयति न तुङ्गान्गुणगणान् ॥[५*]
तेन कारितमत्तुद्रावर्थिनेवार्चितार्थिना ।
प्रेयः प्रिय^२प्रसादाना
- 7 मातृणां जयमजयमिति ॥[६*]
जातेनाकारि पूर्व्यं यत्तदत्ताङ्गजन्मना
उत्कीर्णोत्कीर्णसुधिया भानुना दुर्गसूनुना ॥[७*]

TRANSLATION

Om Salutation !

(Verse 1) May the group of Mothers, the mothers of the universe having their dwelling in . . . and having prowess fit for the preservation of the world be for your welfare

(V 2). There was (one) Gōmilaka, the ornament of the pure race of the thousand-rayed (Sun); whose meritorious conduct is not equalled to this day by righteous men

(V 3) From him was born Kēśava, equal to Viṣṇu, whose extensive fame was well-known in the world, and who, of firm righteousness, produced progeny of lofty reputation which was firmly established in the primeval path (of righteousness)

(V. 4) He (Kēśava) had a son named Svāmibhata of great prowess, adorned with the handsome ornament of his traditional family piety

(V 5) The multitude of whose eminent and countless virtues was not obscured by Kali—(the virtues which) encompassed all the directions by their luminous and brilliant lustre, which had found an easy passage (everywhere) and which, in scope, had nearly reached even the cities of the residents of the abode of the gods, just as the rays of the moon are not obscured by the hare though manifestly closely attached to her.

(V 6) By him (Svāmibhata) who honoured his supplicants, desirous as it were of excellent gifts, was caused to be made, here on this hill, a very costly and indestructible abode of the Mothers

(V 7) This foremost (*prastā*) was composed by Jāta, the son of Yakshadatta, and engraved by Bhānu, the son of Durgga of polished intellect ⁴

¹ I had myself read this word as *triloka* meaning the three regions. The reading *sukha* has been kindly suggested by Mr H. Dasgupta

² Read पथि

³ After the word प्रिय one or two syllables were first engraved and then scored out

⁴ The expression उत्कीर्णसुधो may mean 'who is clever in engraving'—C R K

No 16 — A KALACHURI STONE INSCRIPTION FROM KASIA

By DATA RAM SARNI, RAI BAHADUR, M A

The stone slab on which this inscription is engraved, was discovered by Mr A C L Carlleyle¹ in 1875-76 at the Buddhist ruins near Kasīā which has since been proved by successive excavations to represent in all probability the ancient site of Kuśanagara where Gautama Buddha breathed his last or entered *Mahāparinirvāna*. The exact spot where this discovery was made was on the south side of the door-way of the brick shrine in which the large blackstone image of the Buddha at the moment of his enlightenment, locally known as the Māthā Kūār, was originally enshrined. This shrine turns out to be the chapel of a monastery of the 11th or 12th century A D., and not an independent temple as Mr Carlleyle presumably imagined. This monastery was excavated by Pt Hirananda Sastri in 1911 and 1912². As the inscription which forms the subject of this paper, was found in this monument, it seems to me likely that this document recorded its erection. The loss of the latter portion of the inscription to be referred to later on is, therefore, much to be regretted.

The slab is the blue stone of Gayā of the same kind as the material of the colossal Bōdhi statue, referred to above and must, likewise, have been brought from that District and inscribed and set up in the building where it has been recovered. Mr Carlleyle had rubbings of this inscription made for Professor Kielhorn from which and certain others supplied by the Curator of the Lucknow Museum, the late Professor published a résumé of the contents of the record in his *Epigraphic Notes in Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen Phil.—historische Klasse 1903*, pp 300 to 303. Professor Kielhorn did not edit any portion of the inscription. The text that I edit below was prepared in 1912 when I was Curator of the Provincial Museum at Lucknow and I believe I have succeeded in deciphering the whole of the record as far as it was decipherable. Besides, a fuller treatment of the inscription was necessary as this is the only record, so far known, of the branch of the Kalachuri family to which it belongs. The condition of the inscription is described in Professor Kielhorn's notes referred to and only salient points may be mentioned here. This slab is 36½" wide and 17½" high. The existing portion of the inscription contains 24 lines, but evidently some writing is lost at the end of it. The annexed plate will show the amount of damage that has occurred to the document from the peeling off of the surface, rendering illegible large portions of several lines and making other parts almost unreadable except with difficulty from the original stone. The size of letters ranges from ⅜" to ⅝" exclusive of the vowel marks. The smaller size of ⅜" occurs in the lower lines due evidently to considerations of space that was available on the slab when the engraver had reached a certain stage of his task.

The characters are Nāgarī of the 11th or 12th century A.D. I agree with Professor Kielhorn that both the writer and the engraver have done their work carefully but, even so, a few mistakes have crept in. In l 9 we notice *Nahusha* spelt with *gh* in place of *h*. In four cases the *anusvāra* in the body of words is replaced before the sibilants *sa* and *śa* by the nasal of one or other of the *vargas*. These are *vansa* for *vamśa* in ll 10, 11 and 12 and *rājahanśi* for *rājahanśi* in l 19. *Sandhi* is everywhere carried out except once in *kalpataruk trijagat*^o in l 19. As is usual in inscriptions of this period, the final consonants are sometimes written small, with a curved stroke beneath them, and the consonant *va* is written in place of *ba*. I have used the correct form throughout. The inscription is composed throughout in Sanskrit verse with the exception of the invocation of the Buddha in the beginning of l 1. The metrical portion contains thirty verses and a few syllables of the 31st verse. Professor Kielhorn has published a list of

¹ A S R Vol XVIII, p 68² A S R for 1910-11, Part II, p 68 and 1911-12, Pt. II, pp 138 ff

the first 29 stanzas indicating the metre of each and the number of the line of the inscription in which each verse ends or would have ended had the document been better preserved. As to the metres of these stanzas, I agree to Professor Kielhorn's list, except in regard to the 28th verse, where he doubtfully makes the metre *Vamśastha*, though it is more probably *Rathōddhatā*, the space being just enough for 44 syllables and the scheme of the extant last *pāda* as read by me being that of the *Rathōddhatā* metre.

In respect of its contents the document is divisible into three portions, namely, (1) the invocations of deities (vv 1-5), (2) the mythical and legendary portion of the genealogy (vv 6-12), and (3) the historical portion. In connection with verses 4 and 5 it is interesting to observe that the two Nāndi verses of the Buddhist drama, the "*Nāgānanda*", also invoke the Buddha under the epithets of Jina and Munindra, the appellations in our inscription being *Tathāgata* and *Munindra*. In connection with the second section, it is to be observed that in v 8 the marriage of Budha with Ilā, the daughter of Manu, is also mentioned though it is overlooked in Prof Kielhorn's résumé. It is also noteworthy that while the Kahlā plate inscription of Śōdhadēva¹ of another branch of the Kalachuri dynasty mentions *Kritavīrya* after *Haihaya* the *Harivamsa* has as many as seven kings between *Haihaya* and *Kritavīrya*². The names of these seven kings are (1) *Dhaimanētra*, (2) *Kārta*, (3) *Sāhañja*, (4) *Mahishmān*, (5) *Bhadrāsreṇya*, (6) *Duddama* and (7) *Kanaka*.

The historical portion of the genealogy begins with v 13 and embraces the rest of the preserved portion of the document. The founder of the branch of the Kalachuri dynasty represented by the present epigraph was Śankaragana as was Lakshmana-rāja of the other branch referred to in the preceding paragraph. My text of the Kasiā inscription elucidates two or three obscure points in the summary of Prof Kielhorn, and furnishes the names of one or two other kings which are omitted by him. In the first place Prof Kielhorn was doubtful about the relationship of the third king Lakshmana (I) (v 16) to his predecessor Nannarāja. My reading of the verse clearly makes him a son of Nanna-rāja. The same remark applies to the next king Śiva-rāja (I) (v 18) who must have been a son to Lakshmana (I). Again Prof Kielhorn's summary makes Rājaputra (v 20) the son of Bhīmata (I) mentioned in v 19. It now appears that the term *rājaputra* is only a title of Lakshmana (II) not mentioned in Prof Kielhorn's notes, who was in all probability the son of Bhīmata. The last king (v 27) mentioned in the extant portion of the record is Bhīmāta (II), son of Kāñchanā probably the wife of Lakshmanarāja II or of another king whose name may have disappeared in v 26. It is impossible to ascertain whether the inscription was set up in the time of this prince (Bhīmāta II) or whether the missing portion contained the names of one or more other princes. Nor is it possible, for the same reason, to say what the object of the inscription was.

The only place mentioned in the epigraph is Śaivaya³ (verse 17) to which Lakshmana resorted after having entered a fort whose name is missing. The verse mentioned above describes it as a mountainous district (*śikhari-vishayaṁ*) which was the residence of Śibi the son of Uśinara. Prof Kielhorn proposed to identify this locality with Seweya, situated a few miles south or south east of Kasiā. I have nothing to say against this suggestion, for the place must have been situated somewhere in the vicinity of Kasiā where the inscription has been found, though it must be observed that the village Seweya, which I personally inspected, is situated on perfectly level ground and not in a mountainous region. In an interesting article on the *Shorkot inscription of the year 83*,⁴ Dr Vogel has discussed the history of the Śibi tribe

¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol VII, pp 85 seq

² *Harivamśa*, Calcutta edition of 1839, *adhyāya* 38, vv 1845-50.

³ Śaivaya appears to be a mistake for Saivya (= Śiva + the suffix *āya*), i.e., the country or city of the Śibis [The metre requires such a form which might be *rādha*.—Ed.]

⁴ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XVI, pp 15-17

at some length According to the *Mahābhārata*, this tribe lived in the western part of India. Dr Lassen considers the Siboi, one of the tribes subdued by Alexander the Great, to be identical with the Śibis of the ancient Indian literature and Mr Smith in his *Early History of India* locates them in the Doab of the Hydaspes and Hydraotis The inscription referred to above appears to show that the mound at Shorkot, where the record has been found marks the site of Śibipura which Dr Vogel believes to have been the capital of the Śibis It thus becomes evident that the Śibis were at one time masters of the greater part of Northern India

The name of the king who had this inscription installed is lost in the lower obliterated portion of the record, and we know nothing about him beyond the fact, as we gather from verses 1-5, that though a Buddhist by faith, he revered, along with the Buddha and Tārā, the Brahmanical god Śiva This is in keeping with the state of the society during the period to which the inscription belongs and we are aware of Ballālasēna,¹ king of Bengal, who in the beginning of his reign was a Buddhist but turned a Śaiva in his later life At the Buddhist ruins of Sārnāth and other ancient sites, Brahmanical images have been found side by side with Buddhist ones in the shrines of the late mediæval period Further proof of the reconciliation of Hinduism and Buddhism during this period is afforded by certain Mōn inscriptions of Burma recording the consecration and dedication of a great religious building or palace² The ceremonial lasted a number of days and Brahman astrologers as well as Buddhist monks took part in it This process of harmonising the two faiths must, however, have begun much earlier The drama *Nāgārāja* of Harsha, to which a reference has been made above, represents an undoubted attempt in this direction, for do we not find in it the Bōdhisattva Jīmūtavāhana worshipping the Brahmanical gods and his father Jīmūtakēta leading the life of an *agnihōtrī* after his retirement?

TEXT

[Metres: vv 1, 7, 15, 29 and 30 *Sragdharā*, vv 2, 3, 6, 10 and 12 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, v 4 *Vamśastha*, vv 5, 13, 14 and 17 *Mandākrāntā*, vv 8, 9, 11, 16, 19, 20, 24, 25 and 27 *Vasantatilakā*, v 18 *Śikharinī*, vv 21 to 23 and 26 *Āryā*, v 28 *Rathōddhatā*]

1 [ॐ] नमो रुद्राय³ नमो बुद्धाय ।

यज्ज्योतिः सूक्ष्मेकं यदखिलकरणग्रामगोष्ठीविवादि -

ज्ञानासिख्यस्तगाढावृतिवितततमोग्रन्य विद्योतते च ।

व्यक्ताद्यैर्भूतिभेदैर्विलसति रमय — — — — —

2 — — पायाक्षिपर्व्वप्रभवभयभिदः शाश्वतं शङ्करस्य ॥[१*]

दृष्ट्वा कोपपराङ्मुखीं गिरिसुता सध्याप्रणामैर्यया

¹ Cf. *The Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa*, by N. N. Vasu, Introduction by Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, p. 21

² Reports of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st March 1912, pp. 14-15, and 1916, pp. 22-23, and *Epigraphia Birmanica*, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 2

³ It will be remembered that Mr A. C. L. Carleyle read this passage as *Om namō Buddhāya namō Buddhāya bhikṣhunē*. Professor Kielborn has shown that what Mr Carleyle read as *bhikṣhunē* is really *yaj=gyōtī* which commences verse 1. He himself read the first *Buddhāya* as *Rudrāya*. A close examination of the passage on the original stone leaves no doubt, however, that it is really *rudrāya*, i.e., who has subjected himself. The subjoined consonant of the second syllable of the word has decidedly a closed loop like the *ddhā* of *Buddhāya* (l. 1) and is distinct from *dra* in *chandramāh* (l. 8), *narēndra* (l. 19) and *kalpadrumānām* (l. 22). [The word must be *Rudrāya* as indicated by the first 2 verses in praise of Sankara—Ed.]

⁴ Here we might restore the words *taḍ=raḥ* or *tan-nah*

⁵ The syllable *sam* is written below the line

तत्काला(लो)चितचारुचाटुघटनापर्याकुलं(स)स्तत्क्षणं[१*]
 पौलस्त्योर्जितदोर्हयी ७ ७ ७ — —

3

— ७ — चस्तथा¹

पायादः सुचिरं तथा वृद्धतामोत्सवः शङ्करः ॥[२*]
 मूर्तिर्धर्ममयी कृपारसवह चेतो विशुद्धा धियः
 नेत्रे मैत्रगुणानुरागसुभगे शान्ताभिनीतो करो ।
 इ[त्ये]वं सुगतानुशास[न]-

4

७ — — कृत्रिं(त्रि)यं स्वां तनुं

विभ्राणा भवतां सुखानि तनुता तारा त्रि(त्रि)लोकेश्वरो ॥[३*]
 जयत्यसंजातविचित्रवासना[गुणा]नुरागोज्ज्वलधोस्तपोनिधिः ।
 तथागतः स्तम्भितमारसुन्द[रमहो]त्सवः सिद्धगणैर[भि]-

5

[ष्टतः][१८*]

येयः सत्वो(त्त्वो)पक्व[ति]पर[मं] पश्यता येन तत्त-
 त्सप्राणैरप्यतिथि[षु] कृतं कीर्तितं य[त्कथा]भिः [१]
 [योगेश्व]र्याज्जगति सुबहून् स(स)स्त्रि(वि)धायावतारान्
 [कृति]कारु[ण्यै]कप्र [रभवत्]ः [सदा]सौ सुन[ी]-

6

[न्द्रः][१५*]

यद्दीजं जगतां लयस्थितिविधौ यश्चैकमालम्बनं
 देवो दैत्यनिपूदनः स भगवान्प्रज्ञापन[येष्टजत्] ।
 [तेनाशु] त्रिजगत्प्रपञ्चरचनाचतुर्य[विद्योक्तसा]
 सप्तात्रि[प्रसु]खाः [प्र]जाधिपतयो ध्या[त्वा]

7

[स]मुत्पादिता ॥[६*]

तत्रात्रिंशोणि दिव्यान्यकृत कृतत्रिकामणी[र्वि]स्तराणा-
 मव्याचेपात्सहस्रान्य(स्य)निमिषनयसोऽनुत्तरास्त्र्यन्तपञ्चव² ॥
 तद्दीर्यादार्यनेत्रादजनि दृश[दिशो] भ्राजय[त्प्रो]तिरोचः

8

— — विश्वामिनन्वश्रुतिरस्तनिधिसन्द्रमाः सप्तवृत्तः ॥[७*]
 तस्मादजायत सुधीः स्फुटहेमकान्ति-

¹ I originally read these three syllables as *otas=tagā* I owe the reading in the text to the kindness of Mr H. Sastri

² Cf *Harivamsa*, Calcutta, 1839, Adhyāya 25, vv 131A-15 where Atri's intense penance is described

अनुत्तर नाम तपो येन तत महत्युरा ।

त्रीणि वयसहस्राणि दिव्यानीति ह नः शुवम् ॥

यचीर्षरेतसस्तस्य स्थितस्यानिमिषस्य ह

रिन्दोरनिन्द्यमहसो यशसान्निवासः[१*]

लोकत्रयेपि बुध इत्यभिगीतनामा

[पत्नी]मिलामयमवाप [म]-

9 [नोस्तनू]जां(जाम्) ॥[८*]

आसीत्ततोपि जगदद्भुतरूपकीर्ति-

राशान्तविस्तृतयशास्तनयस्तपोधिः[१*]

येनोर्वशी विबुधलोकमपास्य सर्वं

रेमे चिरं सह पुरुरवसेह सुभूः ॥[९*]

आयु[स्तस्य सुतस्ततोपि] नघुं(ङ्)प[द्यास्मा]-

10 [दयाति]स्वसौ

तस्योर्वीपतयी यदुप्रभृतयः पञ्चाभवन्नात्मजाः ।

सूनुद्यापि यदोः सहस्रद इति ख्यातः क्षि[ती]शोभवत्

त्रैलोक्यार्चितवङ्ग(वंश)विस्तृतिरभूत्तस्मात्पुन[र्द्वैदयः] ॥[१०*]

— — — — —

11 — — गुणैर्नरेन्द्रे-

रानन्दितेन भगवान्स वभूव वङ्गे(वंशे) ।

यः कार्त्तवीर्य इति पुण्यतमाभिधानः

पृथ्वीं पृथोरपि गुणैरधिकैर्विनिन्द्ये ॥[११*]

अद्विषस्य पुरा पुराणविधिना वर्त्मात्मभू — — —

— — — — —

12 — — — — — लेभूतैस्तदेवाधिपे [१*]

तस्मिन्नर्चितशासने किमपरं चिन्तामयीमप्यसौ

तत्कालेस्त्रभृदापतन्नविनयप्राप्तिं प्रजास्त्रासृशत् ॥[१२*]

वङ्गे(वंशे) तस्य प्रथितमहसः सम्प्रवृत्ते त्रिलोकी

— — — — —

13 — शङ्करगण इति ख्यातमूर्त्तिर्ब्र(व्)भूव

प्रीतः प्रादात्स्वमिह पुरजिच्चिह्नमङ्गाय यस्मै ॥[१३*]

तस्मादुर्वीनिवसनसरिन्नाथपर्यन्तकीर्त्त-

दोपापायप्रसभविल[स*]दिश्ववन्द्योदयन्त्रीः ।

श्रीमान् जज्ञे रवि[रिव] — — — — —

- 14 — सोपहितवसुधापावनो नन्दराजः ॥[१४*]
 यत्सेनासुन्दरीभिर्नवतिलककृतालङ्घ्यतीन्यापगा[ना]¹
 सुयद्भङ्गलीलासमधिकरमणीयानि पत्या सुखानि ।
 भ्राजन्नेषोत्पलानि स्मितनलिनदलातामलोलाधरा[णि]
 — — — — —
- 15 [स]सृहं वीक्षितानि ॥[१५*]
 तस्यासपन्नघनकीर्त्तिलतावितान-
 संकादिताखिलदिगन्ततनोस्तनूवः ।
 श्रीलक्षणः क्षपितवैरिबलः प्रतापः
 'प्रत्यक्षविग्रहपरिग्रहवानिवासीत् ॥[१६*]
 एकस्वै[को]दरशयन[यो] — — — — —
- 16 ७ भिसुखप्रोतिराविश्य दुर्गं ।
 पश्चादीशः शिखरिविषयं शैवद्याख्यं स भेजे
 क्षासर्व्वस्वं तदपि हि 'शिवेः स्थानमौशीनरस्य' ॥[१७*]
 अभूदीशस्तस्मादवनिवलयस्यास्य सुयशाः
 प्रतापोर्व्व्योतिर्विशद ७७ — — ७७७ — [१*]
 ७ — — — — —
- 17 [जित] इति कीर्त्तैर[पि] कृती
 प्रतीतः सर्व्वस्मिन्प्रगति शिवराजः शिव इव ॥[१८*]
 तस्यात्मजो नरपतिरभवद्भुजन्मा
 कृत्स्नोपमागुणगणैकनिधिः क्षितीशः[१*]
 श्रीभी[म]टः सुभ[ट] — ७७ — ७ — —

¹ The syllable *nā* is written below the line

² The reading of the word *pratyakṣa* has been kindly supplied by Mr H. Sastri

³ In verse 17, Mr H. Sastri suggests *śikhari-vishayam* and *girēh* in place of *śikhari-vishamam* and *Śivēh* as originally read by me. The last *akṣhara* of the first word is damaged, but Mr H. Sastri's reading gives a better sense and I have adopted it. There is, however, no doubt as to the correctness of my own reading of *Śivēh* (see next footnote)

⁴ According to the *Harivamśa*, Sibi was one of the five sons of Uśinara of the Pūru branch of the Jnunar race. He was the founder of the Sibi tribe

उशीनरस्य पत्न्यसु पञ्च राजपुत्रव्रजाः

.....

दृष्टव्या सप्तमे शिविरौशीनरी नृपः

.....

दिपेसु शिववक्त्रात्

(*Harivamśa*, Adhyāya 81, vv 1674-79)

- निर्व्याजमार्जनकलाकुशलासि — — [H] [१८*]
 — — — — —
- 18 [श्री]ल[क्ष्म]णः परिणताखि[ल]चापशिल्पः H(1)
 आसीन्नृपात्मजशतान्यतिपत्य भेजे
 यं राजपुत्र¹ इति नाम गुणप्रसूत(ति)[ः] । (H)[२०*]
 शिवराजस्तस्य सुतः शिव इव सर्वार्थकोविदः समभू[त्] [1]
 तस्यपद्मपुर[विभ्रमः] चि . . . [H] [२१*]

- 19 . . . [कल्पतरुः] [1*] त्रिजगदभिगीतकीर्त्तिर्नरेन्द्रचूडामणिकर्त्तृन्ने ॥[२२*]
 तस्यास धर्मपत्नी विशुद्धपद्मद्वया हितच्छाया
 भूदेति भूतिभाजो मानसगा राजहन्सी(हसी)व । (H)[२३*]
 त[स्मा] — — — — —
 चन्द्रादसङ्गसु — — — — —
- 20 — — — — — [1*]
 — — — — —
 — — — — — जगति लक्ष्मणराजदेवः H[२४*]
 येनाहवन्नितिषु निष्ठुरसङ्गपात-
 निर्भिन्नवैरिक्किरिक्कुम्भतटीविमुक्तैः ।
 मुक्ताफलैः स्वस्वितकुङ्कुमसन्निभास-
 मिश्रैर्म — — — — — [H] [२५*]

- 21 सुता² काञ्चना नाम ॥ [२६*]
 तस्यामसौ नरपतिः प्रणतारिचक्र-
 चूडामणिप्रकरभास्वरपादपीठः ।
 श्रीभीमटं विक्रटविक्र[म]लव्यकीर्त्ति-
 या — — — — — [H*] [२७*]
 — — — — —
- 22 — — — — —
 — — — — — [यत्र] कथयन्ति साय[क] H[२८*]
 कामः कल्पद्रुमाणामनुदिनखननप्रक्रियारोहण-
 — — — — — चि[न्तावि]तर — — — — —

¹ Like Professor Kielhorn, I first interpreted this word as the proper name of a king. I accept Mr. H. Sastri's suggestion that *rājaputra* is here only a title.

² I originally read these letters as *matī*, but Mr. H. Sastri's suggestion that it might be *sutā*, appears to be more plausible.

of the threefold universe, were quickly created through meditation the seven lords of creation¹ beginning with Atri

V 7. Of them (the Prajāpatis) Atri, the leader of the learned, practised the penance known as Anuttara for three thousand divine years with winkless eyes, without cessation. Through his prowess, of his (Atri's) noble eye was born the moon, who, a mass of light, lit up the ten directions, whose light is pleasing to the whole universe and who is the repository of nectar.

V 8 From him, the moon of irreproachable resplendence, was born the wise one, brilliant like pure gold, a store-house of fame, who is celebrated as Budha in all the three worlds. He took for his wife Ilā, the daughter of Manu.

V 9 From him (Budha) again was (born) a pious son, who enjoyed a wondrous fame in the world, whose glory extended up to the limits of the quarters with whom, Purūravas, Ūrvaśī of beautiful eye-brows discarding the entire body of gods lived happily for a long time here (on this earth).

V 10 His (Purūravas's) son was Āyus, from him (Āyus) sprang Nahusha, and from him (Nahusha) the famous Yayāti. His (Yayāti's) sons were five kings Yadu, etc. And the son of Yadu, too, was the king known as Sahasrada. From him (Sahasrada) again (sprang) Mahaya whose vast dynasty was honoured by the three worlds.

V 11 In this dynasty gladdened by kings of virtues, there was the fortunate one who had the lucky name of Kārttavīrya² and who governed the earth by virtues excelling those of Prithu.

V 12 During (the reign of) that king the same path (was followed) by (all) sentient beings as (was established) by ancient custom for the universe. What more should be said, during the esteemed rule of that (king), he being equipped with a missile took immediate notice of the approach of misconduct in the very thought of his subjects, and checked it at once.

V 13 In the family of him (Kārttavīrya) of extensive glory . . . there was Sankaragana of prominent appearance, to whom Parajit (Śiva) being pleased instantly granted an emblem of his own.

V 14 From him (Śankaragana), whose fame (spread) up to the ocean which is a garment of the Earth, sprang the illustrious Nannarāja whose rising power which was honoured by the universe shone intensely on account of the absence of faults like the Sun whose glorious rise worshipped by the universe shines violently at the close of the night, (and) who purifies the Earth of

V. 15 Whose (Nannarāja's) forces cast longing eyes on the shores of the Lord of the streams, adorned with young *tilaka* (trees) which are exceedingly beautiful on account of the sport of rising (waves) which resemble eye-brows, which have blue lotuses for bright eyes, petals of white lotuses for their smile and reddish (ones) for their fickle lower lips, just as damsels behold eagerly the faces of their husbands which are adorned with fresh *tilaka* marks, which are extremely handsome on account of the sportive and prominent knitting of brows, which have bright eyes like blue lotuses, smiles like petals of white lotuses and restless lower lips like reddish lotuses. [The subject of the verse is आपगाना पत्युः and the object is आपगानां [सुखानि]. "The ocean who is the lord of the rivers, saw with surprise the faces of his wives (i.e., rivers) (viz., river cuts) 'adorned etc.' by the women in his (i.e., Nannarāja's) forces"—Ed.]

¹ Prajāpatis were the Mahāṛishis whom Brahman created to assist him in the work of creation. According to the *Manu-Smṛiti*, I. 35, these sages were ten in number.

² The Kābila plate inscription of Sōdhadēva referred to above and the *Harivamśa*, v. 1850, give Arjuna as the name of this king who was the son of Kṛitavīrya.

V 16 He (Nannarāja), the creeper-canopy of whose unrivalled dense fame had covered the entire body of the quarters, had a son (named) the illustrious Lakshmana (I)¹ who had destroyed the strength of his enemies (and) was, as it were, glory (itself) which had assumed a visible body

V 17. having entered a fort . . . afterwards that lord (Śī-Lakshmana) resorted to a mountainous district named Śaivaya which was the sum total of the universe and the residence of Śibī Auśinara

V 18 From him (Lakshmana) was born the famous lord of this wide world named Śivarāja (I)² who . . . brilliant . . . with (his) prowess resembling the light of the flame created by Aurva³ (Rishi), who was more successful even than Kīrti,⁴ and was famous in the whole world like Śiva

V 19 The son of that king (Śivarāja) was the Lord of the Earth, the illustrious Bhīmata (I) of fortunate birth, the sole repository of the multitude of qualities and all comparisons good warriors, . . . a sword dexterous in the art of deceitless destruction (of the wicked)

V 20 . . . there was the illustrious Lakshmana (II)⁵ who had mastered all the feats of bowmanship (and) whom the title, the son of a king, the source of virtues, befitted more appropriately than hundreds of (other) princes

V 21 His (Lakshmana's) son was Śivarāja (II) (who) was conversant with all topics, like Śiva who . . . confusion in the circle of (his) enemies

V 22 . . . there was born the crest-jewel of kings, whose fame was sung in the three worlds, who was the desire-granting-tree of⁶ . . .

V 23 That prosperous king had a heart-captivating wife named Bhūdā of noble descent on both sides, whose patronage was beneficial (or who had a clear complexion) like a female goose going to the Mānasa lake and casting the shadow of both her white wings.

V 24. From him⁷ (Bhūdā's husband) was born Lakshmanarājadēva (III) . . . in the world

V 25 By whom (Lakshmanarājadēva) . . . with pearls dropped from the broad temples of the elephants of the enemies split asunder by hard strokes of the sword on the battle field, (pearls) which are mixed with tears resembling the trickling saffron

V 26 . . . named Kāñchanā,⁸ the daughter of . . .

V 27 On her (Kāñchanā), that king (Lakshmanarājadēva) whose footstool was illumined by the multitude of the crest-jewels of the circle of prostrating enemies, begot the illustrious Bhīmata II who had earned fame by his fierce prowess

¹ Prof Kielhorn was doubtful about the relationship of Lakshmana to Nannarāja

² Here, too, Prof Kielhorn's query about this king being the son of Lakshmana should be deleted

³ Aurva was a descendant of Bhṛigu Kārttavīrya intent on destroying the descendants of Bhṛigu destroyed the children even in the wombs of the women of that family One of these women secreted her embryo in her thigh Hence the child that was born was called Aurva At the very sight of him, the sons of Kārttavīrya were struck with blindness and his wrath produced a flame which threatened to destroy the whole world.

⁴ The reading of this passage is almost certain, but who the Kīrti was, that is referred to here, cannot be ascertained

⁵ This name is not noticed by Prof Kielhorn

⁶ The name of the king in this verse has disappeared in the missing portion of the stanza

⁷ Prof Kielhorn's summary here reads "her son Lakshmanarāja (II)" The first word of the stanza is, however, most probably *tasmāt*

⁸ This lady would appear to have been the wife of Lakshmanarājadēva (III) mentioned in v. 24

No. 17.—SRIRANGAM COPPER-PLATES OF DEVARAYA II, SAKA-SAMVAT 1356

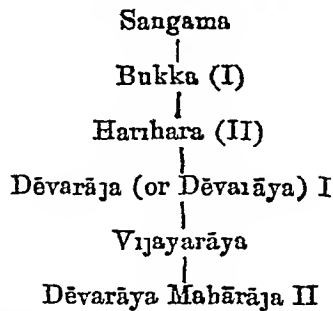
By S. V. VISWANATHAN, M. A., MANNARGUDI, AND THE LATE MR. T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M. A.,
TRIVANDRUM

This is another set of copper-plates of the Vijayanagara king Dēvarāya II in the possession of the authorities of the Śrī-Ranganātha temple at Śrīrangam (see above, Vol. XVII, No. 8). It was examined by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, in his *Ep. Rep.* for 1906, and noted as No. 19 of App. A. We edit the inscription below from inked estampages kindly supplied by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. The description of the plates as noted on his office copy runs as follows: "Three plates in a ring in the Ranganātha temple at Śrīrangam." The following further details may be added—

The inscription is written on three¹ copper-plates with a ring hole at the top. The first and third plates are engraved only on their inner sides. They measure 11.3' in length including the arch at the top, and 7" in breadth. The hole has a diameter of 75". The first and second plates are numbered at the left hand top corner with the Kannada numerals 1 and 2 and the word *puta* in Nāgarī, the third plate bears the Kannada numeral 3 just below the ring hole. The rims of the plates are slightly raised. The writing runs across the breadth of the plates, is legible and devoid of any erasures. The average height of a letter is 25". The inscription is in the Nandī-Nāgarī characters. But the signature *Śrī-Vīrūpākṣa* at the end is in Kannada. The Tamil letters *l* and *r* have been used in lines 51, 58, 65, the latter being sometimes expressed by a *rēpha* marked above the letter *ra* (e.g., in ll. 50, 51, 53). The languages employed are Sanskrit which is largely the language of the inscription and Tamil (*Dēśabhāṣā*) which is used in describing the details of the property granted. The latter is here and there interspersed with a few Kannada words.

The orthographical peculiarities to notice in this inscription are—the insertion of an *anusvāra* before *n* and *n* and the labial *m*, e.g., *pumnya* for *punya* (ll. 4 and 12), *sāmmrājya* for *sāmrājya* (l. 20) and *hramnya* for *hiranya* (l. 66), the doubling of consonant after an *anusvāra*, as in *bhrāmtta* (l. 30), *mtta* for *mda* (l. 47), *mamchhal* (l. 49), and the omission of the *visarga* or the consequent doubling of *s* in *chatusimā* (l. 38) and *prāptaḥ sarvaḥ* and *āyā samanvītam* (l. 44).

The genealogy of the first Vijayanagara dynasty, given in the inscription, runs thus



¹ Originally, it appears as if only two villages were granted by these three plates, but after reconsideration the number of villages was changed to five and a revised second plate was added without, however, destroying the original second plate for which this was substituted. Thus there are now four plates in the set, the second of which has to be deleted inasmuch as the revised fresh plate has to take its place. Care was taken to begin the revised second plate with the same word as in the old plate and end it similarly with the same word as in the old one, so that the passage might fit in with the context of the first and the third plates, though in the middle a few more verses in praise of Dēvarāja II and some lines regarding the additional villages were added. The odd plate which Mr. Venkayya noted under 'Remarks' in his *Ep. Rep.* for 1906, App. A., No. 20, was perhaps the original second plate.

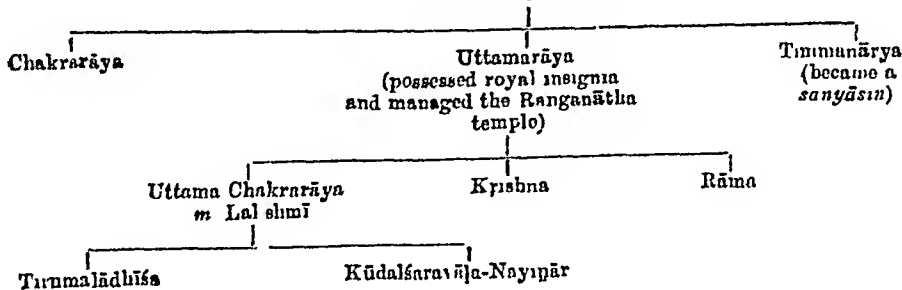
The date of the grant is expressed by the chronogram *rasēshurāmachandra* = 1356 of the Śaka era which corresponded to the cyclic year *Ānanda*, the Purnimā day of *Vaiśākha*. On this day and on the occasion of the *Hemāśvaratha-mahādāna*, the king granted the five villages of *Kulamānikyanallūr* alias *Nāchhikurchchi*, *Tiruvaranganallūr*, *Rāmanārāyananallūr*, *Kumārakkudī*, and *Rājanārāyananallūr*. These villages were situated in *Chōla-maṇḍala* and in the *Trisirāppalli-rājya*. The first three villages were on the southern bank of the river *Kāvērī*, in *Rājagambhīra-valanādu*. The last two villages were on the northern bank of the *Kāvērī*,—*Kumārakkudī* being situated in the western half of *Maṇa-nādu* and *Rājanārāyananallūr* being in the eastern half of the same division. Thus the villages given lay on either bank of the *Kāvērī*. Of these places, *Nāchhikurchchi* is the village *Nāchhikkurichi* in the *Trichinopoly Taluk*. The donee was *Valiyadimainilayitṭa-Perumāl-Uttamanambi*, son of *Uttamanambi*, who belonged to the *Kāśyapa-gōtra* *Rik-sākhā* and the *Āśvulājana-sūtra*. He was the *sthānapati* of the *Śrīrangam* temple and the above said villages were evidently granted to him for conducting the daily worship of the god *Śrīranganaṭha*.

A large number of taxes and incomes accruing from the villages are enumerated in the inscription such as those on *nañjai* (wet-land), *puñjai* (dry-land), *kaṁṁu* (areca grove), *karṇnu*, *vaippu* (Mango), *tennamaram* (coconut trees), *koḷundu*, *vāḷai* (plantain trees), *karumbu* (sugarcane), *mañjaḷ* (turmeric), *iṇṇi* (ginger), *śeṇḷaḷunīr* (flower) and other *vāṇ-payir* (minor cultivation), *vāṣal-varai*, *pēr-kaḍamai*, *tari-kkaḍamai* (tax on looms), *mara-kkaḍamai* (tax on trees), *śekku-kkaḍamai* (tax on oil mills), *māvadaḥ*, *maravadaḥ*, *kulavadaḥ*, *kaṭorai*, *pulṭai*, *mandai-kandēṇṇam*, *oḷugu-nīr-pāttam*, *ullāyam*, *vil-panam*, *maḷhamar*, *mallāyi-maḷhamar*, *ina-varai*, *nāttu-kāṇikkai*, *kaddāyam*, *kirukula-viśēṣam*, *aṇṇupēru*, *nallēruḍi* (good bull), *nal-kidū* (good sheep), *nal-paṣu* (good cow), *palataḷi*, *aṇṇi-kānam*, *talayārakkam*, *māḍārikkai*, *rāyasavarttanai*, *avasavarttanai*, *kaṭṭigevarttanai*, *karanike*, *jōdi*, *māṇṇavarai* (water tax), *nāttulanakkuvarai*, *akkaśālevarai*, *āḷamañṇi*, *ūḷgam* (service), etc.

The above list includes taxes and customary dues levied in ancient times. We have not the means of knowing the proportion of the taxes to the produce, the right incidence of taxation, etc. It is clear, however, that no produce from the land or any other property was left untaxed. The various kinds of proceeds from the villages, as enumerated in our record, disclose how carefully municipal taxes were levied in South India under Vijayanagara kings. The incomes granted to the donee included *varai* (revenue taxes), *maḷgam* and *sunḷa* (tolls).

The donee *Valiyadimainilayitṭa-Perumāl-Uttamanambi* who, under the name *Uttamanambi*, has been already referred to in the *Śrīrangam* Plates of *Harihararāya-Udayar III* (above, Vol. XVI, page 223), is said in the *Kōyilōḷugu*—the temple history of *Śrīrangam* in Tamil—to have made some additions and repairs to the *Ranganātha* temple. The same work also refers to him by the names *Meynilayitṭa-Uttamanambi* and *Ellamulayitṭa-Uttamanambi*. Two other relations of his who, like himself, had been the managers of the temple were *Periyakrishnarāya-Uttamanambi* and *Tirumalanātha-Uttamanambi*. The *Lakshmikāvya*, a Sanskrit poem written by the latter, gives the genealogy of the family as under—

In the *Kāśyapa-gōtra*



In the above pedigree, Uttamarāya the brother of Chakrarāya must be identical with the dāme of our grant. According to the *Kōyilolugu*,¹ he set up an image of Garuda in front of the central shrine of Ranganātha in Śaka 1337 and replaced the image of Rāma, which was originally installed by Vikrama-Chōla but which was destroyed by the Musalmans. It is also stated that he obtained from Gajavāttai Pratāpa-Dēvarāyamahārāya for himself the sole management of the Ranganātha temple, and the title Chakrarāya for his brother and that he was in power from Śaka 1340 to 1366.

The inscription states that the verses were composed by Rājāsēkhara. We do not find mention of the name of Rājāsēkhara in any of the hitherto known grants of the first Vijayanagara dynasty. We find that some inscriptions of the time of Dēvarāya II were engraved by one Muddanna.

TEXT ²

[Metres vv 1 and 2, 4 to 36, 43 to 46 and 48 *Anuṣṭubh*, vv 3, 37 and 42 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, vv 38 and 47 *Śālnī*, vv. 39, 40 and 41 *Āryā-Gītī*]

First Plate

- 1 श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः । कल्याणायस्तु जगतां कारुण्यं कलभा-
- 2 नन । अनादियूनोः शिवयोरानदाद्वैतकं [द]ळं । [1१*] स पायात्स-
- 3 ततं मायावराहो वदनेन यः । जगदात्मा जलनिधेर्जगतीमु-
- 4 ददौधरत् । [1 २*] कावेरीहृदयाभिरामपुष्पिणे पुं(पु)ण्ड्रे जगन्मंग(ळे) चं-
- 5 द्रांभोजवतीतटीपरिसरे धात्रा सम[1*]राधिते । श्रीरगे भु[ज*]गे-
- 6 द्रभोगशयने लक्ष्मीमहीसेविते श्रुते यः पुरुषोत्तमः स भ-
- 7 ३गवानरायणः पातु वः । [1 ३*] नमस्तुंगशिरसुंविचंद्रक्षामरुच[1*]र-
- 8 वे । त्रैलोक्यनगरारभसू[ल*]स्तभाय शभवे । [1 ४*] अस्ति क्षीरार्णवो नाम
- 9 त्रिदशायुष्यकारण । उत्तंसीपवनं शभोशुद्धा(द्वां)तप्रभवो ह-
- 10 रेः । [1 ५*] ततो जनि⁴ सुधासूतिश्च(स्स)हायः पुष्पधन्वनः । सुरारैर्वामनयनं
- 11 मूर्त्यंतरसुमापतेः⁵ । [1 ६*] तत्सूनोः सौम्यतो जाता बाहुजा बाहुश-
- 12 स्निनः । पुरुवरः प्रसृतयः⁶ पुं(पु)ण्ड्रे कपूरस्तरा⁷ । [1 ७*] तत्कुले सत्कु-
- 13 लनिधिर्यदुर्नाम नृपोजनि । तद्वशे संगमो जज्ञे संगमस्स⁸ -
- 14 सपदां । [1 ८*] तत्सुतो बुक्कभूपो[भू]त्⁸ शौर्यधैर्यनिवासभू । महारा-

¹ *Ind Ant*, Vol. XL, p 141 ff

² From ink-impressions supplied by M R By Rao Bahadur H Krishna Sastri.

³ Read °वाक्त्रा°

⁴ ते, is a correction from ति

⁵ क. is inserted below the line

⁶ नि of जनि is inserted above the line

⁷ भू has in addition the consonantal sign of र

⁸ भू is corrected from भौ Read भूक्षी°.

- 15 जो हरिहरस्तत्सूतुरशिष्यमहीं ।। ८*] देवराजोभवत्तस्य नन्दनः
 16 साधुनन्दन । दोर्द्धखडितारतिमंडलखंडविक्रमः ।। १०*] ततो वि-
 17 जयराजोभूत्सर्वविद्यासुधांनुधिः । निजान्नामातनिर्यदूढजग
 18 द्रक्षाविचक्षणः ।। ११*] स्वतस्कुलभसौरभ्यसारस्रतसरस्वतः । त-
 19 स्य हृष्यति सुधियः सुधानिष्यंदया गिरा ।। १२*] तदात्मजो देवराय-
 20 महाराजः प्रतापवान् । सत्वसाधितसर्वोर्वीसां(सा)म्राज्यःसंप्रका-
 21 शते ।। १३*] कूर्मेण कुंडलोद्रेण कुंजरैश्च कुलाचलैः । दुर्वहा यो महीं
 22 धत्ते केयूरमकरोमिव ।। १४*] दारितारातिभूपालदुर्वसाविस्र-
 23 गधिनी^१ । यस्य खड्गलता सूते सुरभिं कीर्त्तिमजरीं ।। १५*] यस्य को-
 24 र्त्तिमये दुग्धपारावारे प्रसर्पति । स्फुरन्ति बुद्धदाकारा[.*] स्फा-
 25 रा ब्रह्मांडकोटयः ।। १६*] दिग्गजा येन संहृष्टा[.*] सर्वाशालंधनीन्सुखीं ।

Second Plate, First Side.

- 26 कर्णताळसमीरेण यस्य कीर्त्तिमवोजयन् ।। १७*] यस्यासिः शत्रुकोटीर-
 27 गाढाघातोदितध्वनिः । भाति स्वयंघितामेष तवेत्युद्धोषयनि(यन्नि)व ।। १८*]
 यद्रि[णि](ण)-
 28 स्वखुरंच्छुर्यै^२ रजोभिररुणं नभः । विभाति वीरश्रीमुक्तैः क्रीडाश्रैरिव कं-
 29 कुमैः ।। १९*] यस्य कीर्त्यावदातेषु भुवनेषु महीजसः । अनीलं जायते
 30 सद्यस्वि(चि)त्वं तद्विपतां यशः ।। २०*] यस्य प्रतापसूर्यांशुसंतप्ता भ्रांता(त्त)दि-
 31 क्कटाः । भूयोपि वैरिभूपाला [यच्छ]कृतं मन्वते गतिं ।। २१*] यत्कीर्तिघनसा-
 32 रस्य ब्रह्मांडं तु करां(रं)डकं । यदोयमुखलावं(व)ण्यविंदुरिंदोश्च मं[ड]-
 33 ल ।। २२*] यस्यातपत्रचंद्रेण भाति नक्षत्रमंडलं । मध्ये ख[चि*]तमाहेंद्र-
 34 नीलोपलककंकिना ।। २३*] यत्करांभोजमासाद्य त्यागलज्जोर्गरोय[सौ] ।। २४*]
 35 पशुदारुशिलासंगपरिवादं विमुचति ।। २४*] त्रिसिराप्लिरान्ये-
 36 स्मिन् कावेर्या दक्षिणे तटे । राजगंभीरवळनाडंतरे चोळम-
 37 डले ।। २५*] कुलमाणिक्यनक्षूराननाच्चिकुर्चिपल्लिका । सप्तसप्ततिवे[ल्य]-
 38 [धं]वेलिनंचैस्थलान्विता ।। २६*] सिद्धसाध्यभुवा सार्ध^४ चतुसी(स्त्री)-
 मासमन्विता । तिरुव-
 39 रंगनक्षूर्चं चतुस्त्रीमासमन्वितं ।। २७*] रामनारायणनक्षूर् चतुस्त्रि(स्त्री)मा-
 40 समन्वित । [एतद्ग्रा]मत्रयं चात्र कावेर्या उत्तरे तटे ।। २८*] मळना-
 डंतरे पूर्व[र्वा]-

^१ There is an extra length sign for सा

^२ Read गन्धिनी

^३ Read दृष्टाश्चखुरचुपये

^४ रुमा and धं are entered below the line, their omission being denoted by asterisks.

- 41 ¹परयोः खंडयोर्द्वयोः [1^{*}] कुमारकुडोति पश्यिका ²पश्चिमे खंडके ततः
[12^{*}] पक्षि-
- 42 राजनारायणनक्षूरपक्षी च पूर्वके [1^{*}] एतद्ग्रामद्वयं शा(चा)द चतुष्को-
- 43 मासमन्वित [13^{*}] तटयोरुभयोरितत्कावेर्या ग्रामपंचकं [1^{*}] प्राप्त-
- 44 स्त्री(सी)मान्वित प्राप्तैस(स्त)र्वैरायैस(स्त)मन्वित । ³आयानां नामधेयानि
लिख्यन्ते
- 45 देशभाषया [131^{*}] आयंककुटय विवरं । उभयमार्गं पोरंपाक⁴
कुल(ल)मा-
- 46 शिक्कनक्षूरान नाधिकृच्चि⁵ तिरुवरंगनक्षूर् रामनारायण-
- 47 नक्षूर् कुमारकु(कु)डिपक्षि राजनारायणनक्षूर् इत्त(द) अच्चु(च्चु)⁶ ज[कुं]-
- 48 चेळुं नंचै(के) पुंजे(जे) कमुकु कण्णं वैप्पु तैनमर कीकुंदु वालै⁶ करुंजु
- 49 मंचल⁷ । इंचि⁸ । शिकेलुनोर्⁹ उक्कपट पल वा(वा)न्पयिर्कडमड¹⁰ वाशत्व-
- 50 रि पेरकडमै तरिं(रि)क(क)डमै । मरक(क)डमै । चेक(कु)कडमै । मावडै म-
- 51 रवडे(डै) कुळवडे(डै) सुंकं इडतोर्¹¹ पुल्लरि मंदैकटे(डै)¹¹ओ-
- 52 कु[कु]नीरुपाट¹² उक्कायं विल्लण मघमै मल्लाडमघमै¹³ ।

Second Plate, Second Side.

- 53 इनवरि ¹⁴नाट्टुकाणिकै(कै) । कडायं किरुक्कविसे(शे)षं अरशुपेर¹⁵ न-
- 54 लेरुदु । नल्लिडा । नल्लशु । पलतळि । अरिशिकाण विरिजु¹⁶ अ-
- 55 रिशिकाणं तले(लै)यारिकुं(क) मादार्कि(कै) रायसवर्तने(नै) । अवसर[व]-

¹ र is entered below the line

² प is inserted below the line

³ चा is entered below the line In the original second plate of the duplicate inscription—not published here—the passage after चतुस्त्रीमासमन्वित of line 39, begins with एतद्ग्रामद्वयं, and continues with the word प्राप्तैर्वैरायैस्समन्वित as in l 44, thus omitting ll 39-44

⁴ पोरंपाक is probably *poramboke* = 'waste land'.

⁵ इत्त इरुडुक्कु चिक्कु is what we find in the original second plate

⁶ Read वाळै

⁷ Read मञ्जळ

⁸ चि is inserted below the line Read इचि

⁹ Read शिकेलुनोर्

¹⁰ Read कडमैयु

¹¹ After ट्टु gram is seen in the original

¹² Read चीळुगुनीरुपाट

¹³ Between मल्लाडमघमै and at the end of line 52 the original second plate has उळकडेनाचि

¹⁴ ना is inserted above the line.

¹⁵ शु is inserted below the line

¹⁶ For विरिजु we have विरिजु in the original duplicate copy of the second plate



११० ७९८

२० २४ २८ ३२ ३६ ४० ४४ ४८ ५२ ५६ ६० ६४ ६८ ७२ ७६ ८० ८४ ८८ ९२ ९६ १०० १०४ १०८ ११२ ११६ १२० १२४ १२८ १३२ १३६ १४० १४४ १४८ १५२ १५६ १६० १६४ १६८ १७२ १७६ १८० १८४ १८८ १९२ १९६ २०० २०४ २०८ २१२ २१६ २२० २२४ २२८ २३२ २३६ २४० २४४ २४८ २५२ २५६ २६० २६४ २६८ २७२ २७६ २८० २८४ २८८ २९२ २९६ ३०० ३०४ ३०८ ३१२ ३१६ ३२० ३२४ ३२८ ३३२ ३३६ ३४० ३४४ ३४८ ३५२ ३५६ ३६० ३६४ ३६८ ३७२ ३७६ ३८० ३८४ ३८८ ३९२ ३९६ ४०० ४०४ ४०८ ४१२ ४१६ ४२० ४२४ ४२८ ४३२ ४३६ ४४० ४४४ ४४८ ४५२ ४५६ ४६० ४६४ ४६८ ४७२ ४७६ ४८० ४८४ ४८८ ४९२ ४९६ ५०० ५०४ ५०८ ५१२ ५१६ ५२० ५२४ ५२८ ५३२ ५३६ ५४० ५४४ ५४८ ५५२ ५५६ ५६० ५६४ ५६८ ५७२ ५७६ ५८० ५८४ ५८८ ५९२ ५९६ ६०० ६०४ ६०८ ६१२ ६१६ ६२० ६२४ ६२८ ६३२ ६३६ ६४० ६४४ ६४८ ६५२ ६५६ ६६० ६६४ ६६८ ६७२ ६७६ ६८० ६८४ ६८८ ६९२ ६९६ ७०० ७०४ ७०८ ७१२ ७१६ ७२० ७२४ ७२८ ७३२ ७३६ ७४० ७४४ ७४८ ७५२ ७५६ ७६० ७६४ ७६८ ७७२ ७७६ ७८० ७८४ ७८८ ७९२ ७९६ ८०० ८०४ ८०८ ८१२ ८१६ ८२० ८२४ ८२८ ८३२ ८३६ ८४० ८४४ ८४८ ८५२ ८५६ ८६० ८६४ ८६८ ८७२ ८७६ ८८० ८८४ ८८८ ८९२ ८९६ ९०० ९०४ ९०८ ९१२ ९१६ ९२० ९२४ ९२८ ९३२ ९३६ ९४० ९४४ ९४८ ९५२ ९५६ ९६० ९६४ ९६८ ९७२ ९७६ ९८० ९८४ ९८८ ९९२ ९९६ १०००



११० ७९८

२ ४ ६ ८ १० १२ १४ १६ १८ २० २२ २४ २६ २८ ३० ३२ ३४ ३६ ३८ ४० ४२ ४४ ४६ ४८ ५० ५२ ५४ ५६ ५८ ६० ६२ ६४ ६६ ६८ ७० ७२ ७४ ७६ ७८ ८० ८२ ८४ ८६ ८८ ९० ९२ ९४ ९६ ९८ १०० १०२ १०४ १०६ १०८ ११० ११२ ११४ ११६ ११८ १२० १२२ १२४ १२६ १२८ १३० १३२ १३४ १३६ १३८ १४० १४२ १४४ १४६ १४८ १५० १५२ १५४ १५६ १५८ १६० १६२ १६४ १६६ १६८ १७० १७२ १७४ १७६ १७८ १८० १८२ १८४ १८६ १८८ १९० १९२ १९४ १९६ १९८ २०० २०२ २०४ २०६ २०८ २१० २१२ २१४ २१६ २१८ २२० २२२ २२४ २२६ २२८ २३० २३२ २३४ २३६ २३८ २४० २४२ २४४ २४६ २४८ २५० २५२ २५४ २५६ २५८ २६० २६२ २६४ २६६ २६८ २७० २७२ २७४ २७६ २७८ २८० २८२ २८४ २८६ २८८ २९० २९२ २९४ २९६ २९८ ३०० ३०२ ३०४ ३०६ ३०८ ३१० ३१२ ३१४ ३१६ ३१८ ३२० ३२२ ३२४ ३२६ ३२८ ३३० ३३२ ३३४ ३३६ ३३८ ३४० ३४२ ३४४ ३४६ ३४८ ३५० ३५२ ३५४ ३५६ ३५८ ३६० ३६२ ३६४ ३६६ ३६८ ३७० ३७२ ३७४ ३७६ ३७८ ३८० ३८२ ३८४ ३८६ ३८८ ३९० ३९२ ३९४ ३९६ ३९८ ४०० ४०२ ४०४ ४०६ ४०८ ४१० ४१२ ४१४ ४१६ ४१८ ४२० ४२२ ४२४ ४२६ ४२८ ४३० ४३२ ४३४ ४३६ ४३८ ४४० ४४२ ४४४ ४४६ ४४८ ४५० ४५२ ४५४ ४५६ ४५८ ४६० ४६२ ४६४ ४६६ ४६८ ४७० ४७२ ४७४ ४७६ ४७८ ४८० ४८२ ४८४ ४८६ ४८८ ४९० ४९२ ४९४ ४९६ ४९८ ५०० ५०२ ५०४ ५०६ ५०८ ५१० ५१२ ५१४ ५१६ ५१८ ५२० ५२२ ५२४ ५२६ ५२८ ५३० ५३२ ५३४ ५३६ ५३८ ५४० ५४२ ५४४ ५४६ ५४८ ५५० ५५२ ५५४ ५५६ ५५८ ५६० ५६२ ५६४ ५६६ ५६८ ५७० ५७२ ५७४ ५७६ ५७८ ५८० ५८२ ५८४ ५८६ ५८८ ५९० ५९२ ५९४ ५९६ ५९८ ६०० ६०२ ६०४ ६०६ ६०८ ६१० ६१२ ६१४ ६१६ ६१८ ६२० ६२२ ६२४ ६२६ ६२८ ६३० ६३२ ६३४ ६३६ ६३८ ६४० ६४२ ६४४ ६४६ ६४८ ६५० ६५२ ६५४ ६५६ ६५८ ६६० ६६२ ६६४ ६६६ ६६८ ६७० ६७२ ६७४ ६७६ ६७८ ६८० ६८२ ६८४ ६८६ ६८८ ६९० ६९२ ६९४ ६९६ ६९८ ७०० ७०२ ७०४ ७०६ ७०८ ७१० ७१२ ७१४ ७१६ ७१८ ७२० ७२२ ७२४ ७२६ ७२८ ७३० ७३२ ७३४ ७३६ ७३८ ७४० ७४२ ७४४ ७४६ ७४८ ७५० ७५२ ७५४ ७५६ ७५८ ७६० ७६२ ७६४ ७६६ ७६८ ७७० ७७२ ७७४ ७७६ ७७८ ७८० ७८२ ७८४ ७८६ ७८८ ७९० ७९२ ७९४ ७९६ ७९८ ८०० ८०२ ८०४ ८०६ ८०८ ८१० ८१२ ८१४ ८१६ ८१८ ८२० ८२२ ८२४ ८२६ ८२८ ८३० ८३२ ८३४ ८३६ ८३८ ८४० ८४२ ८४४ ८४६ ८४८ ८५० ८५२ ८५४ ८५६ ८५८ ८६० ८६२ ८६४ ८६६ ८६८ ८७० ८७२ ८७४ ८७६ ८७८ ८८० ८८२ ८८४ ८८६ ८८८ ८९० ८९२ ८९४ ८९६ ८९८ ९०० ९०२ ९०४ ९०६ ९०८ ९१० ९१२ ९१४ ९१६ ९१८ ९२० ९२२ ९२४ ९२६ ९२८ ९३० ९३२ ९३४ ९३६ ९३८ ९४० ९४२ ९४४ ९४६ ९४८ ९५० ९५२ ९५४ ९५६ ९५८ ९६० ९६२ ९६४ ९६६ ९६८ ९७० ९७२ ९७४ ९७६ ९७८ ९८० ९८२ ९८४ ९८६ ९८८ ९९० ९९२ ९९४ ९९६ ९९८ १०००

- 56 [र्त]ने(नै) । कश्चिमेवर्तने करणिके जोडि । गीराणिवरि । नाटुकणकु[व]-
 57 रि । ¹अंगसालिवरि । आळमंजि । जळिगं । उल्ल(ळप)ड । हंमं² मुंगेळिर्बकुं(कुं)
 [पु]-
 58 तुवरि । प³ वरि निधिनिक्षेपजलपाषाणअक्षीणिआगामिसि-
 59 दसाध्यगळुं आगामि गोभूहिरण्य[१*]दिअष्टभोगतेजस्वाम्यकळु स-
 60 हितमाक । सर्वमान्यमाक । आचंद्रार्कस्थायि आक । आचंद्रार्कस्थिरं सर्व-
 61 मान्यं बाधाविवर्जितं(तं) । रसेपुरासचंद्रेव्दे शके चानंदवत्सरे । पौर्ण(र्ण)मा-
 62 स्या तु वैशाखां हेमाश्वरथसंज्ञिके ।[१२*] पुण्ये महादानकासि (१) देवरा-
 63 यो महोपतिः । ओरगस्थानपतये (१) काश्यपान्वयजन्मने ।[१३*] आश्व-
 64 लायनसूत्राय सते रु(क्त)व्वेद(द)वेदिने । उत्तमनंबिपुत्राय भग[व*]द्वक्तिशालि-
 65 ने ।[१४*] व⁴ यडिमे(मै)निलयिद्वये(रु)माकुउत्तमनंबिने [१*] भक्तिश्रद्धा-
 समायुक्तं हि-
 66 रं(र)ण्योदकपूर्वकं । एकाधिपत्या⁵मेव त्वमेतद्भुञ्चेति दत्ता⁶वान् ।[१५*]
 राजन्यसौमित्रिमा-
 67 णिक्यनीराजितपदांबुजः । देवराजो महीपालो जीयादाचंद्रादारकं ।[१६*]
 विद्या-
 68 [नां] निरुपाधिकोशभु(भ)वनं साहित्यसौहित्यभूर्ल⁷क्षीविभ्रमदर्पणोच्छिल⁸-
 69 कलापूरस्य वारांनिधिः । सौदर्यस्य निजांक(ग)णं वितरणे सचारिकल्पद्रुमः (१)
 70 ओम[१*]न्संप्रति देवरायनृपतिः सर्वोत्तरो वर्द्धतां ।[१७*] लध्वा⁹ पुण्यं
 देवरायक्षि-
 71 तींद्रो भुंजानोसौ प्राज्यसां(सा)म्राज्यलक्ष्मीं । आकल्यांत(तं) रक्षतादिप्रवर्गानिवंभू-
 72 तैरग्रहारो(रा)दिदानै[१*] ।[१८*] विजयक्षितींद्रतनय खडितदोदेडमंलारा-
 73 तिं । अनवरतसिंदुमौळिख्याच्छ्रीदेवरायनरपाल ।[१९*] अलभत
 74 पंचग्रामानस्माच्छ्रीदेवरायनरपालात् । उत्तमनंबी रगच्छे-
 75 तेशः काश्यपान्वयाभार्कः ।[१८*] एदमखिलराजशेखरम[धु]कर[भं]-
 76 कारगीतमाहात्म⁹ । श्रीदेवरायनृपते[१*] शासनमवनि-

¹ Read अकसालिवरि

² Read हंमं मेहिय⁰ as in the original of second plate in the duplicate copy

³ The original reads *pala*⁰

⁴ The original reads *vali*⁰

⁵ Read एकाधिपत्य as in the original of the second plate in the duplicate copy and भुञ्जेति.

⁶ Read च

⁷ A letter was here wrongly entered and erased

⁸ Read रघ्वा

⁹ Read °महात्म्यम्⁰

- 77 तलपारिजातस्य । [181*]¹ भूयुश्रीविजयचितींद्रतनयो भूलोकचिंता-
 78 अग्निः पुष्यत्कीर्तिविभूषितत्रिभुवनस्फूर्जप्रतापोदयः । आचं-
 79 द्राक्षामिसामवं(व)न्वसुसतीमाचक्रवाळाचलां श्रीमानाहतशत्रवी

Third Plate

- 80 विजयते श्रीदेवरायो नृपः । [82*] एकैव भगिनी लोके स-
 81 र्वेपासेव भूभुजंजां [1*] न भोग्या न करग्राह्या [वि]प्रद-
 82 ता वसुंधरा ॥ [83*] श्व(स्व)दत्ताद्वि(द्वि)गुणं पुण्य परदत्तानुपा-
 83 लनं [1*] परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवेत् ॥ [84*] स्व[द]-
 84 तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसु(सु)ंधरां । षष्टिर्वर्षसह-
 85 स्नाणि विष्टायां जायते क्रिमिः । [185*] दानपालनया(यो)र्मध्ये
 86 दानाद्धे(च्छे)योनुपालनं । दानात्स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालना-
 87 द्यु[तं] पदं ॥ [86*] सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुं² नृपाणां काले काले पा-
 88 लनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतां³ भाविनः पाथिवेद्रा⁴भूयो
 89 भूयो याचते रामचंद्र[1*] ॥ [87*]—॥ अलक्तकलसका(च्छा)यमंगो-
 90 क्ततलनोभवं । जा(अ)मृतांशुककाचूडमव्यात्त्वां शंकरं
 91 सहः । [188*] इति तेने(न) महाराजेन दत्तमिदं धर्मशा-
 92 लनं । अत्र च तस्य महाराजस्य स्वहस्तलिखितं ॥—॥⁵
 93 श्रीविरूप(पा)च⁶

Abstract of Contents

V 1 Adoration to the Elephant-faced god (Ganēśa)

V 2 Adoration to the Boar *avatāra* (of Vishnu)

V 3 May God Nārāyaṇa, who is pleased to recline on (the serpent) Śeṣha in (the island of) Śrīranga, on the bank of the tank Chन्द्रapushkarinī in the sands of the Kāvērī adored by Brahmā, and who is attended by the Goddesses Lakshmi and the Bhū (Earth), protect you

V 4 Adoration to Śambhu

Vv 5-8 Describes the descent of the family, as usual, from the Moon through Purūravas and Yadu to Saṃgama, the first historical king of the dynasty

Vv 9-12 Saṃgama was succeeded by his son Bukka and Bukka by his son Harihara who was succeeded by his son Dēvarāja Vijayarāja succeeded Dēvarāja I

V. 13 His son, the valiant Dēvarāja-Mahārāja shines in splendour as sovereign having conquered the whole world by his valour

¹ Verses 29, 40 and 41 are omitted in the original second plate of the duplicate copy.

² Read धर्मसेतुं⁰

³ Read "नेताभा"

⁴ Read "द्राभू"

⁵ It is doubtful if the new sentences preceding the *sign manu* 1 of the king form a verse

⁶ In Telugu-Kanada characters.

V 14 He held in his arm, as a bracelet, the earth, which could not be supported even by the primeval Tortoise, the Serpent Lord, the Mountains and the Elephant.

[Vv 15-24 describe his exploits and fame, which spread to all the eight quarters of the globe, his beauty and his charity]

Vv 25-31 The king granted the three villages of Kulamānikyanallūr *alias* Nāchchikrurchchi, comprising 77 *vēlis* (of dry land?) and $\frac{1}{2}$ *vēli* of *nañjai* (wet land), Tiruvaramganallūr and Rāmanārāyananallūr, all situated on the southern bank of the Kāvērī, in Rājagambhira-valanādu of Chōla-mandala, and the Trisirāppalli-āyja together with the new villages of Kumārakkudi and Rājanārāyananallūr, situated respectively in the western and eastern divisions of Mala-nādu, on the northern bank of the Kāvērī.

[Ll 45 to 49, enumerate in the *dēśabhāshā* (i.e. Tamil) the taxes and incomes due from the villages granted to the donee]

Vv 32-35 The grant was issued in the Śaka year counted by the numerical words *rasa* (6), *ishu* (5), *Rāma* (3), and *Chandira* (1) (i.e., 1356), corresponding to the cyclic year Ānanda. On the full moon day of the month of Vaiśākha, king Dēvarāya, at the time of making the celebrated *mahādāna* gift called *Hēmavaratha*, to *Valiyadimai-nīlayitta*¹-Perumāl Uttamanambi son of Uttamanambi, the *sthānāpati* of the Śrīrangam temple who belonged to the Kāśyapa-gōtrīa, the Āśvalāyana-sūtrīa and the Rīg-Vēda.

[Vv 36-42 contain the praises of Dēvarāya (or Dēvarāya) and a prayer for his long life and increased prosperity and mention the name of the composer Rājasēkhara]

[Vv 43-47 The usual admonitory verses]

[V 48 Benediction (by the donee)]

Ll 91 to 93 Thus was the grant given and signed by the king with his own hand (as) Śrī-Virūpa-(pā)ksha

NO 18 —THE VAYALUR PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF RAJASIMHA II

By H KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A., RAO BAHADUR, OOTACAMUND

Vāyalūr is a small village on the north bank of the river Pālār at its mouth and is situated three miles south of the historic town of Sadias once the chief seat of the powerful Dutch Factory and 22 miles south-east by south of Chingleput on the South-Indian Railway. The village is also reached direct from Madras by the Buckingham Canal and would then be 43 miles due south of it, past Mahābahpuram, the famous "Seven Pagodas" of Pallava antiquities.

The Śiva temple of Vyāghrapuriśvara at Vāyalūr was first examined by the Epigraphical Department, Madras, in 1908 and its lithic records were then completely secured.² The earliest of these, from the palaeographical and historical points of view, is No 368 of 1908 which is published for the first time below with a facsimile plate.³ The other records of Vāyalūr, which are not quite so interesting as the present one, range in date from the 10th to the 16th Century A.D. and mention the village by its surname Jananāthanallūr, and the god of the temple also is therein called Tiruppilavāyil-udaiya-Nāyanār, i.e., 'the lord of Tiruppilavāyil,' thus supplying the proper name Tiruppilavāyil or Tiruppilavāyal, i.e., 'the mouth of the sacred cave' of which

¹ The meaning of this Tamil attribute is 'he who established his title as the hereditary servant (of Ranganātha)' and corresponds to the Sanskrit *Paṁsa kṛama mūla-bhṛtīya* which occurs in the *Lakṣmī Kāvya* referred to above.

² These are registered as Nos 362 to 368 in Appendix B to the *Epigraphical Report* for 1909, p. 39 f.

³ From impressions prepared by myself with the help of my friends Messrs Venkoba Rao and Srinivasa Rao.

evidently the present name Vāyalūr is a relic. The current name Vyāghrapurīśvara, i.e., 'the lord of Vyāghrapurī,' is a Sanskrit translation from Pilavāyal which was somehow connected by mistaken analogy with Pulivāyal.

The importance of the record under publication was first brought to notice in my *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (Madras) for 1908-9, Part II, paragraphs 16 and 17. Since then Professor Jouvean Dubreuil of Pondicherry has discussed its contents in detail in Chapter II of his work "*The Pallavas*" published in 1917 and has given there the facsimile of a part of the inscription. The present paper supplying the deficiency by giving a complete facsimile of the record which was examined *in situ* attempts to discuss certain discrepancies in the readings of Professor Dubreuil and to examine certain other points in the chronology of the Pallavas to which the book of the Professor has given publicity.

The dilapidated temple of Vyāghrapurīśvara at Vāyalūr must have had its palmy days when its *prākāra* wall, subordinate shrines, *maṇḍapas* and *vimāna* were in a perfectly good condition. The central shrine, which is now the only standing structure, has the *gajapriṣṭha* or the elephant-back form peculiar to many Śiva temples in the Chingleput district and enshrines within it a stone *linga*¹. On the back side of the *linga* and close to the rear wall is placed a stone panel containing the group of figures Śiva, Pārvatī and Kumāra, generally known in iconography by the name Sōmāskanda. The existence of such Sōmāskanda panels is a striking characteristic of the Śaiva shrines of Pallava origin, but the panels, in these cases, are invariably cut or fixed into the wall behind the *linga*. What then could the existence of this detached panel in the Vyāghrapurīśvara shrine signify? Perhaps the original temple which was founded in Pallava times disintegrated in course of time and was rebuilt, as is found to be the case with many other South-Indian temples, in some later period, only to repeat once again a second course of dilapidation, such as it now presents to us. Still another characteristic, if one is required, of the Pallava origin of the temple, consists in the many Pallava pillars with large cubical sections intercepted by an octagonal middle, bearing medallions of lotus decorations on each face of the cube and plain-cut corbels². These pillars are largely found in the east *gōpura*—the main outer entrance into the temple, and one of them—the one on the right side as one enters—has on it the subjoined record inscribed in 14 lines of writing, going round the pillar in the form of a spiral from top to bottom. Line 1 of the inscription begins on the south face of the upper cube and ends on the west. From line 2 which commences on the west, just below the lotus, and by the side of a creeper-device suggesting a branch of sprouts,³ the lines go on regularly descending so that the end of line 2 runs on to meet the commencement of line 3 on the west face until we reach line 14 on this face with which the inscription closes.

The alphabet is the usual Pallava-Grantha of the florid type used in the Rāmānuja-mandapa, the Ganēśa temple and the Dharmarāja-ratha inscriptions,⁴ of Mahābalipuram, the Balpīṭha inscription of the Shore Temple in the same village⁵ and the Kailāsanātha temple inscription at Conjeeveram⁶. The writing is for the most part well preserved and could be completely deciphered with the exception of three or four syllables in line 2 and some doubtful letters in line 12. As regards palæography it may be remarked that the initial vowels *a* and *i*

¹ The *linga* of the Vyāghrapurīśvara temple is plain and does not show the eight or sixteen facets which is one of the special features of the Śiva-*lingas* set up by the Pallava kings after Mahēndravarmān I.

² See Dubreuil's "*Handbook of Dravidian Architecture*," p. 33, fig. 25.

³ The name Pallava which happens to occur here is by tradition connected with a bed of sprouts, see *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 355.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, Plates 2, 3 and 4.

⁵ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (Madras) for 1916, Plates I and II, between pages 112 and 113.

⁶ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Plate IX, facing p. 248.

occur in ll 1, 2 and 10 and the Dravidian / in ll 3 and 4. The punctuation symbol used in the inscription is a triple vertical joined at the top, the component lines being often of varying lengths. Two other symbols of an ornamental type occur in line 9, evidently also being used as punctuations, but these are not quite distinct. In the matter of orthography, the use of the *anusvāra* and its change into the class-nasal in compound letters is generally correctly observed, e.g.—*Angirāh* in l 1, *Koṅkanh* in line 3 and *Skanda* in l 4. The doubling of consonants after a conjunct *r* occurs throughout. There is one mistake of spelling in *śrūta* for *śruta* (l 10), and wrong *sandhi* in *jīyāt=ma* for *jīyān=ma* (*ibid*) and *nō sa khalu* for *°nas=sa khalu* (if my reading is correct in l. 11). In line 10 the form *yubūha* for *yuddha* is apparently a mistake of the scribe.

As stated in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (Madras) for 1909¹ the record is a very interesting one on account of the long list of Pallava names it supplies. When I drew up the report, I was not able to give the whole list, for want of time and a satisfactory estampage. Also the Vēlūrpālayam plates which give, though summarily, a similar list of names in the ancestry of the Pallavas, had not then been published, and consequently, the big list of the Vayalūr record did not attract much attention. Thanks to the scholarly work of Professor Dubreuil in the field of South-Indian Epigraphical research and especially in the study of the Pallava dynasties, we now possess a full statement of the contents of this valuable inscription and its bearing upon Pallava chronology.

The Purāṇic names in the list from Brahmā to Aśoka (ll 1 and 2) are found in the Kāśākudī plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla², and up to the eponymous Pallava, the predecessor of Aśoka, they are found also in the Kūram plates³ of Paramēśvaravarman I and the Udayēndīram Plates⁴. Among the names of other early kings which the Kāśākudī plates incidentally mention are those of Virasimha and Viṣṇusimha which do not find a place in the Vāyalūr list. The Vēlūrpālayam plates⁵, which are later, give the Purāṇic names in the same order up to Aśokavarman correctly, but after a gap supply us with the three names Kalabhartṛ, Chūtapallava and Virakūrcha in the order of father and son exactly as we find in l 3 of our inscription. After these comes the name of Skandaśishya which does not figure in the Vāyalūr record. It looks, therefore, as if the authors of the Kāśākudī, Udayēndīram, and the Vēlūrpālayam plates, all of which are admittedly later than the Vāyalūr record, but not very much later, drew these stray names for airing their knowledge of early Pallava chronology purely from memory and were not always correct. The Vāyalūr record after mentioning Aśoka gives eight names, viz., Harigupta, Bhūtaḍatta, Sūryavarman, Viṣṇugōpa, Dhṛitaka, Kalinda, Jyāmalla and Ripumalla⁶ which do not appear in the later grants. After these come the thirty-six names listed by Professor Dubreuil on p 20 of his "*Pallavas*" with the small difference that the name Konkaṭika is actually found on the estampage to be Konkanī.

Monsieur Dubreuil tries to attribute to the Vāyalūr list the credit of supplying a complete genealogical succession from even the time of the eponymous founder Pallava, including practically all the names mentioned in the Prākṛit and the Sanskrit copper-plate grants hitherto discovered and in the later stone inscriptions. In doing this he finds many difficulties in his way but attempts to get over them by finding accidental coincidence in the order of the names. In Virakūrcha, Skandaśishya, Kumāravishnu and Buddhavarman of the Vēlūrpālayam plates for instance, he finds coincidence with the set of names Nos 29 to 32 (11 to 14)⁷ of the Vāyalūr

¹ Part II, paragraph 17, p 76 f

² *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol II, p 312

³ *Ibid*, Vol I, p 144.

⁴ *Ibid*, Vol II, p 363

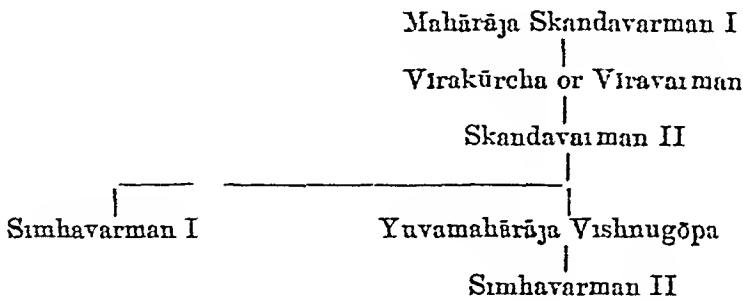
⁵ *Ibid*, p 501

⁶ Professor Dubreuil reads by mistake the two names Jyāmalla and Ripumalla as Jyāmalla and Rīkamall, and Sūryavarman as Āryavarman (see his "*Pallavas*," p 20)

⁷ Here and below, M. Dubreuil's numbers are given in brackets

list Here, however, it has to be observed that Virakūcha, whom Dubreuil selects as the first of the ruling Pallava kings, perhaps from a statement made about him in the Velūpālayam plates, was the son of Chūtapallava and grandson of Kūlabhantri—thus corresponding to No 23 (5) of the Vāyalūr list and not to No 29 (11). Also the three names that succeed this Virakūcha are Chandravarman, Karāla and Vishnugōpa and not Skandavishya, Kumāravishnu and Buddhavarman as Dubreuil puts it down. Again, his presumption that the Chendalūr plates must be a copy of some ancient record, suits his purpose very well, since the inconvenient names Skandavarman, Kumāravishnu and Buddhavarman which these plates give, occur in that order in Nos 30, 31 and 32 (12, 13 and 14) of the Vāyalūr list, but here again he forgets that the fourth name that occurs in the Chendalūr plates is a second Kumāravishnu and not as is to be expected No 33 (15) Skandavarman of the Vāyalūr list. The partial coincidence in the earlier Pallava names mentioned in the Vāyalūr list with those of the Chendalūr and the Velūpālayam plates serves no practical purpose and the agreement, if any, could be attributed only to an accident by what we may call the *kākatāliya-nyāya*. It does not, therefore, give to the Vāyalūr list any more completeness than what could be claimed for the Kasikudi or the Velūpālayam accounts. Perhaps Dubreuil also, though he has not expressed himself clearly on this point, meant the same thing when he said “we should not rely too much on the order of succession of the kings given in the Vāyalūr inscription after Virakūcha (11)”¹

Passing on after 32 (14) Buddhavarman to eight other kings and in the interim identifying Vishnugōpa 37 (19) with Vishnugōpa of Kāñchi, the well-known Pallava (?) contemporary of Samudragupta about the end of the 4th Century A.D., Professor Dubreuil says that from Viravarman 41 (No 23) the Vāyalūr inscription becomes trustworthy, evidently again in the sense that it supplies a complete list of kings in the order of succession down to Rājāsīma Narasimhavarman II. This is also extremely doubtful. The Sanskrit grants even though we may exclude the Chendalūr plates, which according to the Professor must be a copy of an older inscription giving some early names that have to be placed before the time of Viravarman, supply us with the names of only six kings whose succession in the order given below may be taken as certain —



Of these, the Yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpa may not have ruled. The information obtained from the Udayēndiram² and the Churā³ copper-plates, both of which are decidedly later by reason of their palæography and are otherwise also untrustworthy, cannot be used, as has been done by Professor Dubreuil, for the purpose of obtaining a continuous Pallava succession after Simhavarman I or Simhavarman II. If this could be done, there is no reason why the names Simhavarman, Nandivarman and Simhavishnu which occur in the Amarāvatī pillar inscription of about the 12th Century A.D.⁴ should not be utilised for a similar purpose. Again, the assumption, in the first place, of two simultaneously ruling families, one at Kāñchi and the other in the Telugu country, and in the second place, the statement that Simhavarman 43 (25) of the

¹ “The Pallavas,” p 23

² *Epigraphical Report* (Madras) for 1914, p 82

³ *Ep Ind*, Vol III, p 144

⁴ *S I I*, Vol I, p 25

Uruvupalli plates probably resumed possession of Kāñchi are not founded on any sure ground. We very well know that the early Pallava kings while ruling at their capital Kāñchi had their Viceroy at Dhāññakada (Dhāñyakata) in the Telugu country. Why the later kings succeeding Skandavarman II should have chosen a different course of administration, dividing the kingdom between two ruling dynasties and why, even if this were so, the Vāyalūr inscription whose definite purpose is to describe the ancestry of king Rājasimha-Narasimhavarman II of the Palakkada branch should go out of the way to include the names of the collateral Kāñchi branch 43 to 46 (Nos 25 to 28) which according to Professor Dubreuil was altogether unconnected with it, are questions that require to be explained satisfactorily before we could follow the theory of Professor Dubreuil postulating two separate dynasties simultaneously ruling in the Telugu country and in the Tonda-mandalam. Again, in the set of names enumerated one after the other from Nos 43 to 50 (25 to 32), what authority does the Professor discover to presume that while the first four ruled in a given order, the second five (omitting the first of them) ruled, not after them as should be expected, but simultaneously with them? Do not these kings possibly stand to each other in the relation of father and son as the first and the last sets of names in the list suggest or again, as the partial coincidence in the order Virakūcha to Buddhavarman (Vēlūrpālayam plates) and full coincidence in Skandavarman to Nandivarman (Udayēndiram plates), indicate? In fact, therefore, the list of the names given by the Vāyalūr inscription remains to be as indefinite as those supplied by the Kāśākuṇḍi, Udayēndiram and the Vēlūrpālayam plates and there is not the least possibility of finding therein a succession list either whole or partial except after No 49 (31) Simhavarman, the father of Simhaviṣṇu. Professor Dubreuil's arguments are thus seen to be vitiated by wrong identifications and gratuitous assumptions and by his acceptance as genuine material of what still remains only tentative and requires further careful examination and scrutiny.

One positive and important result, however, derived from a study of the Vāyalūr list, is that certain conclusions arrived at in my contribution on the Vēlūrpālayam plates require correction. The identification of Kālabhartri with Kānagōpa on page 503 of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume II, is now untenable since both these names occur in the Vāyalūr list as Nos 21 and 28 (3 and 10), similarly, the identification of Chūtapallava with Skandavarman and Virakūcha with Viravarman of the Pīkura and the Māngadūr grants cannot any more be upheld. The three kings Kālabhartri, Chūtapallava and Virakūcha mentioned in the Vēlūrpālayam plates must be some traditionally known very early kings of the Pallava family. Skandaśishya (possibly same as Skandavarman), Kumāraśishya and Buddhavarman, who are mentioned in order of succession next in the Vēlūrpālayam plates, do not find the same place in the Vāyalūr list. There must evidently be a mistake due to the carelessness of the author of the Vēlūrpālayam plates in describing the relationship of Skandaśishya to Virakūcha. Perhaps these three kings also must have been some forgotten old kings with whom the later genealogy derived from the Sanskrit copper-plate grants cannot be connected. Consequently, the probable period of about the middle of the 4th century or thereabouts for kings Simhavarman and his son Skandavarman, who, one after another, were crowned on their thrones by Āryavarman and Mādhavarman II of the Western Ganga dynasty and the beginning of the 7th century fixed for Mahēndravarmān I, the author of the rock-cut shrines of South India, must remain still as the only two milestones in Pallava chronology.

The two verses recorded in lines 9 to 14 of the inscription are respectively in the *Vasantatilaka* and the *Sragdharā* metres and are rather corrupt. They give the king the already known titles Rājasimha, Kshatrasimha, Yuddhārjuna, Atyantakāma, Śrīmēgha, Mahāmalla, Ranajaya and Śrinidhi. The adjunct *सहस्रसिंहासनिदीप्तौलि* which occurs in these verses and which, literally rendered, means 'one whose diadem shines with the head-jewel, viz. Mahāśvara (Śiva),' is rather perplexing. Comparing this with titles like Śivachūdāmanī etc.

and the verse यस्याङ्गमराक्रान्ता, etc which occurs in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume I, Nos 18 and 19 (v 3) and अभिषेकजलापूषं etc in *ibid*, Nos 21 and 22 (v 2)—all with reference to king Rājasimha—it looks as if the king did actually wear a figure of Śiva or rather his symbol, the *linga*, on his head This fact is evidently also hinted in the verse गुणमरगामनि राक्षस्यनेन लिङ्गेन सिद्धिनि etc (*ibid*, No 33, v 2), which refers to the conversion of the Pallava king Mahēndravarmān I Guṇabhaṛa from Jainism to Śaivism Again, v 4 of No 34 in the same volume speaks of “Śiva fixed in the mind, being worn on the head” All these references clearly point to the existence of a *linga*-cult long before the revival of the Vira-Śaiva faith under the auspices of the famous Kalachuri minister Basava (Chenna-Basava) in which the wearing of the *linga* plays a prominent part Again, the sense of the two verses, particularly that of the second, is such that it suggests the occasion for the engraving of this record to be the accession of king Rājasimha to the throne This, if it were so meant, would indeed have been a fitting opportunity to eulogise his many acts of heroism, charity and piety, and to proclaim to all subjects his assumption of power over his hereditary dominions

TEXT.¹

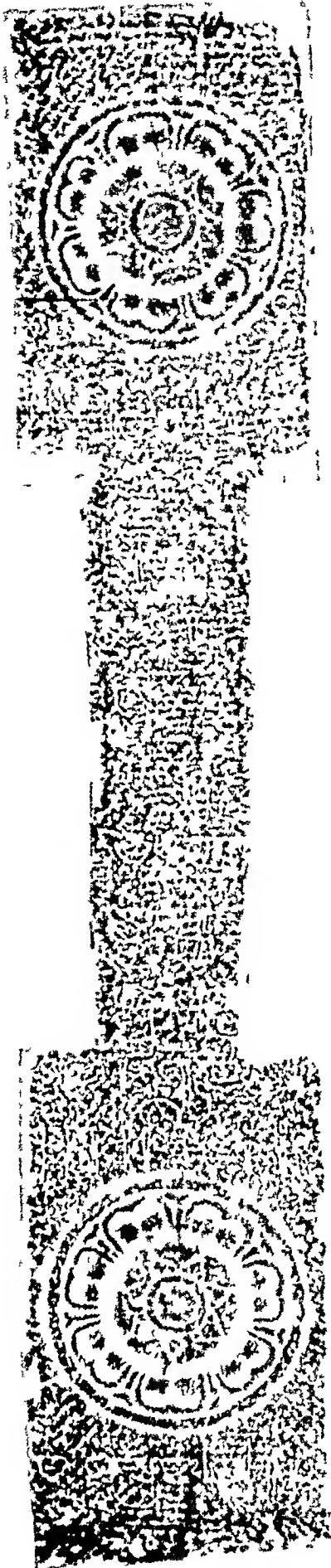
- 1 ब्रह्मा ॥ अङ्गिरः[ः ॥] वृहस्पतिः ॥ शंयुः ॥ भ[र]द्वाजः ॥ द्रोणः ॥
अश्वत्थामा ॥*
- 2 पञ्चवः ॥ अशोकः ॥ हरिगुप्तः ॥ [भूत]दत्तः ॥ [सूर्य]वर्मा
[॥] . . . विष्णु]गोपः ॥ घृत-
- 3 [कः] ॥* [क]ळिन्दः ॥ ज्यामलः[ः ॥ रि]पुमलः [*॥] विमलः
॥ कीर्तिणि [॥ क]ळभर्ता ॥* चूतपञ्चवः[ः ॥] वीरकू[र्चः] ॥
चन्द्रवर्मा
- 4 ॥ कराळः ॥ विष्णुगोपः ॥ स्कन्दभूलः [॥] काणगोपः ॥ वीरकू[र्चः] ॥
[स्क]न्दवर्मा[रि ॥] कुमारविष्णुः
- 5 ॥ बुद्धवर्मा [॥] स्कन्दवर्मा ॥ कुमारविष्णुः ॥ बुद्धवर्मा ॥ स्कन्दवर्मा
॥ विष्णुगो-
- 6 पः ॥ विष्णुदा[सः] ॥ स्कन्दवर्मा[रि ॥] सिंहवर्मा ॥ वीरवर्मा ॥
स्कन्दवर्मा ॥ सि-
- 7 हवर्मा ॥ स्कन्दवर्मा ॥ नन्दिवर्मा ॥ सिंहवर्मा [॥] सिंहवर्मा
विष्णुगोपः ॥
- 8 सिंहवर्मा ॥ सिंहविष्णुः ॥ महेन्द्रवर्मा ॥ नरसिंहवर्मा ॥ महेन्द्रव-
- 9 र्मा ॥ परमेश्वरवर्मा ॥² श्रीपञ्चवान्वयकुलाचलराजसिंहो

¹ Direct from the stone

² This symbol which is evidently intended as a mark of punctuation is followed by another which is rather complicated It is seen on the facsimile plate though indistinctly

Vayalur Pillar Inscription of Rajasimha II.

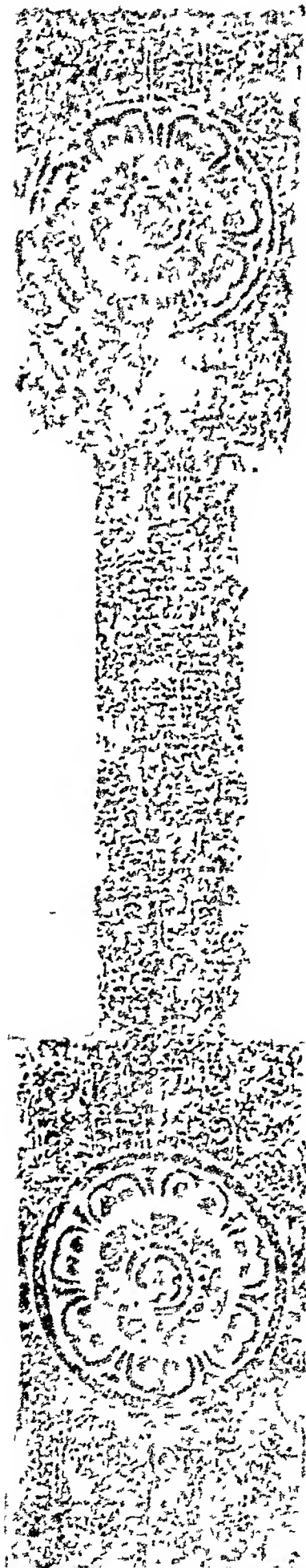
South Face



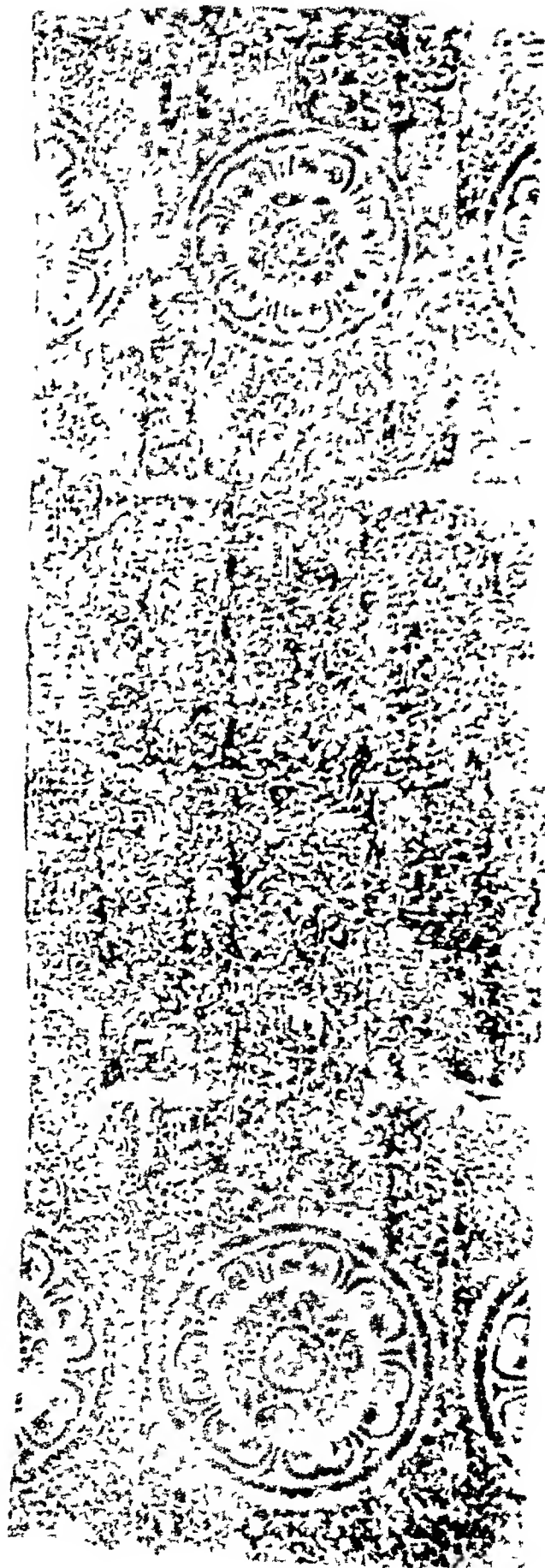
East Face



North Face



West Face



- 10 यः चत्रसिंह इति ¹विग्र[त]पुण्यकीर्ति² [1*] जीयात्महे³खरशिख[1]मणिदीप्त-
मौलि[व्यु]-
11 ब्राह्मणे[1] [स] ख[लु]³ लोकनरेन्द्रसिंह[: ॐ] [१*][श]भोः पादार[विन्ददय]-
परिचरणे नित्यमत्य-
12 न्तकामः श्रीमेघो विप्रसस्याकरविभवकरे⁴ [व्यो]मरद्वोघच[न्द्र.]⁵ [1*] राव्या-
न्त[1]राव[गा]हवि-⁶
13 दोतमहामल्लशब्द[:*] प्रजानां रक्ष[1]दीक्षाधिकारं वहतु रणजय[*] श्रीनि-
14 धिदोपलक्षम् ॐ[२*]

TRANSLATION.

(Ll 1 to 9)

1 Brahman	28 Kānagōpa
2 Angiras	29 Virakūrcha
3 Brihaspati	30 Skandavarman
4 Śamya	31 Kumāravishnu
5 Bharadvāja	32 Buddhavarman
6 Drōna	33 Skandavarman
7 Aśvatthāman	34 Kumāravishnu
8 Pallava	35 Buddhavarman
9 Aśoka	36 Skandavarman
10 Harigupta	37 Vishnugōpa
11 Bhūtadatta	38 Vishnudāsa
12 Sūryavarman	39 Skandavarman
13	40 Simhavarman
14 Vishnugōpa	41 Viravarman
15 Dhritaka	42 Skandavarman
16 Kalinda	43 Simhavarman
17 Jyamalla	44 Skandavarman
18 Ripumalla	45 Nandivarman
19 Vimala	46 Simhavarman
20 Kōnkanī	47 Simhavarman
21 Kālabbhartī	48 Vishnugōpa
22 Chūtapallava	49 Simhavarman
23 Virakūrcha	50 Simhavishnu
24 Chandavarman	51 Mahēndravarmān
25 Karāla	52 Nāsimhavarman
26 Vishnugōpa	53 Mahēndravarmān
27 Skandamūla	54 Paramēśvaravarman

¹ Read विशुत⁰² Read °ब्राह्मणस्यकल⁰³ Read जीयात्महे⁰⁴ Read करो .

⁵ It is difficult to rectify this corrupt passage व्योम is perhaps a mistake for वग्र and रद्वोघ corrected into रद्वोघ perhaps stands for रद्वोकर, an ocean. Among the numerous titles of Rājasimha given in the Conjeeveram inscriptions the only one which ends in *chandra* is Udayachandrah. [Analogy with परिचरणे काम and the epithets like *avanidākarā*, *chandadanda* and *udayachandra* would suggest that the reading might be श्रीमेघो विप्रसस्य करविभवकरे व्योमरद्वोघ चन्द्र —Ed.]

⁶ This is again corrupt. Metrically one long and one short syllables are wanting श्रीराक्षसवदित इमल्लशब्द appears to be a possible emendation of the latter part of the compound. Can the first part be रत्नादीच

(Ll 9 to 11.) Be he victorious, the royal hon (*Rājasimha*) on (*the top of*) the chief mountain of the glorious Pallava race, whose spotless fame as the hon of warriors (*Kakatas*) is widely known, whose crown is resplendent with the crest-jewel, viz. Mahāśvara (*Śiva*), the hon among lords of kings (*Narēndrasimha*) of the whole earth, and an Arjuna in battle (*Yuddhaja*).

(Ll 11 to 14.) May he exercise the royal prerogative and take up the yoke of administering (his) subjects up to the extremities of his kingdom, as even to include the thousand islands, he, who is known by the name "the great wrestler" (*Mahānalla*) on account of his (skill in) hand-to-hand fight, who is excessively devoted (*Atyantatārā*) even to serve at the feet of the lotus-feet of Śambhu (*Śiva*), who is the blessed cloud (*Śrī-Mṛgha*) that rains the crops of crops, the Brahmans, prosperous, who is the Moon to the ocean of (his) race, "the victor in battle" (*Ranajaya*) and "the storehouse of prosperity" (*Śrīvidhi*).

No 19—BRAHMI INSCRIPTION ON A WOODEN PILLAR FROM KIRĀRĪ

BY HIPANANDA SASTRI, M A, M O L

Kirārī is a small village in the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. It lies some ten miles to the west of Chandarpur and about twenty miles to the south east of Kharasā, which leads to the Jogimārā cave, so well known for its very ancient fresco paintings as well as early Brāhmī inscriptions. The river Mahānadi flows some four miles to the south of it. Outside this village there lies a large and old tank called Hirābandh which is rather an embankment meant to collect the overflowing rain water at the time of flood. Owing to draught this tank had dried up and in April 1921 the agriculturists of the village began digging its bed to throw the fertilizing silt over their fields. On the 29th or 30th of that month they hit upon a wooden pillar which they removed from the mud and placed in the sun, not knowing the disservice they were doing thereby to the cause of Indian Epigraphy for, the moment the pillar began to dry a good deal of its surface peeled off carrying with it the major portion of the invaluable record which was incised on the pillar. Noticing that the pillar bore some letters on it some of the villagers called their Pandit, named Lakshmīprasāda Upādhyāya, to see if he could read the writing. Failing to make it out he very carefully took an eye copy of all the letters which he noticed on the pillar at the time of his arrival, not omitting even the faintest traces of a letter over it. Apparently, he was not aware how the record ran, which side came first or which was the top or bottom of the letters. Like a true copyist he wrote out each line separately on sheets of paper available to him at the time according to the maxim of writers —

यादृशं पुस्तकं दृष्टं तादृशं लिखितं मया । यदि शुद्धमशुद्धं वा मम दीपो न विद्यते ॥

¹ This is a doubtful translation of the word दीपलक्षम्. I propose to take it as an *argavibhāra* deriving it दीपा लक्ष्यन्ते यस्मिन् कर्मणि इति [दीपा लक्ष्य यस्मिन्, etc., is another suggestion—H. S.] If this interpretation is correct, it shows that the Pallava rule must have extended in the time of Rājasimha even to the distant islands in the ocean. The word दीपलक्षम् may also be corrected into दीपलक्षत and with वा repeated we may translate 'up to the thousand islands'.

Could there be a reference by *dhean* in the word दीपलक्षम् to the Laccadive Islands called लक्षदीप in Sanskrit? The exact relation that might have then existed between the Pallava king Rājasimha and the Laccadive Islands has nowhere been found. In this connection it may not be out of place to point out that Dr Vogel in his learned contribution on the Yūpa inscriptions of king Mūlavarman from Koetei (East-Borneo) (*Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1918, p. 192) asks — "Supposed the powerful Pallava princes of Kāñchīnra had equipped armadas and carried their arms to the remote shores of Champā and Java, may we not assume that their conquests on the far side of the ocean would have been extolled in their *prabasti* with no less effusion than we find lavished on their victories over the Chālukyas?" Here we have, though not a *prabasti*, at least a significant hint that the Pallava dominion was ambitious enough to extend to the distant islands.

so often found at the end of the manuscript copies of Sanskrit books. How faithful his copy is can be judged from the facsimile of the mechanical impressions of the portions which were copied when I first inspected the pillar in 1921 and which were still intact when I again examined it in 1924 at the Nagpur Museum. Comparison will show that the eye copy can be taken as quite trustworthy in the case of the portions which are now lost for ever. The fact that the copyist did not even understand which side represented the top and which the bottom of the lettering precludes the suspicion of forgery altogether. How he succeeded in bringing out the shapes of the letters accurately is, I think, due to the little knowledge of drawing which he possessed and to his intelligence. But as the fact remains that those portions of the epigraph do not exist now, we would naturally feel hesitant to draw large conclusions from the hand-copy. The Pandit took a copy of not less than 349 *aksharas* whereas at the time of my first inspection the pillar had not more than 60 or 70 letters and now not more than 30 or 40 including the traces of vowel marks. The Pandit's eye-copy was handed over to my draftsman at the time of my visit to Kirārī and I have used it in preparing the comparative facsimile plate as well as in reading the lost portion for which it was the only source now to depend upon.

The find was next brought to the notice of Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeya of Balpur, a village attached to the Chandarpur Post Office, not very far off from Kirārī. He promptly brought it to the notice of Sir John Marshall under whose instructions the pillar was immersed in water in a tank at Kirārī where it lay till it was finally removed to the Government Museum at Nagpur after being very carefully treated chemically for the preservation of the writing on it. The Museum authorities have now cut it into two parts, one of which, *i.e.*, the upper portion, they have placed in a glazed case, accommodating the other in an outer verandah of the Museum. The former still shows not less than twenty-two continuous letters more or less distinctly, while the latter retains traces of lettering here and there and some three or four complete *aksharas* as well. The fate of the lower portion cannot fail to remind us of the all powerful law of nature which permits the survival of the fittest only.

As has been stated above, the pillar is wooden and measures about 13' 9" from top to bottom. It is surmounted by a solid *kalāśa* which is about 1' 2" high. The *kalāśa* has a narrow neck, a broad and almost flat mouth, the body being more elliptical than round. I am reproducing here two of the photographs which were taken at the time of my inspection during 1921 to replace further description of this interesting find. The surface of the pillar has badly flaked and I cannot positively say if it was shaped into facets and planed, at least at the middle, for writing the inscription. The lower portion, in all probability, must have been left unshaped, as it was meant for insertion in the ground. I got a few chips of the pillar examined and am told that the tree of which it was made belongs to the order of Leguminosae papilionaceae and its botanical name is *Pterocarpus marsupium*, the Hindi name being *Bījā Sāl*. This tree gives a handsome and useful timber of Central India and is almost as good as teak.

This find, I believe, is the first of its kind yet made in India. So far some four sacrificial posts have been found in this country and perhaps a similar number in Koetei in the Indian Archipelago. All these have recently been noticed by Dr Vogel in his paper on the Yūpa Inscriptions of king Mūlavarmman. They are all of stone and appear to be memorial *yūpas* for, sacrificial *yūpas*, as would be shown by the terms *yūpa-dru*, *yūpa-druma* or *yūpa-dāru*, were usually made of wood. Possibly these were put up instead of the wooden pillars or *yūpas* and were their exact copies in stone. A close comparison of the illustrations of these pillars and of the one represented on the *asvamīdha* coins of Samudragupta the Great, with the photograph of the Kirārī pillar, herein reproduced will show that the latter cannot be a *yūpa* or sacrificial post. The description given of a *yūpa* in the *Satapatha-Brahmana* would point towards the same inference.

According to this authority¹ the shaft of a *yūpa*, except for the lower portion, should be octagonal¹ and bent at the top. At the same time a *yūpa* is distinguished by a head-piece or top-ring (*cha-shāla*) and marked by a girdle rope (*rasanā*) which winds round it. The *Kirārī* pillar reveals none of these characteristics. Taking it for granted that all the eight corners and the 17 cloths with which, according to this authority, a sacrificial post is to be wrapt or bound, have disappeared, we cannot account for the absence of the hollow at the top and the disagreement in height which ought to be 17 cubits in the case of a *yūpa*. But as the *Brāhmana* gives different heights for different purposes and says that the sacrificial stake of the (ordinary) animal sacrifice is either three or four cubits long and one above that belongs to the *Sōma* sacrifice² we cannot depend on the length of the pillar for its identification. That it cannot be a *yūpa* or pillar connected with animal sacrifice will be shown by a reference to Patañjali who in his *Mahābhāṣya* clearly puts down³ that a *yūpa* must be made of either *Bilva* (*Ægle marmelos*) or *Khadira* (*Acacia catechu*)—

“वैल्वः खादिरा वा यूपः स्यात्” इत्युच्यते । यूपश्च नाम पञ्चनुबन्धार्थमुपादीयते ।
शक्यं चानेन यात्वाञ्चिदेव काष्ठमुच्छ्रित्यानुच्छ्रित्य वा पशुरनुबन्धम् । तत्र नियमः क्रियते ॥”

As I have already stated, the *Kirārī* pillar is made neither of *Ægle marmelos* nor of *Acacia catechu* but of *Pterocarpus marsupium*. In the *Rāmāyana*⁴ of Vālmīki, however, it is stated that 21 *yūpas* were erected at the time when a horse sacrifice or *Āśtamēdha* was performed by Daśaratha. Out of these six were made of *Bilva* (*Ægle marmelos*), six of *Khadira* (*Acacia catechu*), six of *Palāsa* (*Butea frondosa*), one of *Ślëshmātaka* (*Cordia Myxa* or *Latifolia*) and two of *Dēvadāru* (*Avania longifolia* and *Erythroxylon sideroxyloides* or *Pinus deodar*). Including the one added by Monier Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary*⁵ we find that the pillar under examination cannot come within the category of *yūpas* as far as the tree of which it is made is concerned. In other words the *Kirārī* pillar cannot be connected with any animal sacrifice (*paśu-anubandha*) on the authority of Vālmīki and Patañjali at least. The description given in the *Śatapatha Brāhmana* is not free from confusion and if we follow it, I think, the *Kirārī* pillar might be connected with the *Vājapēya* rites. The top portion does not provide a very convenient seat for the householder to occupy at the time he has to hold a dialogue with his wife in reference to their mounting to heaven. Still, as we learn from the *Brāhmana*,⁶ in

¹ *Śatapatha Br.* S B E., Vol. XII, p. 31, and Vol. XLIV, p. 124. The height of a sacrificial stake has to vary, for the *Brāhmana* says: “When he who is about to perform an animal sacrifice makes a stake one cubit long, he thereby gains this (terrestrial) world, and when he makes one two cubits long, he thereby gains the air world, and when he makes one three cubits long, he thereby gains the heavens, and when he makes one four cubits long, he thereby gains the region.”

² *Adhyāya* I, *Pāda* 1, *Āhnika* 1.

³ I 14, st. 22—25.

⁴ Under the word *yūpa* and in reference to the *Rāmāyana* he has brought in one *yūpa* of *Udumbara* (*Ficus glomerata*) saying 6 of *Bilva*, 6 of *Khadira*, 6 of *Palāsa*, one of *Udumbara*, one of *Ślëshmātaka* and one of *Dēvadāru*. The text would not support this division for, it makes no mention of the *Udumbara yūpa*. It runs as follows—

प्राग् द्रुपोज्ज्वलं तस्मिन् यज्ञेयं खादिराशया ।

तादृशं विवस्वहितां पथिनां तथा परं ॥

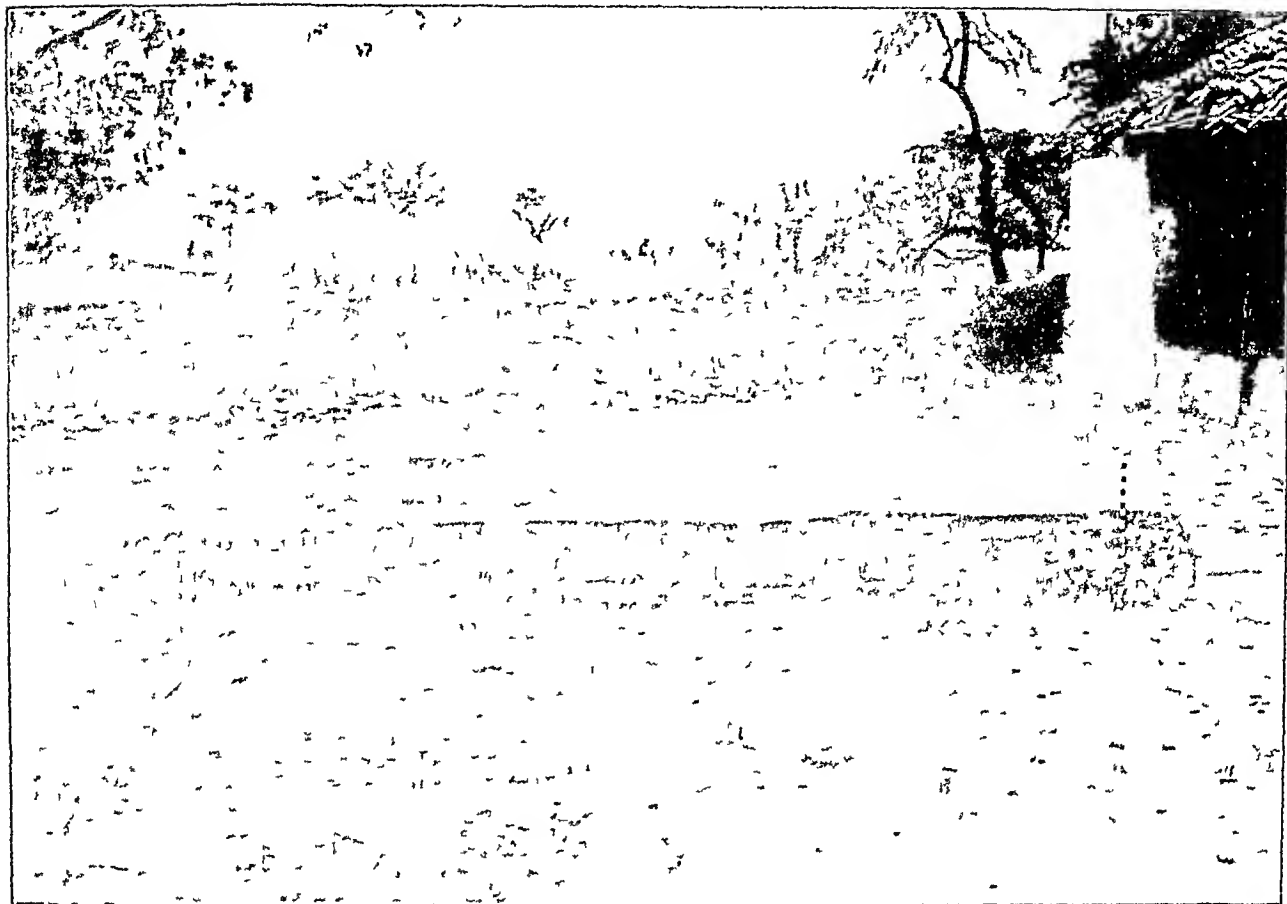
त्रैभानकमयीं दृष्टो देवदारुमयशया ।

दावेव तत्र विहितौ बाहुव्यस्तपरिपङ्क्तौ ॥

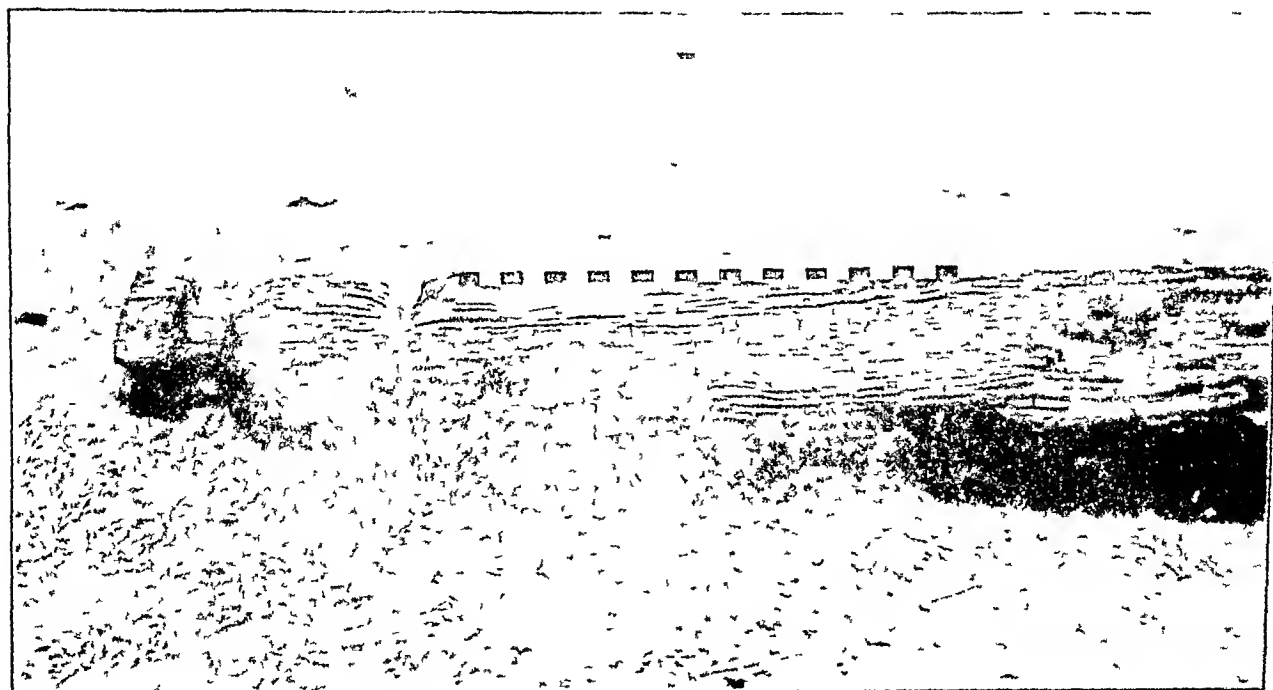
The words *dēvadāru* as explained by the commentator Rāma (*drau dēvadārumayan uhitau*) mean two of *Dēvadāru* and make room for *Udumbara*. Possibly Mon Williams had another edition before him.

⁵ See S B E., Vol. XII, p. 31, and footnotes, etc., also Barnett's *Antiquities of India*, p. 167, and references given above.

WOODEN PILLAR WITH A BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM KIRARI
A — COMPLETE



B — UPPER PORTION (DETAIL)



some cases he has to ascend a *ṣṭīpa* by a ladder, touch the mortar-shaped top-piece made of wheaten dough, rise by the measure of his head over the post and descend after performing certain rites. Our pillar could serve such a purpose very well. But here we should remember that *Vāṇapēya* is one of the several *Sōma* sacrifices which kings or Brāhmins have to offer before celebrating the *Rājasūya* and the *Brihaspatīśava*. Why should a sacrificer select a thing connected with a rite which is after all a minor one as compared to the principal *Yajña* and write a large inscription on it giving the names of very high officials such as this pillar bears? To solve such a question satisfactorily one would like to explore the site where the pillar was unearthed and see if any vestiges of some other sacrifice or sacrifices are to be found there.

The association of a reservoir or tank (*Hīrābandh*) might suggest this pillar to be an ordinary tank-pillar, such as we see erected in the midst of tanks in the Central Provinces or elsewhere. But then, we have to remember that such columns are generally of stone. Besides, there would be no reason why such an important record should be incised on it mostly to remain hidden under water. Another likelihood may be that it was a *jayastambha* or column of victory, but there too, looking at the position of the personage responsible for its setting up and of the officers connected with him, it will be quite reasonable to expect a more permanent and dignified material than an ordinary *bīṇa* tree of which the pillar is made. The other alternative would be that it was a *dhvajastambha* or a flagstaff connected with some temple for, that may be made of stone or wood, circular, sixteen or eight sided and shaped like a *kumbha* (pot) at the middle or at the beginning. Its height varies according to its nature. The emblem (*vāhana*) of the god to whom it is dedicated is to be put on it together with the banner cloth (*dhvaja-pata*). Such an assumption would naturally suggest the existence of some structure close by and until we find any traces of it we are not in a position to call the pillar a *dhvajastambha*. Whether it is a post connected with the *Vāṇapēya* or similar rites or a *dhvajastambha*, the fact remains that it is a unique find yet made in India.

The writing on this pillar very closely resembles that of the Nāsik cave inscriptions.² Leaving aside other symbols the one for *lha* is particularly noteworthy. In the two impressions reproduced here this is represented by the fifth letter while in the Nāsik cave inscriptions it is to be seen in the word *dhamarakṣitēna* though in another word, *re*, in *bhikkhusanghassa*, it is written in a different manner. Regarding the age, I am to remark that on palaeographic grounds the record is to be assigned to about the second century of the Christian era. The extant portion shows no trace of any date in it. It is chiefly on account of its age that this relic of the past possesses considerable epigraphical value for, early Brāhmī inscriptions are rather very rare. As an historical document, however, one will be sorry to find that whatever importance it had originally is now irretrievably lost with the portion that has peeled off. What we may now surmise from the nature of the contents as they are at present is that the inscription must have been connected with some mighty ruler of a very high rank who had a well-organized staff of officers such as the Commander-in-Chief, the Accountant, the Treasurer, etc., etc.

The language in which the document is couched is Prakrit, or one might call it corrupt Sanskrit prose. It is like the language of the Nāsik inscriptions alluded to above.

As to the nature of its contents I am to observe that the record now mostly consists of official titles or designations and the names of some of the individuals who must have held them.

¹ Cf. *Śilparatna* (Trivandrum S. S. No. LXXV), p. 234 —

शिलाया दाक्षणाया वृक्षाकारमयापि वा ।

घोडशास्त्रं तु वाट्याय कुम्भमध्यादिसंयुतम्, etc., etc.

² See above, Vol. VIII, No. 18, plate V (n. 3)

Such of the designations as are practically certain together with the names of a few of the incumbents as are still intact or can be made out are these Nagararakhins (city guards or police-inspectors) named Virapālita and Chiragōhaka, Sēnāpati (commander of army) named Bāma¹dēya¹ (?) (l 1, estampage and eye-copy), Pratihāra (door-keeper) named Khipattī, Ganaka (accountant) called Hēasi, a Nāga, Gāhapātiya (?=gārhapatiya, keeper of the household fire) named Gharika, Bhāndākā(gā)rika (store-keeper) called Aśādha, Hāthārōha (?=hastārōha or ? the king's elephant-driver), Aśvārōha (horseman, perhaps Superintendent of horses), Pādamūlika² (temple attendant), Rathika (possibly the Superintendent of chariots), Mahānasika (kitchen-officer), (l 11, estampage and eye-copy), Hath valka (=hastipaka, perhaps Superintendent of elephants), Dhāvaka (fore runner), Sa[ulga]ndhaka (=Saugandhika, officer in charge of perfumery ?), Gōma[ndi]lika (=gōmāndalika or officer in charge of cows or cattle ?), Yāna[ś]ālāyudhaghārika (officer in charge of carriage shed and armoury), Palavithida(ka ?)vā-(pā)lika (Inspector of meat-stalls), Lohabāraka (=lēkahāraka, letter-carrier), Kulaputraka³ (perhaps chief architect), and Mahāsēnānī or Commander-in-Chief (l 4). It is interesting to observe here in passing that these designations do not fail to remind us of the several functionaries like Aśvā bhaksha, Hastādhyaksha, Rathādhyaksha mentioned in the *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya. As I have already remarked above the mention of all such persons of rank would show that our pillar must have been set up in connection with some extraordinary ceremony performed by a very high personage who was, in all probability, not less than a great king of renown whose name is now cast into oblivion but, perhaps, would have been preserved had photographs or mechanical copies been carefully taken the moment this important relic of the hoary past was dug out. In line 4 of the eye-copy there is a name which comes after the title of Mahāsēnānī and reads like Sītha(dha)rāja. A few letters after it we have a word which reads putasa (putrasya), and then comes a verb which may be taken to be aṣpayati. This might indicate that the pillar was in some way connected with Sī[dha]rāja or his son. The proper names of some of the officers, which are fully preserved on the pillar, like Khipattī or Hēasi are, apparently, non-Sanskritic. The latter, i.e., Hēasi, is distinctly called a Nāga or a member of the Serpent tribe. Possibly these people were non-Aryan or aboriginal.

The portions of the two lines which were copied at the time of my first inspection and are represented in the facsimiles may be transcribed as follows —

No 1
(PART OF LINE 1)
Text

Nagar[a]rakhinō V[i]rapa(ā)lita-Ch[i]ragōhaka-[Sēnāpatid]ēva

Remarks—Nagararakhinō possibly stands for *nagara-rakshināu* and means the two guards of the city or police-officers. These were named Virapālita and Chiragōhaka. The first is more an attribute than a proper name. The second looks to be of non-Sanskritic origin. The name of the Sēnāpati or commander of the army is not certain but might have been Deva¹.

¹ See footnote 2 on page 157

² Pādamūlika is a derivative of pādamūla which occurs both in Sanskrit (see Kielhorn's note in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVII, p. 252) and Tamil inscriptions (see *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 138 n and p. 250) apparently in the sense of a temple attendant—one attached to the feet (of the god). It frequently occurs in the *Jātaka*s. From the *Paratapa Jātaka* (Vol. III, p. 417, lines 2 and 3) it would appear that pādamūlikas were associated with purōhitas for it says 'deviṇ cha purōhitaṇ cha Paratapaṁ nāmekaṁ pādamūlikaṇ cha qahēlā,' etc. In this inscription the term comes after the word dāsa'hāyala, which reminds us of dēva sthānīla. So the word seems to signify a priestly attendant or one whose function is to attend to the feet of (i.e. worship) god or deity.

³ See *Lp. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 58, Vol. IX, p. 58. The word usually means 'sons of non-mer'

I.



II



(From impressions)

1st line

2nd line

[illegible]

၁၂၃၄၅၆
 ၇၈၉၁၀၁၁၂၁၃၁၄
 ၁၅၁၆၁၇၁၈၁၉၂၀
 ၂၁၂၂၂၃၂၄၂၅၂၆
 ၂၇၂၈၂၉၃၀၃၁၃၂
 ၃၃၃၄၃၅၃၆၃၇၃၈
 ၃၉၄၀၄၁၄၂၄၃၄၄
 ၄၅၄၆၄၇၄၈၄၉၅၀
 ၅၁၅၂၅၃၅၄၅၅၅၆
 ၅၇၅၈၅၉၆၀၆၁၆၂
 ၆၃၆၄၆၅၆၆၆၇၆၈
 ၆၉၇၀၇၁၇၂၇၃၇၄
 ၇၅၇၆၇၇၇၈၇၉၈၀
 ၈၁၈၂၈၃၈၄၈၅၈၆
 ၈၇၈၈၈၉၉၀၉၁၉၂
 ၉၃၉၄၉၅၉၆၉၇၉၈
 ၉၉၁၀၀၁၀၂၁၀၃၁၀၄
 ၁၀၅၁၀၆၁၀၇၁၀၈၁၀၉
 ၁၁၀၁၁၁၁၁၂၁၁၃၁၁၄
 ၁၁၅၁၁၆၁၁၇၁၁၈၁၁၉
 ၁၂၀၁၂၁၁၂၂၁၂၃၁၂၄
 ၁၂၅၁၂၆၁၂၇၁၂၈၁၂၉
 ၁၃၀၁၃၁၁၃၂၁၃၃၁၃၄
 ၁၃၅၁၃၆၁၃၇၁၃၈၁၃၉
 ၁၄၀၁၄၁၁၄၂၁၄၃၁၄၄
 ၁၄၅၁၄၆၁၄၇၁၄၈၁၄၉
 ၁၅၀၁၅၁၁၅၂၁၅၃၁၅၄
 ၁၅၅၁၅၆၁၅၇၁၅၈၁၅၉
 ၁၆၀၁၆၁၁၆၂၁၆၃၁၆၄
 ၁၆၅၁၆၆၁၆၇၁၆၈၁၆၉
 ၁၇၀၁၇၁၁၇၂၁၇၃၁၇၄
 ၁၇၅၁၇၆၁၇၇၁၇၈၁၇၉
 ၁၈၀၁၈၁၁၈၂၁၈၃၁၈၄
 ၁၈၅၁၈၆၁၈၇၁၈၈၁၈၉
 ၁၉၀၁၉၁၁၉၂၁၉၃၁၉၄
 ၁၉၅၁၉၆၁၉၇၁၉၈၁၉၉
 ၂၀၀၂၀၁၂၀၂၂၀၃၂၀၄
 ၂၀၅၂၀၆၂၀၇၂၀၈၂၀၉
 ၂၁၀၂၁၁၂၁၂၂၁၃၂၁၄
 ၂၁၅၂၁၆၂၁၇၂၁၈၂၁၉
 ၂၂၀၂၂၁၂၂၂၂၂၃၂၂၄
 ၂၂၅၂၂၆၂၂၇၂၂၈၂၂၉
 ၂၃၀၂၃၁၂၃၂၂၃၃၂၃၄
 ၂၃၅၂၃၆၂၃၇၂၃၈၂၃၉
 ၂၄၀၂၄၁၂၄၂၂၄၃၂၄၄
 ၂၄၅၂၄၆၂၄၇၂၄၈၂၄၉
 ၂၅၀၂၅၁၂၅၂၂၅၃၂၅၄
 ၂၅၅၂၅၆၂၅၇၂၅၈၂၅၉
 ၂၆၀၂၆၁၂၆၂၂၆၃၂၆၄
 ၂၆၅၂၆၆၂၆၇၂၆၈၂၆၉
 ၂၇၀၂၇၁၂၇၂၂၇၃၂၇၄
 ၂၇၅၂၇၆၂၇၇၂၇၈၂၇၉
 ၂၈၀၂၈၁၂၈၂၂၈၃၂၈၄
 ၂၈၅၂၈၆၂၈၇၂၈၈၂၈၉
 ၂၉၀၂၉၁၂၉၂၂၉၃၂၉၄
 ၂၉၅၂၉၆၂၉၇၂၉၈၂၉၉
 ၃၀၀၃၀၁၃၀၂၃၀၃၃၀၄
 ၃၀၅၃၀၆၃၀၇၃၀၈၃၀၉
 ၃၁၀၃၁၁၃၁၂၃၁၃၃၁၄
 ၃၁၅၃၁၆၃၁၇၃၁၈၃၁၉
 ၃၂၀၃၂၁၃၂၂၃၂၃၃၂၄
 ၃၂၅၃၂၆၃၂၇၃၂၈၃၂၉
 ၃၃၀၃၃၁၃၃၂၃၃၃၃၄
 ၃၃၅၃၃၆၃၃၇၃၃၈၃၃၉
 ၃၄၀၃၄၁၃၄၂၃၄၃၃၄၄
 ၃၄၅၃၄၆၃၄၇၃၄၈၃၄၉
 ၃၅၀၃၅၁၃၅၂၃၅၃၃၅၄
 ၃၅၅၃၅၆၃၅၇၃၅၈၃၅၉
 ၃၆၀၃၆၁၃၆၂၃၆၃၃၆၄
 ၃၆၅၃၆၆၃၆၇၃၆၈၃၆၉
 ၃၇၀၃၇၁၃၇၂၃၇၃၃၇၄
 ၃၇၅၃၇၆၃၇၇၃၇၈၃၇၉
 ၃၈၀၃၈၁၃၈၂၃၈၃၃၈၄
 ၃၈၅၃၈၆၃၈၇၃၈၈၃၈၉
 ၃၉၀၃၉၁၃၉၂၃၉၃၃၉၄
 ၃၉၅၃၉၆၃၉၇၃၉၈၃၉၉
 ၄၀၀၄၀၁၄၀၂၄၀၃၄၀၄
 ၄၀၅၄၀၆၄၀၇၄၀၈၄၀၉
 ၄၁၀၄၁၁၄၁၂၄၁၃၄၁၄
 ၄၁၅၄၁၆၄၁၇၄၁၈၄၁၉
 ၄၂၀၄၂၁၄၂၂၄၂၃၄၂၄
 ၄၂၅၄၂၆၄၂၇၄၂၈၄၂၉
 ၄၃၀၄၃၁၄၃၂၄၃၃၄၃၄
 ၄၃၅၄၃၆၄၃၇၄၃၈၄၃၉
 ၄၄၀၄၄၁၄၄၂၄၄၃၄၄၄
 ၄၄၅၄၄၆၄၄၇၄၄၈၄၄၉
 ၄၅၀၄၅၁၄၅၂၄၅၃၄၅၄
 ၄၅၅၄၅၆၄၅၇၄၅၈၄၅၉
 ၄၆၀၄၆၁၄၆၂၄၆၃၄၆၄
 ၄၆၅၄၆၆၄၆၇၄၆၈၄၆၉
 ၄၇၀၄၇၁၄၇၂၄၇၃၄၇၄
 ၄၇၅၄၇၆၄၇၇၄၇၈၄၇၉
 ၄၈၀၄၈၁၄၈၂၄၈၃၄၈၄
 ၄၈၅၄၈၆၄၈၇၄၈၈၄၈၉
 ၄၉၀၄၉၁၄၉၂၄၉၃၄၉၄
 ၄၉၅၄၉၆၄၉၇၄၉၈၄၉၉
 ၅၀၀၅၀၁၅၀၂၅၀၃၅၀၄
 ၅၀၅၅၀၆၅၀၇၅၀၈၅၀၉
 ၅၁၀၅၁၁၅၁၂၅၁၃၅၁၄
 ၅၁၅၅၁၆၅၁၇၅၁၈၅၁၉
 ၅၂၀၅၂၁၅၂၂၅၂၃၅၂၄
 ၅၂၅၅၂၆၅၂၇၅၂၈၅၂၉
 ၅၃၀၅၃၁၅၃၂၅၃၃၅၃၄
 ၅၃၅၅၃၆၅၃၇၅၃၈၅၃၉
 ၅၄၀၅၄၁၅၄၂၅၄၃၅၄၄
 ၅၄၅၅၄၆၅၄၇၅၄၈၅၄၉
 ၅၅၀၅၅၁၅၅၂၅၅၃၅၅၄
 ၅၅၅၅၅၆၅၅၇၅၅၈၅၅၉
 ၅၆၀၅၆၁၅၆၂၅၆၃၅၆၄
 ၅၆၅၅၆၆၅၆၇၅၆၈၅၆၉
 ၅၇၀၅၇၁၅၇၂၅၇၃၅၇၄
 ၅၇၅၅၇၆၅၇၇၅၇၈၅၇၉
 ၅၈၀၅၈၁၅၈၂၅၈၃၅၈၄
 ၅၈၅၅၈၆၅၈၇၅၈၈၅၈၉
 ၅၉၀၅၉၁၅၉၂၅၉၃၅၉၄
 ၅၉၅၅၉၆၅၉၇၅၉၈၅၉၉
 ၆၀၀၆၀၁၆၀၂၆၀၃၆၀၄
 ၆၀၅၆၀၆၆၀၇၆၀၈၆၀၉
 ၆၁၀၆၁၁၆၁၂၆၁၃၆၁၄
 ၆၁၅၆၁၆၆၁၇၆၁၈၆၁၉
 ၆

4th line

31d line

Է Օ
 Ա Յ Վ Ն Զ Է Յ Լ Կ Ը
 Խ Գ Դ Ե Վ Յ Ը Թ Կ
 Զ Է Ը Թ Կ Զ Է Ը Թ Կ
 Զ Է Ը Թ Կ Զ Է Ը Թ Կ
 Զ Է Ը Թ Կ Զ Է Ը Թ Կ

၂၃၇၈၉၀၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀
 ၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀
 ၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၀

[illegible]

5th line

[illegible]

No 2

(PART OF LINE 2)

Text

P[r]atī[hā]ra-Khīpat[t]i-ganakā(a)—Nāgō(a)-Hēasī-gāhapātīya-Gharika-bh[a]ṇḍāk(g)ārī[ka]

Remarks—The first word is certainly *pratīhāra* which means door-keeper. The second word may read *vaipatti* signifying good foot soldier but comparison with the Nāsik cave inscription, referred to above, would show that it must be read as *Khīpatti*. The conjunct *t* is partly visible in the impression but clear on the eye-copy. What follows must be *ganaka*. Had the preceding word been *vaipatti* one could take it, in reference to the *Kirātārjunīyam* (XV 16), in the sense of 'an officer whose chief function is to muster the infantry or superior foot-soldiers'. But I prefer to read the first *akshara* as *khī* and would take *ganaka* in the sense of 'accountant'. The word that follows, *re*, *Nāga*, indicates the tribe to which Hēasī belonged. Hēasī is apparently an aboriginal term. *Gāhapātīya*¹ I would connect with the word *Gārhapatya* and translate as the keeper of the household or *gāhapatya* fire. *Gharika* must have been the name of this officer and is perhaps an *apabhramsa* of *grihika* (²) as is *gharimī*, the Pāli form of *grihinī*. The word that follows is certainly the equivalent of Sanskrit *bhāṇḍāgarika* and means 'store-keeper'.

Now I give a transcript of the eye copy, as far as I have been able to make it out, for what it is worth, or rather to satisfy a curiosity. In the facsimiles the impressions of the existing portions of the epigraph and the whole of the eye copy are reproduced. The paper used by the Pandit was of a small size. So lines could not be brought out in their full length. Taking the entire lines into consideration, the inscribed portion of the pillar measures about 8 feet and the eye-copy approximately supplies $\frac{2}{3}$ of the actual size of the letters on it. The text given below follows the order in which Pandit Lakshmi Prasād copied the inscription.

Text

(Line 1) Naga[ra]-rakhiṇō-V[ī]rap[ā]hita Chirag[ō]bhakē Sē[n]āpa[tī] [Dē]va² bama[dē]
yādhi g(?) nantāvasa(b²)hathi bama [dē]yikama sa patali 1 1 sā . 1 1 sū 1
sā ā nō bhatāya kēs[a]va-vithidakāmika (a or ē) tatē (or bhabhē) sāvida
(n)im[ī]tta

(Line 2) P[r]atīh[ā]ra Khīpatti ga[na]ka Nāga Hēasī gāhapātīya Gharika-bhāṇḍā-
kārika Asādhiya vaihāthādhihāra hathārōhē asūrōhē dēvathayaka pādāmūlika rathika
sisāra khakhimāla (?) butanamaka tabhaka mahānasika kukudabata

(Line 3) Hāthivaka yamasrika dhāvaka sagandhakē gōmandilika yānasālāyudhaghārikē
dahiakhēmliha (?) palavithida vālikē avasakāraka sava (or kha)radāpa (or ha)ḍḍaka
vadi Kēsavanāshō (?) vaeharē anu yinō dunuvritta lēhahārakē pētsa (?) payutasāva (?)
kuli(la)puttra kuli(la)puttramanusēn[ā]pati

(Line 4) Vu salinama [bu] hēsara mah[ā]sēnāni Sithar[ā]ja Kudva (?)
putasa pija (?) rapayati game puvarathi kavayu sē na
k[u]m[ā]rō da nāyaka

(Line 5) Bhajayu (or ghē ?)ra (da)pā ta(?) (a?) puna[vi?]yū ma

¹ Gāhapātīya is a proper name, also see Burgess, *Cave Temples*, p. 89

² Deva may be taken as a proper name, and *bamadiya* may stand for *brahmadēya*. That will give us one more official, to wit, one in charge of charities ?

No 20 --THREE BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM KOSAM

BY DAYA RAM SAHNI, M A, RAI BAHADUR

The three inscriptions discussed in this paper were discovered by me in the cold weather of 1921-22 when I was engaged on the preliminary operations connected with the re-election of the ancient pillar in the ruined fort at Kosam', District Allahabad. These inscriptions were found in the villages in the vicinity of Kosam and I am glad to say that at my request the owners have presented all the three records to the Archaeological Department and they have been placed as exhibits on loan in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. Along with these inscriptions I was fortunate enough to bring to light a fourth inscription of the time of king Jayachandra of Kanauj which furnishes final corroboration of General Cunningham's identification of the remains at Kosam with the ancient city of Kauśāmbi. This inscription is being dealt with in a separate article.

The impressions reproduced in this paper have been supplied by Mr Prayag Dayal, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

Inscription No I

This epigraph is incised on a stone slab measuring 2' 10½" high, 1' wide and 2½" in thickness. The stone was fixed in the parapet of a well in the village of Masharfa situated about a mile and a half to the north-west of the stone pillar at Kosam. The inscription is engraved on the front face of the slab and consists of fourteen lines. Each line consists of five to seven *aksharas* except the last line which, probably contained only three characters, now mostly defaced. For the rest, the epigraph is in an excellent state of preservation. The inscription is written in Brāhmī characters, which closely resemble the alphabet used in the inscriptions of the Mahākshatraps Śōdāsa², like which it is drawn up throughout in pure Prākṛit. The inscription is not dated, nor does it mention the name of the ruler of the time. The object of the document is to record the erection of a stone railing (*vedihā*) by a certain householder named Gōtipanta, son of Kusapāla and grandson of Vāri who was a caravan-merchant and a votary of Manibhadra. The inscription begins with a salutation to a certain Bhagavat whose name unfortunately is not given and ends with the wish that "the deity may be pleased". Here too, unfortunately, the name of the deity is not given or, if it was, it has been destroyed in the last line of the inscription. The traces left on the stone, however, seem to favour the reading 'Bhagavā'. We are thus left to guess the identity of this god. I am inclined to think that it was the Yaksha Manibhadra, the favourite deity of the grandfather of the donor. We know from other records that this deity³ enjoyed extensive worship in ancient times. The inscription is silent as to the purpose for which the stone balustrade mentioned in it was intended. Probably it surrounded some sacred monument such as an image of the deity Manibhadra⁴, a pillar, a *chaitya* or some sacred tree. The stone on

¹ The visible antiquities of Kosam have been described by several scholars — Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. I, pp 301—315, E. Pargiter, *Two Records on the pillar at Kosam* in *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp 87 ff, E. D. Banerji, *Some Sculptures from Kosam* in the *A S R.*, 1913-14, part II, pp 262—264, and the *Annual Report* of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1917, p 13.

² Cf. *Memors. A. S. I.*, No 5, Pl XXVI, b and *Ep Ind.*, Vol II, p. 199, No II and plate and other inscriptions.

³ Vide *A S R.*, 1915-16, Pt II, pp 104 ff and Mr Ramaprasad Chanda's Paper entitled *Four Ancient Yaksha Statues* published in the University of Calcutta, *Anthropological Papers*, No. 3 [For the *dhyāna* of Manibhadra see *Vaśīṣṭha's Parasharāsmṛiti*, III, 73 13 —Ed.]

⁴ Cf. *śikā yākhā cha kārītā* "the rail pattern and the yaksha have been caused to be made" engraved above the image of a yaksha in Cave No 18 at Nasik (*Ep Ind.*, Vol VIII, p 93, No 2).

which the inscription is engraved must have been one of the posts of the railing, the back portion of which was cut away in later times

TEXT

1 Namō Bhagavatē	8 Kusapālō nāma
2 sathavāhasa	9 tasa putēna
3 Manibhadasa ¹	10 gahapatikēna
4 gahapatikasa	11 Gōtiputēna ²
5 Ējāvati-putasa	12 asikā ³ yam kārītā
6 Vriśa ³ putō gahapatikō	13 vādikā piyatam
7 Sēlyā-putō	14 [Bhagava]

TRANSLATION

"Salutation to the Blessed One¹ [There was a certain person] named Kusapāla, a householder, the son of Sēlyā, (and) the son of Vāri, a caravan-merchant, (and) householder, the son of Ējāvati (and) a votary of Manibhadra By his (Kusapāl's) son Gōtiputa, a householder, this railing of stone was caused to be made May [the Blessed One] be pleased"

Inscription No II

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab, measuring 2' 3½" × 1' 10" × 3" in thickness, which is broken into two pieces across the width. The top and the bottom are irregularly broken and it is difficult to say for what purpose the stone was originally intended. The existing portion of the inscription consists of five lines, measuring 17" to 21" in length. The inscription is incomplete. The first line is undoubtedly the beginning of the document but how many lines are lost at the end owing to the peeling off of the surface it is impossible to say. The surviving portion of the record is in a bad state of preservation. The left halves of the first three lines have completely disappeared, while several letters in the beginning of the 4th line are damaged. The characters are Brāhmī of the Gupta period and the language Sanskrit. The document was engraved on the 1st day of the 2nd fortnight of a certain year which is broken off in the beginning of the 2nd line, in the reign of a certain Mahānāga the illustrious Śivam[ē]gha. This prince is not known from any other source as yet, and it is impossible to say to what dynasty he belonged. Then follow the words "On this occasion" after which we notice the names of certain individuals preceded by their fathers' names. These persons probably did some meritorious work which was recorded in this inscription, but its fragmentary condition prevents our making out what the nature of this work was.

TEXT

1 [Mahā]ra(ā,jasya śīi-Śivama(ē)ghasya sa[mvatsara]
2 [varsha pīkshē] 2 divasē pa(pra)thamē ē[tasyām]
3 [pūrvvāyān*] kasya Sa[m]karava(ba)la p
4 dav[īshthaka]sya Śamanaka-putrasya Dharakasya [Nam]dava(ba)la-putra . na
5 kasya [Da]manaka-putrasya Dharakasya [Ya]sava(ba)la-putrasya Kukkasya [||*]

¹ Cf. *Mānibhadra-bhaktā(h)* in the Padmāvatī Manibhadra Statue Inscription, *A S R*, 1915 16, Pt II, p 106, Text

² This word is engraved between the 5th and 6th lines

³ *Gōtiput* = *Gōtiputa* (Sanskrit *Gautīputra*) is here undoubtedly a proper name. We find the word used in other inscriptions both as a metonymic and as a proper name (cf. Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Nos. 663, 681 and 682)

⁴ *Asikā* = *āsikā* corresponds to the Sanskrit *āśmīkā*, the *taddhita* form of *āśmīn*

Inscription No III

The slab bearing this inscription was secured from the village of Hasanābād close to the ancient remains of Kosam. It was lying near a well and would appear to have been used for sharpening tools and other utilitarian purposes. The slab is rounded at the top and a portion of it is broken off at the bottom. Its present dimensions are 2' 10" in height and the same in width, the thickness being only 3'. Only four lines of the inscription now remain in the upper round portion of the stone but that originally the record covered some more space of the slab is obvious from the traces of *aksharas* which have survived in the rest of the defaced surface. The characters are similar to those of inscription No II, like which the record is composed in Sanskrit. The only information of any interest obtainable from the inscription is the name of the ruler which on the analogy of the ruler's name in the preceding epigraph has been read as Mahārāja Śrī-Bhadram[ēgha]. It is gratifying to note that in this inscription it is possible to make out the date with a considerable degree of certainty and it is the 5th day of the 3rd fortnight of the rainy season in the year 88. The era unfortunately is not given but if, as seems likely, it was the Gupta era, the corresponding Christian year would be 407 A.D. This, however, is a mere conjecture. Śivamēgha mentioned in Inscription No II and Bhadram[ēgha] of the present inscription presumably belonged to the same dynasty about which we at present know nothing more.

TEXT

- 1 Mahārājasya śrī-Bhadram[ēghasya]
- 2 [Samvatsa]rē 80 8 varsha paksha 3 divasa 5
- 3 . sya Śamarasya(?) puttra Him[ī]ngana
- 4 ayayādāvadāia¹

No 21—TWO COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF KRISHNADEVARAYA

By THE LATE T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A., TRIVANDRUM, AND K. AMRITA RAO, M.A., MADRAS

The two inscriptions edited below are engraved upon two sets of copper-plates belonging to the Ranganāthasvāmin temple at Śrīrangam. They are edited for the first time from impressions prepared under the supervision of one of us.

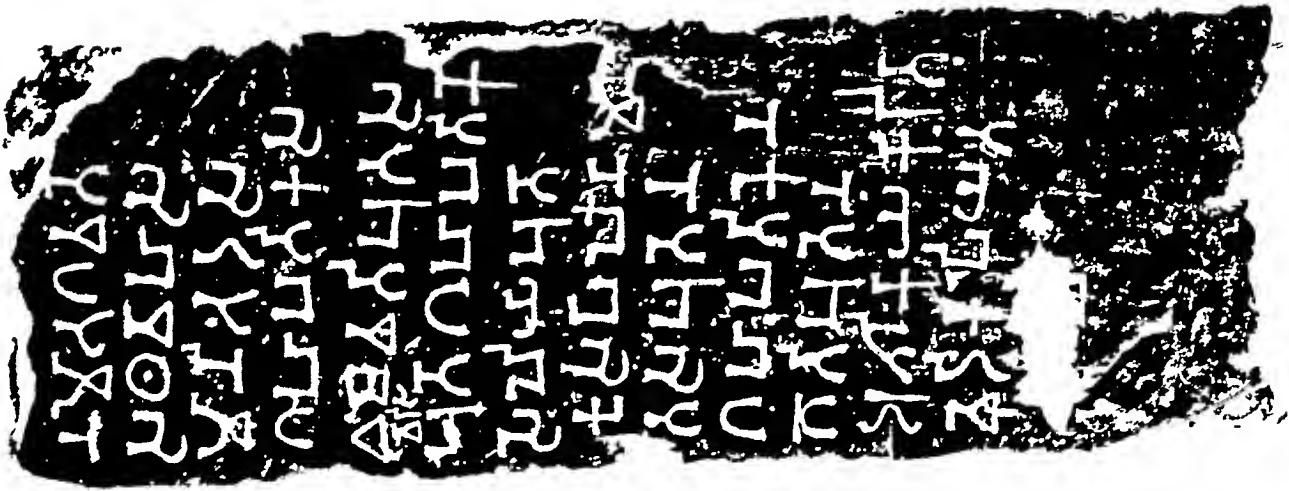
A—INSCRIPTION OF SAKA-SAMVAT 1436

This record (No 23 of the *Madras Epigraphist's Copper-plate Collection* for 1905-06) is engraved upon three plates, which are strung together on a ring which bears a circular seal. On the seal are shaped in half relief a boar, the sun and the moon—the usual Vijayanagara emblems. The first side of the first plate and the second side of the third are left without writing, and the rims of the plates are raised. The writing is consequently very well preserved. The plates are numbered with the Telugu-Kannada numerals 1, 2 and 3 engraved on the second side of the first, and on the first side of the second and third plates respectively, to the right of the ring-hole.

The alphabet in which the epigraph is written is Nandināgaṇī, and the language Sanskrit. At the end of the inscription is the word *Śrī-Virūpākṣa*, the sign-manual of the king, written in the Telugu-Kannada alphabet. The inscription almost always employs the *anusvāra*, wherever the nasals have to be used. The *t* in conjunct consonants is usually doubled unnecessarily, as in *prattiyūha* in ll 4 and 52, in *kīrttyā* in ll 28 and 44, in *vrajēdṣṭtyā*^o in l 45, in *āvarttyā*^o in l 55, in *ittiyuktō* in l 60, *ittiyādi* in l 62 and *nīttiyā* in l 65. There occur also omissions of letters in some places, due to the carelessness of the engraver, e.g., *t* in *vyatānti* in

¹ My attention has been kindly drawn to the existence of the first *dā* in this word by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri. The meaning of the compound is uncertain. It may perhaps be interpreted as *ūrya yādava-dārāh*, the wife of the noble Yadava, who ever he was.

No I.



No II.

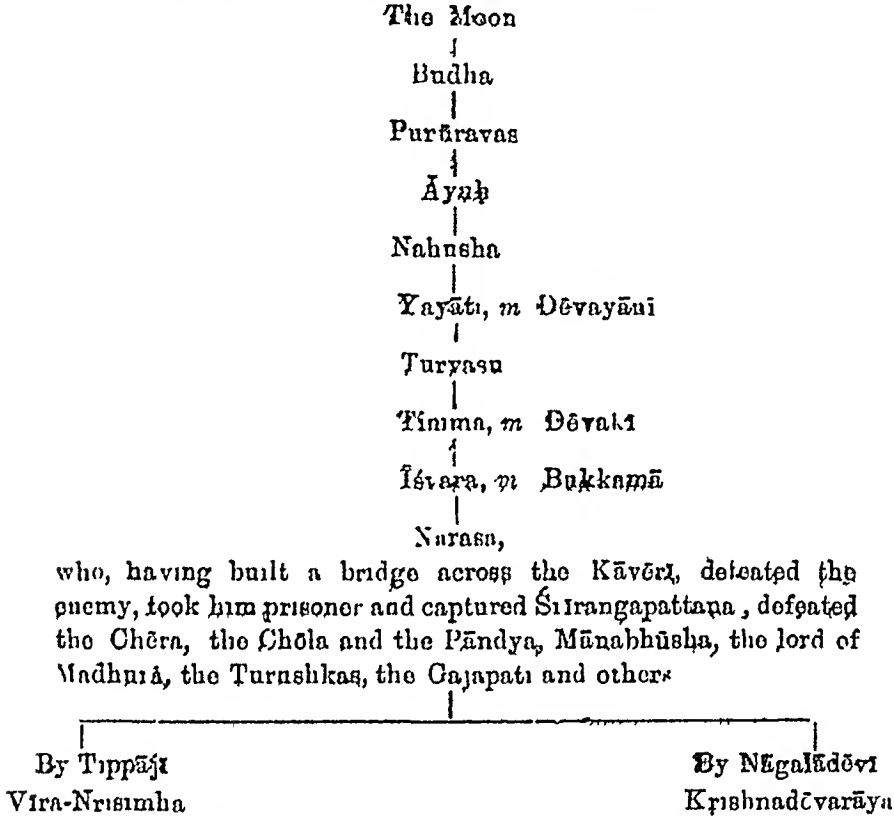


No III



l. 21, *at* in *Nṛsimhēndrāt* in l. 25, *t* in *akārshit* in l. 31, the secondary *ā* symbol in *yā* in *hṛamnyā* in l. 40, *t* in *lāṅgalyatānīt* in l. 41 and so on, these omissions are supplied in the transcript with an asterisk. The *visarga* is also omitted in a large number of instances where it is wanted and there again it is inserted similarly in our transcript. Besides these cases, there are here and there verbal errors, and the corrections of these are effected in foot-notes.

In both the records the genealogy of the king Krishnadēvarāya is given as follows :—



The record is dated Ś 1436, which corresponds to the cycle year Bhāva, in the reign of Krishnadēva-Mahārāya of Vijayanagara. In this year, on a Wednesday which coincided with the Gō-dvādasi *tithi* in the month Kārttika, the *nakshatra* for that day being Bharanī, the king granted the village of Ennakudi to the Brāhmaṇa Allāla-Bhatta. Regarding this date the Hon'ble Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, Dewan Bahadur, writes :—

“Ś 1436, Bhāva, Wednesday, Gō-dvādasi-*tithi* in the month Kārttika, Bharanī *nakshatra* Āśvina Śukla Dvādasi is called Gō-dvādasi (*Ind. Ephemeris*, p. XIX), but in A. D. 1514-15=Ś 1436, Bhāva, Āśvina Śu 12 fell on Saturday, 30th September, 1514, and the *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj. The day intended was probably Mārgaśīra Śu 12, Wednesday, 29th November, A. D. 1514, when the *nakshatra* was Bharanī.”

The name *Gō-dvādasi* occurs in other documents also. We meet with it, for instance, in the ancient record of the Āy chieftain, Vikramāditya Varaguna (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, p. 192), what observances there are on this particular *dvādasi* is not known. On the date specified the king Krishnadēvarāya, being in the presence of the god Virūpākṣa in the temple at Vijayanagara (Hampi), standing upon the bank of the Tungabhadra and near the hill Hēmaṅkūta, granted the village of Ennakudi under the name of Krishnarāyapuram to Allāla-Bhatta, son of Varadarājāya, of the Ātrēya *gōtra*, of the Āpastamba *sūtra* and of the Yajus *śākhā*, who was a master in the six systems of philosophy. The occasion on which this

grant was made was the giving of the *mahādāna* called the *Gō-sahasra*. The village granted is said to be situated in the *Chōlamandala-rājya*, that is, that province of the empire which was known by the name of *Chōlamandala*, the village was in the western portion of the division called the *Uyyagondachōlēndra-valanādu*, which belonged to the [Tiruv]ārūr-chāvaḍi and was situated in the *Tirumihachchūr-pattu*; the village was situated on the bank of the river *Kāvēri* and was to the east of *Karkaktai* (?), to the south of the canal *Nāttāvākkāl*, to the west of *Pēlaikudi* (*Mēlaikkudi*) and to the north of the river *Virāntanāru*.

It is not quite patent how a document issued to a private person found its way into the treasury of the temple of *Ranganāthasvāmin* at *Śrīrangam*. Perhaps the donor, a *Śivaniśh-nava*, was a native of *Śrīrangam*, and he may have either deposited the copper-plates in the temple treasury for safe custody or have presented the village with its original deed of gift to the god *Ranganātha*. As regards the donee, nothing can be said definitely, as no distinguishing family names are affixed to his name, to which of the *āchārya-purusha* families he belonged is not easy to ascertain.

At the end of the document it is stated that the composer of the inscription is *Sabhūpati* and the engraver *Mallanāchārya*, the son of *Viranāchārya*.

The names of places, etc., which occur in the document are — *Uyyagondachōlēndra valā-nādu*, [Tiruv]ārūr, *Tirumihachchūr*, *Ennakudi*, *Karkaktai*, *Pēlaikudi* and the rivers *Kāvēri*, *Virāntanāru* and *Nāttāvākkāl*. Of these *Uyyagondachōlēndra-valanādu* is the same as *Uyyakkondachōla-valanādu*, an ancient division of the *Chōla* days. *Tiruvārūr* is a town of great importance for the large *Śiva* temple situated in it, it is in the *Negapatam Taluk* of the *Tanjore District*. *Tirumihachchūr*, same as *Tirumiyachchūr*, a place whose praises are sung by the *Śaiva* saints *Tiru-Jñānasambandha* and *Appar*, is situated in the *Nannilam Taluk*. The river *Kāvēri* is too well known to need any comment. The *Nāttāvākkāl* is the same as the *Nāttār*, which runs through the *Nannilam Taluk* and the French territory of *Kāraikkāl*. The river *Virāntanāru* seems to be the same as the *Vinaśōjanāru*, which runs through the *Māyavaram Taluk* and disembogues south of *Tranquobar*. We are not able to identify *Karkaktai* (here the reading itself appears to be wrong) and *Pēlaikudi* (*Mēlaikkudi*) and *Ennakudi*.

The portions of the inscriptions A and B which contain the genealogy of *Kṛishnadēva-rāja* are similar to those found in other inscriptions of this king. For instance, vv 1-28 of A are identical with those of the *Conjeeveram Plates of Kṛishnadēvarāja* edited in Vol. XIII, pp. 126-129. Vv 9-11 found in A are omitted in B. Therefore vv 1-8 of B agree with vv 1-8 of A, and vv 9-24 of B with vv 12-23 of A. Since the genealogical portion of the inscriptions A and B have been printed in the *Epigraphia Indica* more than once, they are omitted in the transcripts of the texts given below.

A

TEXT¹

[Metres v 28, *Sragdharā*, vv 29-45½, 47½-50½, *Anushtubh*, v 46½, *Giti*, v 51½, *Śālini*]

Second Plate Second Side

- 63 * * * * * सुत्ये[र*]दा[र्यः]
 64 [सु]धोभिः स विजयनगरे रत्नसिंहासनस्तः² क्षापालान् कण्ठराय-
 65 क्षितिपतिरधरीकृत्य नीत्या नृगादीत्³ [र*] आ पूर्वाद्रेरथास्तः(१)क्षितिधर-

¹ From inked impressions prepared under the supervision of Mr T. A. Gopinatha Rao

² Read अ

³ Read न

२८
 ३०
 ३२
 ३४
 ३६
 ३८
 ४०
 ४२
 ४४
 ४६
 ४८
 ५०

[illegible]

- 66 कटकादा च हेमाचलाता¹(1)दा सेतोरथिसार्थः(2)श्रियमिह बहलीकृत्य
 67 कोर्था ममिधेः(3) ॥[२८*] शालिवाहननिर्नते² शकाब्दे सचतुः[*]शतैः
 पट्टि³[श]-
 68 ता च संयुक्तैः संख्याते दशभिः[*] शतैः ॥[२९*] भावसवत्सरे मास-
 कार्तिके बुधवा-
 69 सरं । गोदादस्यां च पुण्यायां भरण्यां समये शुभे ॥[३०*] तुंग-
 भद्रापग[1]-
 70 तीरे हेमकुण्डोपशोभिते । शिविरूपाक्षदेवस्य संनिधौ मुक्ति[दा]-
 71 इनि ॥[३१*] आत्रेयगोत्रजाताय वरापस्तंबसु⁴त्रिणे । यशस्विने यज्ञुः[*]-
 72 शाखा[ध्या]यिने गुणशा[लि]ने ॥[३२*] ष[ड्]र्शन्बुधेः पारदृश्यने श्रुत-
 73 शोभिने । श्रीमद्गरुडराजार्थसुनवे सुनृ⁵तोक्तये ।[३३*] गोसहस्र¹⁰मह[1]-
 74 दाने विश्रुते शुभदायिनि । आचार्याय विशुंघा¹¹य वाचार्याय म-
 75 हात्मने ॥[३४*] पुरुषा¹²यै¹³ सरस्वत्यै पुं¹³खशीलाय धीमते । अल्लाल-
 76 भट्टवेषाय शेषाय गुरवे धिया ।[३५*] चोलमंडलराज्यांत[भू]तदक्षि-
 77 णरोधसि । पुण्ये(1) कवेरकन्याया दृश्यमाननिजस्थिति ।[३६*] आरु¹⁴-
 78 रुचावडेरंतर्भावं चापि समाश्रित¹⁵ । विख्यातमुच्यपीडश्रीचो[लं]-¹⁶
 79 [द्र]वळना[डु]के ।[३७*] तस्यैव पश्चिमो भाग इति ख्यातिसुपाश्रीत¹⁷[1] [२]-

Third Plate First Side

- 80 [म्ये] तिरुमिहसुरपट्टुके¹⁸ विहितस्थितिं ।[३८*] कर्कशैश्यामतः प्रा[च्यं]
 81 नाद्यावाक्क[1*]लप्रदेशतः । दक्षिणत्व श्रोत¹⁹ पेलैकुडियामाक्ष पश्चि-
 82 म ।[३९*] वीरांतनात्तुशी²⁰माया उत्तरस्यां दिशि स्थितं । कृष्णरायपुर चे-
 83 ति प्रतिनाम समाश्रितं ॥ ४०*] ग्राममेणकुडीत्याख्यां विख्यातामाश्रितं
 84 वरं । सर्वमान्य चतुः[*]सीमास²¹युत च समततः ।[४१*] निधिनक्ष²²-
 पपाषाण-

- 85 [सि]द्धशा²³ध्यजलान्वित । अक्षिण्यागामिसंयुक्त²⁴मेकभोग्य सभूरु-

¹ Read ना⁴ Read श्यां च⁷ Read सु¹⁰ Read स¹³ [The actual reading on the plate is पु रुपाये—which has to be corrected into पु रुपाये.—Ed]¹⁸ Read पु.¹⁶ Read मुथर्गोडश्रीचोले¹⁹ Read इति²¹ Read स.² Read श्रुति⁵ Read क⁸ Read यु¹¹ Read युडा.¹⁴ Read रु¹⁷ Read मुण्णि²⁰ Read स²³ Read द.³ Read पट्टि⁶ Read यि⁹ Read सुनवे सुनृ¹⁵ Read श्रि¹⁸ Read तिरुमिहसुर²¹ Read इ²⁴ Read क

- 86 ॥ ४२* ॥ वापीकूपतट^१क्षैश्च कच्छेनापि [स]मन्वि[तम् १*] युवपौत्रादि-
भि()र्भो[ग्य] क्र-
- 87 मादाचद्रतारकं [॥ ४३*] दानस्याधमनस्यापि विक्रयस्यापि चोचित । प-
- 88 रीतः प्रयत्ने[१*] शिन^२र्ध्वै[१*] पुरोहितपुरोगमैः [॥ ४४*] विविधैः()विबु-
धैः[१*] श्रौतप-
- 89 विकैरधिकैर्गिरा । कृष्णदेवमहारायो माननीयो मनश्चिना^३ [॥ ४५*] स-
- 90 द्विर^४ख्यपयोधारापूर्व[व]क दत्तवान्मुदा ॥[४५॥]* तदिदमवमीवनीपकविनु-
- 91 तधरायस्य कृष्णरायस्य [१*] शासनमतिवले^५शामनतरकरदान-
- 92 स्य सा[प]दानस्य ॥[४६॥]* कृष्णदेवमहारायशासनेन समापति[१*]
अमा-
- 93 शोभ^६[दुस]दर्भं तदिदं ताम्रशासन^७ ॥[४७॥]* त्वष्टा श्रीमहेशाचार्य[१*]
वीर[ण]-
- 94 चार्यनदन[१*] आकल्पमश्रुतेजैकां वृत्तिं शासनं^८लेखक[१*] ॥ ४८॥*]
- 95 दानपासनयोर्मध्ये दाना[च्छे]योनुपालनं [१*] दानास्व^९र्गमवा-
- 96 प्रीतिं पासनादश्रु^{१०}तं पद ॥[४९॥]* स्वदत्ताद्विगुणं पुंख^{११} परदत्ता-
- 97 नुपालन [१*] परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवे[त्] ॥ ५०॥*]
- 98 सामान्योऽथ धर्मसेतुं^{१२}वृषाणा काले काले पासनोयो भव[द्भिः] [१*]
- 99 सवा^{१३}नेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेद्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामचद्रः [॥ ५१॥*]
- 100 श्रीविरूपाक्ष [॥*]^{१४}

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

(Vv 25 to 28) King Kṛṣṇnarāya ruled the earth, being seated upon the jewelled throne at Vijayanagara, in as glorious a fashion as (the ancient kings) Nṛiga and others granting ample sums of money to suppliants throughout the length and breadth of the land, from Śēta to the Mēru mountain, from the Mountain of the rising Sun to that of the setting Sun

(Vv 29-35) In the year one thousand four hundred and thirty-six of the Śaka era, corresponding to the (cyclic) year Bhāva, in the month of Kārtika, on a Wednesday, the Gō-dvādaśī tithi and the Bharanī nakshatra, the king granted, in the presence of the god Virūpāksha, on the bank of the river Tungabhadra and near the Hēmakūta hill (at Vijayanagara), the village of Enpakuḍi under the new name of Kṛṣṇnarāyapuram, to Allāla-Bhatta, son of Varadarajarya, of the Atrōya gōtra, Āpastamba sūtra and Yajus śākhā, who was a master

¹ Read टा

² Read र^०

³ Read ताम्रशासनम्

⁴ Read शु

⁵ Read बौ.

⁶ Read सि

⁷ Read ल

⁸ Read न

⁹ Read द्विगुण पुण्य

¹⁰ Written in Telugu-Kannada characters Read श्रीविरूपाक्ष

¹¹ Read स्वर्ग

¹² Read मृ

¹³ Read त्व

¹⁴ Read वृष्ट

in the Six Systems of philosophy and the *Śruti* (i.e. the *Vēdas*), who was ever veracious, who officiated as priest during the *Gōsahasra-mahādāna*, who was pure, praiseworthy, the goddess Sarasvatī in male form, of good conduct and intelligent and in wisdom like the teacher Śeṣha (i.e. the serpent Ādiśeṣha)

(Vv 36 to 45½) The village granted was in the Chōlamandala-rājya, on the south bank of the Kāvērī. It belonged to the (jurisdiction of the) Ārūru-chāvadī (Tiruvārūr) and was in the Tirumihachchūru-pattu the western half of Uyyagondachōlēndra-valanādu. It was situated to the east of the village of Karikattai, to the south of the Nūttāvākkāl, to the west of the village of Pēlaikkudī (Mēlaikkudī?) and to the north of Virāntanāru. It was granted with the enjoyment of the eight items of proprietorship, such as *madhu*, *nikshēpa*, etc., as a freehold to be enjoyed by the donee and his descendants as long as the Moon and the Sun subsist, with the rights of gift, sale, mortgage, etc. by the illustrious Krishnadēva-Mahārāja, who was surrounded (at the time of the gift) by his *Purōhitas* and a number of Brāhmanas well versed in the *Śrauta* learning, with pouring of water together with gold.

(V 46½) This is the *śāsana* of king Krishnarāja, whose income from land is paid by suppliants for munificence, which is equal to that of the tree (*Kalpa-vṛksha*) of I region.

(V 47½) The copper-plate document was composed by Sabhāpati at the order of Krishnadēva-Mahārāja.

(V 48½) Mallanāchārya, the son of Viranāchārya, the artificer, who made the document on the copper-plates, obtained one share in the gift.

(Vv 49½ to 51½) The usual admonitory verses.

Line 100 (Sign-manual of the kings of Vijayanagara, the word) १

B—INSCRIPTION OF SAKA-SAMVA

This inscription also is engraved on a set of three plates, and the second side of the third plates are left unengraved. The writing is very well preserved. This set also, like the seal. The plates are not numbered.

The alphabet in which the record is engraved in Sanskrit and Tamil, the earlier portion, describing the donee and the village granted, is in Tamil describing the boundaries, etc., of the village *Vijayapāksha*, at the end of the document orthographical peculiarities of this script. In addition to those already detailed of places where they are superfluous transcript by round brackets. It allowing many omissions and

The inscription belongs to the period which corresponded to the Uththāna-dvādashī a number of Brāhmanas Vadamībūr-Ēka came of the Tiruvālūr in the 8th

century

The village itself seems to have been situated on the bank of the rivulet called the Rushi river. In the Tamil portion the boundaries of Vedambūru-Yēkāṇbarapuram are given as follows:—Tirukalambūr on the east, Tirukalambūr and Vēlāngudi on the south-east, Vēlāngudi, and Śēdirāyanallūr on the south on the south-west Śēdirāyanallūr and Mānāvarinallūr, on the west Mānāvarinallūr, on the north-west the same (?), on the north Kongarāyanellūr, and the same on the north-east. It was divided into thirty-two shares and distributed among Brāhmanas who had different *gōtras*, *sūtras* and *śākhās*. The names of the Brāhmanas, however, are not given as promised. One share each was given to the gods Vishnu and Śiva in the village, and the *śāsana*-engraver Mallanāchārya gets, as usual, one share for his work.

Regarding the date, the Hon'ble Mr L D Swamikannu Pillai, C I E, kindly furnishes us with the following note.—

“ Ś 1450, Sarvajit, Monday, Utthāna-Dvādaśī, in the month of Kārttika

Kārttika Śu 12 is called Utthāna-Dvādaśī (*Ind Ephemeris*, p XIX) In A D 1527=Ś 1450 (current) Sarvajit, Utthāna-Dvādaśī or Kārttika Śu 12 fell on Monday, 4th November A D 1527 the *tithi* commenced at 19 *ghatikās* after mean sun-rise on Monday and came to end on Tuesday at 15½ *ghatikās* after mean sun-rise.”

At the end of the inscription we are told that the composer of the document was Sabhāpati, and the engraver Mallanāchārya, son of Vīranāchārya.

The following are the names of places, etc., mentioned in the record —Ēkāmbapuram, Vadambūr or Vedambūr, Tiruvālūr, Śūttavalichōda-valanādu, Ālangudi, Mānāvarinallūr, Kongarāyanellūr, Tirukalambūdūr or Tirukalambur, Śēdirāyanallūr, Vēlāngudi and the rivers Kāvērī and Rushi. Of these Tiruvālūr has already been identified with the town of that name in the Negapatam Taluk, Śūttavalichōda-valanādu, which is one of the divisions of the Chōla days, takes its name from the village whose modern spelling is Śittamallī and which is situated in the Mannārgudi Taluk, Ālangudi, Kongarāyanellūr, Tirukalambūr and Vēlāngudi are in the Nannilam Taluk of the Tanjore District. We are not able to identify Vadambūr, Ēkāmbapuram, Mānāvarinallūr, Śēdirāyanallūr and the river Rushi.

B

TEXT 1

[Metres v 25, *Sragdharā*, vv 26-43, 45-46, *Anushtubh*, v 44, *Śālīnī*]

(Lines 1 to 52 have been omitted, as they agree with the text of the Conjeeveeram Plates of the same king published on pp 126-29 of *Ep Ind*, Vol XIII)

Second Plate First Side

- 53 * * * स्तुयौदार्य² सुधीभिः स विजयनगरे रत्नशि³हासन-
 54 [स्य] [*] क्षमापाल⁴ कृष्णराय(:)क्षितिपतिरधरीकृत्य नीत्या नृगादी-
 55 [न्] । [आ]पूर्वाद्वैरथास्तक्षितिधरकटकादा च हेमा[च]लाता⁵[दा से]-
 56 तौर(ऽ)र्यिसार्थ(:)श्रियमिह बह्वीकृत्य कीर्ति⁶ समिधे ॥[२५*] शालिवा-
 57 [ह]ननिर्नी⁷[ते*] शकाब्दे सचतु⁸[*]शतै⁹[*] । पंचाशद्वर्ष¹⁰कै¹¹[युंते*]: सख्या-
 त¹² [द*]शभि¹³[*] श[ते]¹⁴[*] । २६*

¹ From inked impressions prepared under the supervision of Mr T A Gopinatha Rao

² Read स्तुयौदार्य

³ Read रत्न

⁴ Read क्षम

⁵ Read क्षमापाल

⁶ Read र

⁷ Read सख्याते

⁸ Read क्षमापाल

⁹ Read रत्न

- 58 सर्वजिह्वसरे श्लाघ्ये कार्तिके 'चंद्रवासरे । उद्या²नद्वादशोति-
- 59 [द्य]यापुं³ण्यकाले शुभे दिने ।[। २७*] तंगभद्रानदीतीर(३) विरुपाक्षस्य⁴
संनि-
- 60 धौ । अग्रहारचकीर्षायो⁵ परमप्रीतिमा(।)⁶ तदा ।[। २८*] विचित्राणि
'च [गो]-
- 61 [त्र]ाणि [सूत्राणि*] विविधानि च । शाखाश्च विविधास्त्वानि⁷ नामानि
विवि-
- 62 [ध]ानि च ।[। २९*] विभ्राणेभ्या⁸ द्विजाति[भ्यो] वेदविद्भ्यो विश⁹ षत[ः।*]
भृदान-
- 63 [प]ात्रभूतेभ्यो विशृतेभ्योधिमेदिनी¹⁰ ।[। ३०*] चाडमंडलसंमध¹¹तिरु-]
- 64 [व]ालूरिसीमनि । ¹²शुत्तवळीचोडवळना[डु]आलंगुडिस्यले ।[। ३१*] क[।]-
- 65 वेरिदक्षिणद्वागे सर्वसस्यापशामिते¹³ । मानवारोचने[झू]रुप्रा-¹⁴
- 66 च्यां दिशिमुपाशितं¹⁵ ।[। ३२*] कोग¹⁶रायाख्यने[झू]रुदक्षिण[स्यां दिशि]

Second Plate Second Side

- 67 [स्थि]तुं¹⁷ । ¹⁸तिरुकळंश्रीवूदूरुपचमायां दिशि स्थित¹⁹ [॥ ३३*]
- 68 वेलांगुडिवर(।)ग्रामादुदीच्या दिशिमा²⁰श्रितं [।*] रुषीन[द्या]-
- 69 ख्यतत्तीरग्रामपचमत²¹श्रितं ।[। ३४*] वडंबूरिसमं²² नाम येकां-
- 70 वरपुरं तथा । प्रतिनाम क्रिष्णरायपुरमित्यभिशाभितं²³ ।[। ३५*] आ[म]-²⁴
- 71 आसार्थं मस्यव²⁵ चारुग्राममहोत्तकं । ²⁶तग्रामपूर्वदिग्भागे सुच[त्र]-
- 72 [वलि]मासकं²⁷ ।[। ३६*] निधिनिक्षपपाषाणसिध²⁸साध्यजलान्वजः²⁹ । अक्षि-
- 73 ख्यागामिसयुक्त समस्तवलयान्वित[म्*] [॥ ३७*] पुत्रपौत्रादिभिः(ः)भोग्यं क्र[मा]-

¹ [The reading is चद्र and must be corrected into चद्र --Ed.]

² Read °त्या

⁵ Read व्या पु

⁴ Read °जस्य.

³ Read यां

⁶ Read °सांक्ष

⁷ Read °क्षानि

⁸ Read भ्यो

⁹ Read श्रे

¹⁰ Read विष्णु° and °मेदिनि

¹¹ Read °चोख° and °संबड°

¹² Read °नाडावा°

¹³ Read कावेर्या दक्षिणे भागे सर्वसस्योपशोभिते

¹⁴ Read मानावरिनझू as in ll 84 and 85 below.

¹⁵ Read प्राचीं दिशिमुपाशितम्.

¹⁶ Read ङ

¹⁷ Read तम्

¹⁸ Lines 80 and 82 below read तिरुकळवू without the penultimate consonant द्र

¹⁹ Read पयि° and °स्थितम्

²⁰ Read °दीचीं दिशिमा°.

²¹ Read दिसत,स्थि° [स्थ at the beginning of the line must be changed into द° —Ed.]

²² The anusvāra on स is merged slightly in the top line of the next letter Read एकां.

²³ Read प्रतिनामा ऋण and शोभितम्.

²⁴ There is a dot on आ resembling an anusvāra

²⁵ Read °मस्येव

²⁶ Read तद्गाम°

²⁷ Read सुदीवावलिमलक

²⁸ Read निक्षेप and सिद्ध

²⁹ Read °नितम्

- 74 [दा]चदतारक । सत्ति[र*]खपगोधाभापृथकं दत्तवान्मदा¹ ।[३८*] तच्च
 75 [दा]घिशतिं ²त्रित्तिकत्ता[इ]त्वा समान्निन । ³त्रित्तिमती विलि[स्य]-
 76 ते [वे]दवेदागपारगा. ॥[३९*] श्व⁴ग्रामदेवयोश्चैव श्वेदेवाययारपि
 77 । पूजानेवेद्यभोगार्थं ⁵त्रित्तिराद्या [म*]मपितं ॥[४०*]

Third Plate First Side

- 78 तैस्त'समन्विताश्चिह्ने दिक्षु प्राच्यादिप³ क्रमात् । सोमनुसा⁹ यज्ञा-
 79 रस्य लिख्य[न*]ते देशभापया ॥ ४१*] वेडवूरुयेकांवरपुरतुक्¹⁰ प्रतिभास-
 80 मान क्रि¹¹णरायपुरतुक्¹² वेह्ले¹³ विवर¹⁴ [।*] किळक्कि¹⁵ तिरुक्कवूरि¹⁶
 81 येह्ले चंदु¹⁷ मनेरु नडुविल्लु वामनमुद्रक¹⁸ ॥ आ[ग्ने]यत्त[कु]¹⁹ ति[र]-
 82 कळवूरि²⁰ वलाकंहि वेडवूरि[ल्]²¹ यज्ञ चंदु¹⁷ [कु]कुडिन वामनमुद्रक¹⁸-
 83 लु ॥ ²²तिर्क वै[ला]कुडि शेटिरायनल्ल²² वेड(।)वूरि[न्]²³ येह्ले चेंदु¹⁷ कूडि-
 84 न वायनमुद्रक²³ ॥ तैमेन्मूले²⁴ शेटिरायनल्ल²⁵ मानावरी.²⁶
 85 नल्ल²⁷ वेडवूरि[न्*] येह्ले चेंदु¹⁷ कूडिन²⁷ सुक्कलि²⁸ वामनमुद्रक²⁹ ॥
 86 मेक्कु मानावरिनल्ल[र*] येह्ले चेंदु¹⁷ कूडिन²⁷ वामनमुद्रक²³ ॥ ते-
 87 कु^{29a} वडमल मूलशार³⁰ येह्ले चेंदु¹⁷ कूडिन वामनमुद्रक²³ ॥ वड[कु]-
 88 शार [को]गरायनेल्ल[र*] येह्ले चेंदु¹⁷ कूडिन वामनमुद्रक²³ ॥ वडक्के-
 89 डकमूले³⁰ कोगरायनेल्ल³¹ वेडवूरि³¹ येह्ले चेंदु¹⁷ कूडिन वामनमुद्रक³²-
 90 कल्ल²³ ॥—॥ येक्केव³³ भगिनो लोके सर्वपामा³³व भूभुजां [।*] न भोज्या
 न कर-

- 91 प्राच्या विप्रदत्ता³⁴ वसुधरा ॥[४२*] दानपालनयोमं ध्ये दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपा-
 92 लन । दानात्स्वर्गमवाप्नाति पालनाद[च्यु]त पद ॥[४३*] सामान्योयं ध-

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| 1 Read ०मुदा | 3 Read दाचिशत इक्षी कल्पयित्वा | 5 Read इति० |
| 4 Read ख | 6 Read यो | |
| 8 Read इति० and ०पिता | 7 Read तैस्तेष्ट० and ०दिक्षु | |
| 6 Read प्राच्यादिपु | The secondary ā symbol of प्रा looks like a line representing a stop rather than like the secondary symbol | |
| 9 Read सोमानीया० | 10 Read पुरतुक्कु | 11 Read कु. |
| 12 Read ०चुक्कु | 12 Read ए० | 14 Read ०र |
| 15 Read किळक्के | 16 Read तिरुक्कळ वूरिल्लु | 17 Read एन् चिन्न |
| 18 Read नडुविल्लु and ०मुद्रकल्ल. | 19 Read यचुक्कु० | 20 Read तिरुक्कळवूरु येन्नाकुडि |
| 21 Read तैक्के वे० | 22 and शेटिरायनल्ल ²² वेडवूरिन् | 23 Read सुद्र कल |
| 24 Read तैमेन्मूले | 25 Read हू | 27 Read चिन्न कूडिन |
| 28 Read सुक्कलि | 26 Read ०रि | 30 Read वडक्कळ मूल |
| 31 Read वेडवूरिन् | 27 Read वडमल मूल शार | 33 Read वे |
| 34 Read ता | 28 Read इत्ये | |

- 93 मशतुं नृ^१पाणां [काले*] काल २पोलनीया भवद्भिः । सर्वनेता^३ भाविनः [पा]-
 94 र्थिवेद्रा^४ भूयो भूयो याचते रामचंद्रः ॥[४४*] कृष्णदेवमहारायशासने-
 95 न सभापतिः । ५युक्तवान्मुदसदत्तं तदिदं तावुशासन ॥[४५] मल्लणाचा-
 96 [य]वर्य[.*] श्रीवीरणाचार्यनदनः । आकल्पमश्रुतायिक^६ त्रित्ति^७ शास-
 97 नलेखकः ॥—॥ [४६*],
 98 श्रीविरूपक्ष^८ [॥*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

(Verses 26-40) In the year one thousand four hundred and fifty of the Śaka era, corresponding to the (cyclic) year Sarvajit, on Monday in the month Kārttika and the Utthāna dvādaśī tithi, the king Krishnadēva-Mahārāya granted as an *agrahāra* the village of Vadambūr-Ēkāmbārapuram to a number of Brāhmanas of various *gōtras*, *sūtras*, *sākhās* and of different names, who are well versed in the *Vēdas*, fit to receive land-grant and well known. The village granted was in the Tiruvālūr-sīma and belonged to the Chōla-mandala, it was situated in the Ālangudi-sthala in the Śuttavalichōda-valanādu, on the south of the river Kāvērī. It stood to the east of Mānāvarinallūr, to the south of Kongarāyanellūr, to the west of Tirukalambūdūr and to the north of the village of Vēlāngudi, on the river Rushi. The village was divided into thirty-two shares and given to learned Brāhmanas by the pouring of water together with gold. One share was given to each of the gods Śiva and Viṣṇu in that village. (The rest of the plate is left unengraved, perhaps it was meant to fill up the names of donees.)

[V 41 states that the boundaries, etc., will be given in the language of the country in which the village is situated.]

(Ll. 79-90) The details of the boundaries, of Krishnarāyapuram alias Vadambūr-Ēkāmbārapuram are —

On the east the boundary line joins the boundary of Tirukalambūr and touches the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā* in the middle of Munnēru

On the south-east the stone bearing the *Vāmana mudrā* at the point where Tirukalambūr and Vēlāngudi join the boundary of Vedambūr

On the south the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā* at the point where Vēlāngudi and Śēḍiyarāyanallūr join the boundary of Vedambūr

At the south-west corner the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā* at the meeting point where Śēḍiyarāyanallūr and Mānāvarinallūr join the boundary of Vedambūr

On the west the boundary line joins the boundary of Mānāvarinallūr and touches the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā*

At the north-west corner the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā*

On the north the boundary line joins the boundary of Kongarāyanellūr and touches the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā*, and

On the north-east the stone bearing the *Vāmana-mudrā* at the point where Kongarāyanellūr meets the boundary of Vedambūr

[Vv 41-43 The usual admonitory verses.]

[V 44 states that Sabhāpati composed the document at the command of Krishnadēva-Mahārāya.]

[V 45 Allots one share to the engraver of the *śāsana*, Mallanāchārjya, son of Viranāchārjya.]

(Ll 98) Śrī-Virūpāksha, (the sign-manual of the king)

^१ Read °सेतु नृ ^२ Read काले पालनीयो ^३ Read तान् ^४ Read °वेन्द्रान्

^५ Read °युक्तवान्मुदसदत्तं तदिदं तावुशासनम्

^६ Read °तामिक

^७ Read त्रित्ति

^८ Written in Telugu Kannada script. Read °विष्णवाय.

No 22—INSCRIPTIONS OF HULI

BY LIONEL D BARNETT

The village of Hūli, anciently termed Pūli, lies in circa long. $75^{\circ} 14'$, lat $15^{\circ} 47\frac{1}{2}'$,¹ about five miles east-by-north of Saundatti, the chief town of the Parasgad Taluk of the Belgaum District. It was formerly a town of considerable importance, and was one of the "Eighteen Agrahāras" (*Dynasties of the Kan Distr*, p 443n), as some of its inscriptions testify. In his *Archæological Survey of Western India Report of the First Season's Operations* (1874), pp 12-14, Dr Burgess has given an account of its chief architectural remains, and in 1882 the late Dr Fleet made a survey of its epigraphic records, as a result of which a number of ink-impressions were prepared for him, which are now in the possession of the Trustees of the British Museum.² Of this collection the texts published below are the most important. Their provenance is as follows —

- A (a *vīra-gal*), of A D 985, from the north of the Bhīmēśvara or Andhakēśvara temple
- B (Jain), of A D 1044-45 and 1145, from the temple of Virabhadra
- C (Vaishṇava), of A D 1082, from the same temple
- D (of the cult of Harihara), of A D 1097, from the same temple
- E (Śaiva), of A D 1104, 1162, 1184, and 1224, from the temple of Madanēśvara
- F (Śaiva), of A D 1107, from the temple of Kere-Siddhappa
- G (a *vīra-gal*), of A D 1107, from a site north of the Bhīmēśvara temple
- H (Jain), date lost, from the Pañcha-linga temple
- I-J (Śaiva), from the same temple
- K (Śaiva), from the Bhīmēśvara temple
- L (Vaishṇava), of A D 1162, from the Virakta-matha
- M (Vaishṇava) of A D 1162, from the Agastyēśvara temple

Of these temples the largest is the Pañcha-linga, on which see Burgess, *First Arch Report*, pl xv and xvi. Burgess attributes it to about A D 1100. It was originally Jain, as is shown by the figure of a Jina on the lintel, and by some Jain inscriptions, one of which, carved over the lintel of a door, records some building executed by the lay-disciples of Prabhāchandra Siddhāntadēva in the Śaka year (lapsed) 114[2], corresponding to the cyclic year Vikrama, i.e. A.D. 1220-21. Now, as the name implies, it has been converted to the service of the Śaiva cult. The temple of Virabhadra is a modern and insignificant building near the tank, which lies on the north-east of the village. That of Bhīmēśvara, which the villagers seemed inclined to call Andhakēśvara, lies on the north of the village, in Survey No 693. It was already partially ruined in 1882, and was covered by a rank growth of prickly pear. It is in the Dravidian style, without porch, and contains two shrines, one at the east end and one at the west. The temple of Madanēśvara, as the villagers call it (it is termed Andhakēśvara by Sir Walter Elliot, but the inscriptions call it the temple of Andhāsura), lies to the north of the village, a little way up the hill, in Survey No 688. It is a Śaiva sanctuary of the Dravidian order, containing a porch, open *manṭapa*, and shrine with *linga*. The Agastyēśvara is a sandstone temple, situated on the eastern bank of the Nāgara Bhāvi, a well or small tank on the north of the tank marked in Survey No 694, it is of the Dravidian order, and consists of a porch (now ruined), walled *manṭapa*, and shrine with *linga*. The temple of Kere-Siddhappa

¹ This is the situation according to the Bombay Survey sheet No 305, where it is entered as "Kasba Huli." In the Indian Atlas sheet 41 (1852), where the name is spelt "Hoolie," it is a little further towards the east.

² To the same departed friend I owe drafts of the texts, which have greatly lightened the labour of making my own transcripts, and some notes on the archæological remains of Hūli.

pa, or "Siddhappa of the Tank," stands on the eastern side of the tank marked in Survey No 694, towards the north-east of the village. It is of sandstone, of the Dravidian order, containing a shrine with *linga*, walled *mantapa*, and porch (now in ruins). The *Virakta matha* is (or was) a building in the north-eastern part of the village, which served for lodging ascetics.

The Elliot Collection (Royal Asiatic Society's copy) contains transcripts of nine of these inscriptions. D is given in vol 1, fol 233a, E 1b, fol 284b, F 1b, fol 307a, G 1b, fol 306b, H 1b, fol 412a, I in vol 2, fol 374b, J 1b, fol 374b, K 1b, fol 375a, and M 1b, fol 11a. As usual, these transcripts leave much to be desired.

A — OF THE REIGN OF TAILA II SAKA 907

The following inscription is incised upon a black stone which was found to the north of the Bhimēśvara or Andhakēśvara temple, on the west bank of the Akkatangēia-bhāvi, in Survey No 693. The slab was set in a base, and was 5 ft 2 in in height and 2 ft 1 in broad. It was a *vīra-gal*, or hero's monument, and in accordance with the usual practice was divided into horizontal compartments, four containing sculptures and three writing. Of the sculptures I have been unable to obtain particulars. The first compartment of the writing (about 5¼" high) contains ll 1-4, the second (about 3¼" high) ll 5-9, the third (about 2½" high) ll 10-11. The inscription is fairly well preserved, and is in good Kannaṇḍa script, with letters between ½" and ⅝" in height. The special form of *y* noted above, Vol XII, p 336, seems to occur in *bhaṇḍiy*, l 3. — The language is Old Kannaṇḍa. ll 1-4 are in prose, and then come three verses. The forms are those of a transitional period: thus we find the short accusative and genitive, the locative in *-ol* (ll 5-8, 10), and the verbal forms *irḍan* (l 5), *irḍan* (l 7), *ṣaṇḍar* (l 4), beside the archaic verbal forms *āntoran* (l 5) and *hūḍḍon* (l 8). The word *eltuṣ* apparently the original of the later *ottu*, seems to occur in *bhaṇḍiy=eltam*, l 3. The *l* is not preserved, except in *negalḍa* (ll 8-9).

The record is of the usual type of *vīra-gal*. It announces that on a certain date Dadda payya, a *pergade* or official in the service of Sōbhanayya, made a raid upon Pūli, whereupon Kendara Kēta, Erevitta, and Tambada Kēta attacked his party, slew the leader, his horse, and three of his men, and died the death of heroes. Verses 1-2 (ll 5-9) eulogise Kendara Kēta, the mutilated and obscure verse 3 mentions a certain Kendara Marasiṅga as dying heroically in battle.

The date of this record is Śaka 907 expiṇḍ, the cyclic year Pārthiva, the full moon of Chaitra, Budhavāra, or Wednesday (ll 1-2). These details are slightly irregular: the *tithi* Chaitra *śukla* 15 of the given year corresponded to Monday, 9 March, A D 985, on which day it ended about 16 h 47 m after mean sunrise, and it cannot have been connected with the Wednesday¹.

The only place mentioned is Pūli, i.e. Hūli (l 2).

TEXT.²

[The metres are: verse 1, *Mattēbha vāhridita*, verse 2, *Kanda*. The fragmentary verse 3 may possibly be a *Dvipada*.]

- 1 ☉ Svasti [|*] Sa(śi)ka-nṛpa-kāl-ātita-samvatsaramga³ 907neya Pārthiva-samvatsarada
- 2 Chaitrada puṇṇame Budhavāraḍandu Sōbhanayyana perḡgade Daddapayyam Pūliya po-

¹ I am indebted to Mr R Sewell for the verification of my calculations of this and the other dates in the present paper.

² From the ink-impression.

³ Abbreviated for *samvatsara-satamgala*.

- 3 lada bhandiy¹=eltam lemman=akaranum kondu poge Kendara Kētanum Erovit-
tanum Tambada
- 4 Kētanum paricheh²(chchihē)dam-geyda mūvum m³l-ālum Indu-yum⁴[m⁵]
kondu mōkshakke sanda⁵ [||*]
- 5 Duradol=kāydu kadamgi pomgi maled=ōi-ant-iydm-eytanda² machchavadinda-
āntōian=Anta-
- 6 kamg=idad[e³] kol-chaud=ikk¹ mikk=ī vasun[dh]neyol-tan[n]-vada⁵um potāpamum-
ad=ā iāj-ōttamain pe[ī]chch³
- 7 Kendara Kēta[m³] vara-Vāsuv-ā[m³]ganeyarol kūd-ildan-a sanggadol | [1*]
Tōdum bīdum=ad=uduga-
- 8 de pād=arid=echeh=āp-īamgadol vāpya[n]=alī-ādī su-ā[m³]ganeyarolam kūdidon-
ēm kaliye nega-
- 9 lda Ken[dara Kētam ||] [2*]
- 10 Sī[m]gam=ibhamgalam nuguv=ante⁴ tana⁵ . gi sanggadol lahida Kendara
Marasim-
- 11 gam me . . . m gandan=adatanō || [3*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-4) Hail! On Wednesday, the full-moon day of Chaitra of the 907th (*year*) of the centuries elapsed from the time of the Śaka king, the cyclic year Pārthiva, when Śōbbhanayya's officer Daddapayya without right or reason was carrying away the cart-oxen(?) of the fields of Pūli, Kendara Kēta and Erovitta and Tambada Kēta, slaying the three men forming the division, the leader, and his horse, attained salvation

(Verse 1) He stood worthily fighting in the fray, burning, striving, boiling when, advancing⁶ with indignation he despatched his adversaries to the Death-god, exercising the opportunity for slaughter (?), his prowess and majesty were extraordinary on this earth, and this noble prince becoming great, Kendara Kēta was united in paradise to Indra's goodly damsels

(V 2) Shooting on the stage of battle his arrows with understanding of the right manner, so that the fitting (*of the shafts on the bow-string*) and then discharge did not slacken, when he was exhausted he espoused the celestial ladies what a hero is the illustrious Kendara Kēta!

(V 3) As a lion crushes elephants Kendara Marasimma, who passed away in battle what a man of valour and spirit!

B—OF THE REIGNS OF SOMESVARA I AND JAGADEKAMALLA II
SAKA 986 AND 1067

This record is carved on a black stone set upright in the ground against the outside of the western face of the Virabhadra temple (see above) The stone when found was 4 ft 7 in high and 1 ft 8 in wide The upper compartment, which was rounded on the top, contained sculptures, viz, in the centre, a squatting Jina facing to the front, with a cow and calf on the proper right and a scimitar on the left, while above these was the sun (to left) and moon (to right) The inscribed area below this is 3 ft 1 in high and 1 ft 7½ in wide—The character is Old Kanarese, the average height of the letters in ll 1-2 being from ⅞ in to ⅓ in.

¹ The *y* is uncertain

² For *perchche*?

³ The *t* is somewhat uncertain it is written very small, below the line

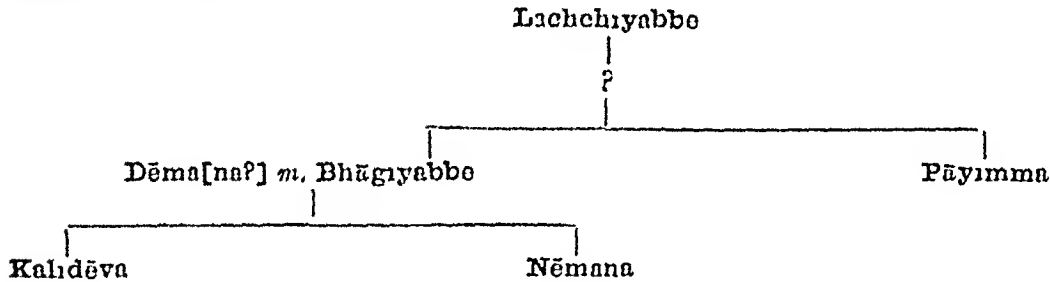
⁴ Reading *eytanda* for the *eytanda* of the stone

⁵ Perhaps to be corrected to *eytanda*

⁶ The *e* is not quite clear

and in l 3 from $\frac{1}{8}$ in to $\frac{1}{4}$ in, after which it increases gradually to between $\frac{1}{4}$ in to $\frac{1}{2}$ in. It is a fairly good type of the script used in the middle of the 12th century A D (see below) — The language is throughout Old Kannarese verse and prose, with the exception of the introductory Sanskrit verse. The *l* is not preserved instead we find *l* in *elgeyam* (l 12), *pogalut* (l 13), *podalda* (l 16), *nālke* (l 16), *pīlu* (l 20), *pēl* (l 54), and on the other hand *r* in *ordda* (l 6) and *regardda* (ll 12, 18). On the instrumental *utthaye* (l 14) see above, Vol XIV, p 27, n 9. Of some lexical interest are the words *chatta-samaya* (l 9), ⁽²⁾*āyavana* (l. 9), *limkad=amka-pīlula* (l 14), and *adda-chinna* (ll 35-49).

The record is a double one, containing two endowments, the first of which is dated in Saka 966 and the second in Śaka 1067. It was actually written in its present form in the latter year, as is proved by the absence of comminatory formulæ and the character of the script. The first part refers itself to the reign of Āhavamalla (Sōmēśvara I) in ll 3-5, and then proceeds to celebrate in verse his feudatory Kāladiya Bōlegadi (or Bōdrgadi), the governor of a Ninety-six district, whose son Pāyimma married Hammikabbe and by her had two daughters, Bhāgenabbe and Lachchale or Lachchiyabbe. Lachchale married a governor of the Kūndi Threo-thousand, and was a generous benefactress of religion (ll 5-15). After some verses in praise of Pūli and the thousand Brāhman burgesses of that town (ll 15-20) comes a prose statement that these burgesses sold to Lachchiyabbe an estate, on which she constructed a Jain sanctuary assigning certain lands for the maintenance thereof, and appointing as trustee Bālachandra-Bhattārakadēva (ll 20-37). Then begins the second document (ll 37-54), which announces that in the reign of Jagadēkamalla (II) a local *pergade* named Nēmāna or Nēmāyya, having purchased some land from the burgesses of Pūli, made a further endowment to the same sanctuary for the maintenance of the ascetics residing in it, the trustee being a certain Rāmachandradēva. This Nēmāna was a great-grandson of the above-mentioned Lachchiyabbe, his pedigree being as follows —



The document then ends somewhat abruptly, without any concluding formulæ.

This record, being twofold, contains two dates. The first is given on ll 20-22 as Śaka 966 expired, the cyclic year Tārana, Pushya śuddha 10, Ādivāra (Sunday), the *uttarāyana samkrānti*. These details have been recently examined by Mr A Venkatasubbiah in *Some Saka Dates in Inscriptions*, p 129, who remarks as follows: "Tārana by the northern luni-solar system = Ś 966 = A D 1042. In this year, śu 10 of the lunar month Pushya ended at 44 gh 21 p after mean sunrise on 24th December, on which day, the Makara-sankrānti occurred at 14 gh 38 p after mean sunrise according to the Sūrya Siddhānta. The week-day however was Friday and not Sunday. In the solar month Pushya, i e Makara or Tai, [Māgha-]śu 10 ended at 11 gh 36 p after mean sunrise on Sunday, 23rd January, A D 1043. The [Kumbha-]sankrānti, which occurred at 41 gh 32 p (S S) after mean sunrise on the preceding Saturday, fell, i e was observed, on this Sunday. This day, therefore,—Sunday, 23rd January, A D 1043—is the regular equivalent of the given date."¹

¹ Kuhlhorn in his *List of Southern Inscriptions* (above, Vol VII, App, No 159) gives as the equivalent Sunday 23 December, A D 1044. [But the *tithi* ought to be the first and not the 10th, see *Ind Ant* Vol XXIV, p 6, No 148.—Ed.]

The second date is given on ll 40-41 as Śaka 1067 (expued), the cyclic year Krōdhana, the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*. Naturally this cannot be verified. The *samkrānti* took place 20 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on Monday, 24 December, A.D. 1145, and 1 Makara was accordingly reckoned as corresponding to Tuesday, 25 December.

The places mentioned, besides Pūli, are Kūndi (l 14), the Belvala nādu (l 16), Śiveyagēri (ll 34, 47), Kalaśavalligēri (l 48), and a nameless Ninety-six district (l 6). For Belvala see above, Vol. XIII, p. 40. On the Kūndi Three-thousand see I A, Vol. XXIX, p. 278. The other places I am unable to identify. Kalaśavalligēri was a parish (*lēri*) in Pūli.

TEXT¹

[The metres are as follows: verse 1, *Anushtubh*, verses 2, 3, and 8, *Kanda*, verse 4, *Utpala-mālā*, verses 5 and 6, *Champaka-mālā*, verses 7 and 9, *Mattēbha-vikrīḍita*]

- 1 ॐ Śrīmat-parama-gambhīra-syādvād-āmōgha-lāmcchcha(chclha)nam [1*] jiyā[t*]
traiḷo-
- 2 kya-nāthasya śāsanam Jīna-śāsanam || [1*]
- 3 ॐ Svasti [1*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Prithvi-vallabha mahāīājādhnāja paramēśvara
paramabhattāra-
- 4 kam Satyāśraya-kula-tīlakam Chāluky-ābharanam śrīmad-Āhavamalladēvara
vijaya-rājya-
- 5 m=uttar-ōttar-ābhivṛddhi-pravarddhamānam=a-chamdr-āīkka-tāram saluttam=ire ||
Tat-pāda-padm-ōpajīvi || Mēl-e-
- 6 rddā² pagevaram nirmūli(h)si jasamam nirmrchchi dīg-bhittī-varam Kāladiya
Bōlagadi³ tale⁴ pāli(h)sīdam Tombat-ā-
- 7 rumam bhūja-baladim || [2*] Ātana putram vinay-ōpētam Pāyimmma-nri(nri)patig=
oppuva satī
- 8 vikhyāti-ynte Hammikabbegē Sitegē sarī Bhāgenabbo Lachchaleyy=ogedaru ||
[3*] Ishta-ja-
- 9 nakke chatta-samayakke mahājana-bhōjanakkey=utkri(kri)shta-tapōra(dha)narggey=
alid=āyava-
- 10 nakke sa-kamnyak-ālik-a(ā)gnishtageg=eyde nālku-samayakk=anurāgade bhgav⁵=im-
- 11 tu samtushtate Lachchiyabbīrasig=ār=ssatī(rī)yar=ssa-char-āchar-ōrvvīyolu || [4*]
- 12 Sakala-dharitriyol=negardda(līda) vandi-janam sale rūpin=ēlgeyam prakatate-vetta dā-
- 13 na-gunamam kulad-umnatīyam Jin-āmghrīgalg=akutīla-chittamam pogalut-ī[r]jppu-
- 14 dū Kūmdiya⁶ līmkad=amka-pālākana kul-ōttam-āmganeyan=artthiye Lachchaladēvi-
yam
- 15 jagam [ॐ 5*] ॐ Śaranidhi-mākhāl-āvrī(vrī)ta-vasumdharey=emba vilāsini-mukh-
āmburuhava(da)vōl=vīrājī-
- 16 suva Belvala-nālke(lge) podalāda śōbhag=āgaram=enī[s-ī]rppa Pūli tīlak-ākri(kri)-
tīyīmd=esed-īrppud=ā puram sura-pu-
- 17 ramam Kubōran=Alakāpuramam nagugum vilāsadim ॐ [6*] Alī || Sakala-
vyākaran-ārthā-śā-
- 18 stra-chayadolū kāvyamgalolū samda nātakadolū varnna-kavītvadol=negardda(līda)
vādāmtamgalolū
- 19 pāramā[rī]th[īka]dolū laukī[ka]dolū samasta-kaleyolū Vīgīśanīmdam yaśō-dhi-

¹ From the ink impression

² i.e., *rddā*

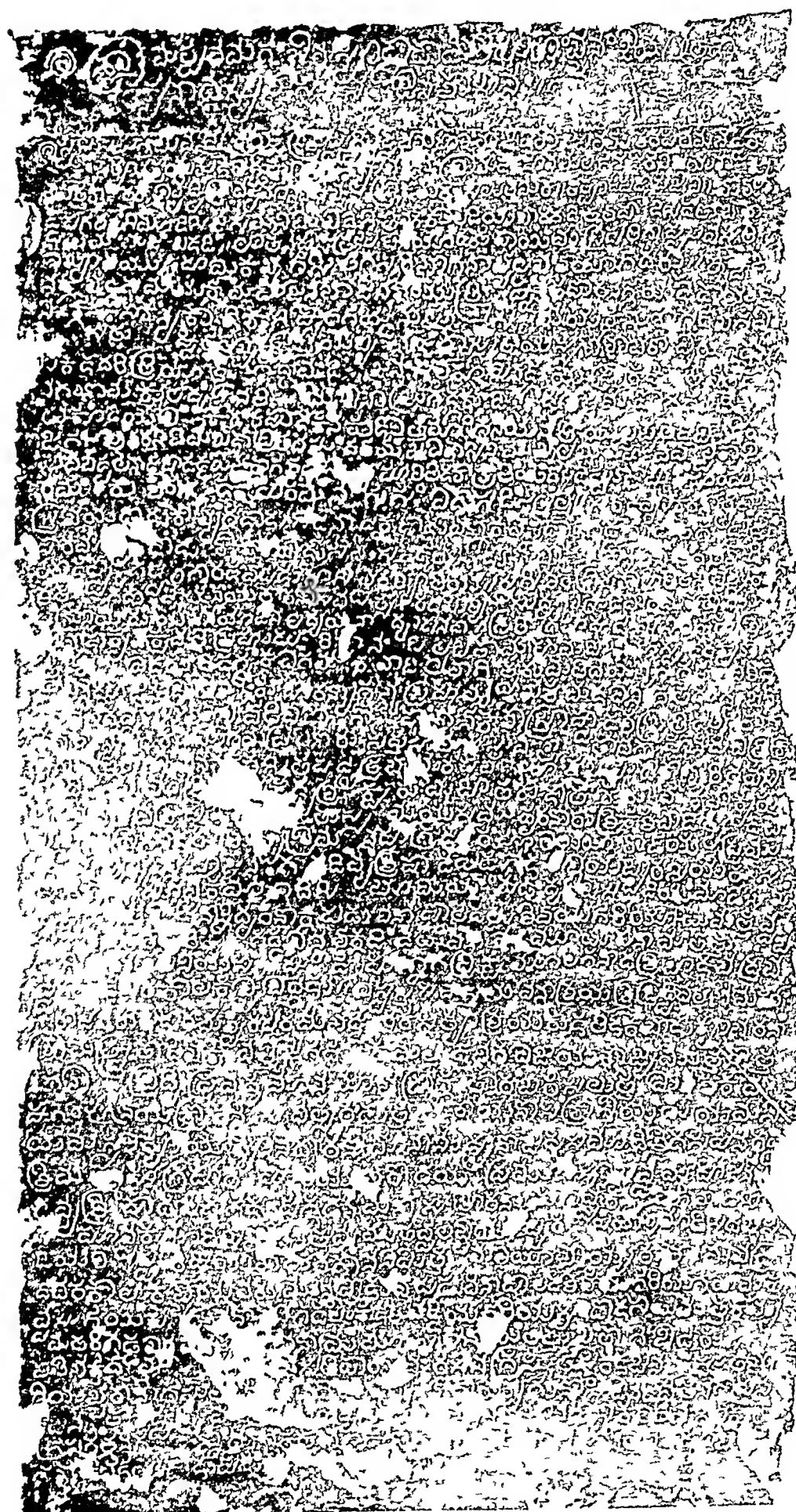
⁵ Or possibly *Bōdagadi*

⁴ For *sale*?

³ Or possibly *chēgav*=

⁶ [The *akghara* li looks like *br* on the plate—Ed.]

Huli Stone Inscription of the reigns of Somesvara I and Jagadekamalla II Saka 966 and 1067



2

4

6

8

10

12

14

16

18

20

22

24

26

28

30

32

34

36

38

40

42


44

46

48

50

52

- 20 kaī=ādar=ppogalva¹hg=ār=alave pēlu sāsirvvara khyātiyam || [7*] Svasti Śaka-
nri(nri)pa-kāl-ātita-samvatsara-
- 21 śatamgalu 966neya Tārana-samvatsarada¹ Puśya-sudhdha¹ 10 Ādivāram=
a(u)ttaiyana-
- 22 samkrāntiyamdu || Yajana-yājana-adhyayan-ādhyāpana-dāna-pratigraha-shat-karmma-
nuatarum śrī-
- 23 [ma]ch-Chālukya-chakravartti-Brahmu(hma)puri-sthānam(na)-pitri-pitāmaha - mahim-ās-
pada-rakshau-ā-
- 24 ittha-kōvidarum vidagdha-kavi-gamak[*]-vādi-vāgmitvarum=atithiy-abhyāgata-viśiṣhta-
25 jana-pūjana-priyarum Hiranyagai bhbha-Brahma-mukha-kamala-vinirggata-Ru(Ri)g-Yaju-
26 s-Sām-Atharvvana-samasta-vōdi(da)-vōdāmg-ōpāmg-ānēka-śāstr-āshṭādaśa-smri(smri)ti-pu-
rana-
- 27 kāvya-nātaka-dharmm-āgama-pravīṇai um sapta-sōma-samsth-āva bhrī(th)-āvagāhana-
pavītiikri(kri)-
- 28 ta-gātrai um kāmchana-ka[la]śa-sita-shat-chhatra-chāmara-pamcha-mahā-śabda-ghatikā-
bhāri-rava-ni-
- 29 nam(nā)ditai um=āśri[ta-jana]-kalpa-vri(vri)ksharum=abita-Kālāmtakarum=ēka-vākyarum
30 śaran-āgata-vajra-pa[m]ja[rarum cha]tus-samaya-samudhdhanarum śrī-Kēśavāditya-
dēva-
- 31 labdha-vaia-prasādarum=appa śrīman-mah-āgrahāram Pūhiy=ūr-odeya-pramū-
- 32 kha sāsirvvai=mmahājanamgala divya-śrī-pāda-padmamgalam [La]chchiyabbarasiyaru
sa-
- 33 hiraṇya-pūrvvakam=ārādhisi bhūmiyam padeṇu basadiyam mādisi kham-
34 da-sphu[ti]ta-jīṇ-ōdhddharanakke paduvana poladalu Śiveyagēny=āru-mattai=vva-
- 35 sugēyam ma[t]tarimg=adda-chinna-lekkadimd=aru-vapamam mūru panamam tett-
unib=am-
- 36 t=āgrī śrī-Yāpaniya-samghada Punnāgavri(vri)ksha-mūla-ganada śrī-Bālachandra-Bha-
37 ttarakadēvara kalam kaichchi bittalu ||  Svasti [1*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśraya
Śrī-Prī(pri)thvi-vallabha mahā-
- 38 rajādhiāja paramēśvara paramahattāarakam Satyāśraya-kula-tilakam Chāluky-
ābhānam
- 39 śrīmat-pratāpa-chakri(kia)vartti Jagadēkamelladēvara vijaya-rājyam=uttar-ōtta-
40 r-ābhivri(vri)dhidhi-piavardhdhamānam=ā-chamdr-ārka-tāram barain saluttam=ire [*]
Śaka-va-
- 41 rsha 1067neya Krōdhana-samvatsarad=uttarāyana-samkrāntiyamdu(du) yama-
ni-
- 42 yama-svādhyāya-dhyāna dhārana-mō(mau)n-ānushthāna(na)-japa-samādhi-śila-
sampamnnar=appa
- 43 śrīma[n]-mah-āgrahāram Pūhiy=ūi-odeya-pramukha sāsirvvar=mmahājanamga[la]
44 divya-śrī-pāda-padmamgalam perggade Nēmanam sa-hiraṇya-pūrvvakam=ārādhisi
[dhā]-
- 45 [rā]-pūrvvakam mīdisi kom[du] tamma mu[t*]tavve Lachchiyabbarasiyaru
mādisida basa-
- 46 diyal=uppa ri(ri)shiyar=āhāra-dāna-nimitam=alīy=ācharyyai Rāmachandra-
47 dēvara kalam karchchiy=avaru munnay=āluva paduvapa polada Śiveyagēny=
āru-matta-

¹ Read *Puśya-suddha*

TRANSLATIONS

(Verse 1) Victorious is the champion of the Jinas, which bears the infallible token of the noblest spirit of natives.¹

(Lines 3-5) When the victorious reign of — — — the — — — of — — — favourite of Fortune and Earth — — — up to — — — Batyūśraja's race, embellishment of the Chāṣukya, — — — Āhastamolla, — — — course of successively increasing prosperity, (to — — —) — — —

(L 5) One who finds his sustenance at his lotus feet —

(V 2) Uprooting high-rising foe, spreading abroad his fame as far as the quarters, Kāladiya Bōlagadi perfectly (?) protected the Kinoty six by the —

(V 3) To the renowned Hammilakko, the distinguished wife of the prince Pāyamma, a poet of Sita, were born Bhūgoṇakko and Lachchale

(V 4) In the *chatta-samaya*² of agreeable persons in the service of holders, in (the supply of) measured spoons³ to distribute help to — — — with rows of maidens, indeed, the four churches⁴ straightway were deluged who are equal to Lachchayabbarasi on the earth with its stock of living and

(V 5) While illustrious eulogists are active over the whole earth, praises for excellence of beauty, eminent generosity, distinction of race, and so the Jinas' feet Lachchadēvi, the exceedingly high-born wife of the — — — Kūṇḍi⁵

¹ Read *Kaṣṭaraṣṭhīrīya*

² This phrase is obscure. It seems most probable that *chaffe* is to be taken as a derivative of *chāṣṭa* (cf. Tamil *saṣṭa vaṣṭam*). Six *samayas* (schools of religion or philosophy) are often mentioned. The *Saṣṭa* — — — as orthodox the Bhairava, Vāma, Kālāṁkha, Mahāvṛata, Paṣṭapata and Saurā — — — the Lōkāyatas, Buddhists, Jains, Mīmāṁsikas, Pāṣṭharātras, and Bhāṭṭāchāryas. Another group is — — — Jains, Bhairavas, Kālāṁkhas, Lōkāyatas, and Sūnyavādins. Six Vaidic *samayas* are recognised, viz. Saura, Vaiṣṇava, Śākta, Saura, Gāṇapata, and Kaumāra, and there are six Vādic *samayas*, viz. Kapila, Kāṇḍa, Pāṭāṇala, Ākṣhapāda or Nyūya, Vāyāsa, and Jaiminiya. The Vādic *samayas* admit 6 *samayas* as orthodox, viz. those of Sankara, Yādava Mīra, Rāmāṇja, Madhva, Bhāṣkara, and Hiraṇyagarbha.

³ The reading here is certain, but the division and sense are not. *Ayaraṇa* is a rare Atharva vedic word explained as "stirring spoon", but here it seems to have another meaning.

⁴ The four *samayas* are the Māhēsvāras, Vaiṣṇavas, Buddhists and Jains.

⁵ I can only conjecture that *Iska* is connected with *Iska*, "servant" and that *arāṣa* is used in the sense of "war" (cf. *amkākāra*), the phrase would then mean something like "Commander of the military forces of Kūṇḍi" [See foot-note 6 p. 174 above—Ed.]

(V 6) Pāli, which is indeed a site of conspicuous charm, appears with the aspect of a beauty-spot upon the county of Belvala, which is radiant like the lotus-face of that fair lady the ocean-girdled earth. This town by its bright appearance laughs to scorn the city of the Gods and Kubēra's city of Alakā.

(L 17) In this (town)—

(V 7) In the series of all grammars and treatises on economic science, in poems, in goodly drama, in panegyric poetry, in the illustrious Upanishads, in transcendental and secular lore, in all arts, they have become superior in glory to the Lord of Speech [Brahman] say, who are equal to praising the renown of the Thousand?

(Ll 20-22) Hail! on Sunday, the occasion of the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*, being the 10th of the bright fortnight of Pushya in the cyclic year Tārana, the 988th of the centuries elapsed since the time of the Śaka king —

(Ll 22-23) Lachchiyabbarasi, having adored with (*offering of*) gold the divinely blest lotus-feet of the Thousand Mahājanas, headed by the mayor, of the great Agriahāra of Pāli, who are constant in the six duties of sacrifice by themselves and by others, study, teaching alms-giving, and acceptance (*of charity*),¹ skilful for the purpose of maintaining the rank of honour of father and grandfather at the establishment of the Chālukya Emperor's Brahmapuri,² accomplished as wits, poets, reciters, disputants, and rhetoricians, fond of serving guests, visitors, and men of culture, versed in all the Vēdas, the Rik, Yajus, Sāma, and Ātharvana, which have issued from the lotus-mouth of Hiranyagarbha-Brahman, and in the Vēdāngas, the subsidiary sciences, all books of teaching, the eighteen sacred law-books and Purānas, poems, dramas, and traditional rules of religion, whose bodies are purified by plunging in the baths of the seven *sōma-samsthās*,³ who are (*honoured*) with golden pitchers, six white parasols, and yak-tail fans and saluted with the five great musical sounds, gongs, and drums, who are ties of desire to clients, Kālantakas to adversaries, uniform of speech, adamant chambers to refuge-seekers, restorers of the four churches,⁴ and recipients of the grace of boons from the god Kēśavāditya,

(Ll 33-37) and having obtained (*from them*) land and constructed a sanctuary, laved the feet of Bālachandra-Bhattarakadēva, of the Punnāgavriksha Mūla-Gana in the Yāpaniya-Saṃgha, and granted for the restoration of broken, burst, and outworn (*buildings*) six *mattar* of *vasuge*⁵ at Śiveyagēri in the western field, to be enjoyed on payment of an *aru-vana*⁶ of three *panas*, at the rate of half a gold piece on each *mattar*.

(Ll 37-40) When the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Satyāśraya's race, embellishment of the Chālukyas, the august Emperor Jagadēkamalladēva, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (*to endure*) as long as moon, sun, and stars —

(Ll 40-41) on the occasion of the *uttarāyana-samkrānti* in the Śaka year 1087, the cyclic year Krōdhana,

(Lines 41-49) the sheriff Nēmana, having adored with (*offering of*) gold the divinely blest lotus-feet of the thousand Mahājanas, headed by the mayor, of the great Agriahāra of Pāli, who practise the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, spiritual concentration, observance of

¹ See Manu, i 88

² A quarter for the residence of Brāhmanas in connection with a temple

³ These rites are enumerated in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol VII : Sk 74

⁴ See above, on v 4 of this inscription

⁵ See Kittel, s. v. *hasfge*, and above, Vol XIII p 37

⁶ The *aru vana* is a quit rent for tenancy of land in connection with a religious establishment, here it amounted to $\frac{1}{2}$ pana per *mattar*, in all amounting to 3 *panas*

the votive of a prayer and absorption, and having arranged for purchase with pouring of water, for the purpose of furnishing food for the Rishis resident in the sanctuary constructed by his great-grandmother Lachchiyabbarasi, laved the feet of Hāmachandradēva and granted a *matṭar* of measure in the grounds of Kalasavalligūri in the part west of the six *matṭar* of *Śaṣṭyagūri* in the western field formerly under his seigniorage, to be enjoyed on payment of an annual sum of three *panas*, at the rate of half a gold piece per *matṭar*.

(V 8) Then Nēmayya, illustrious in virtues, is . . . son of the universally praised Bhāgiyabho rāni, the chaste wife of Dēma . . . and elder sister of Pāyimmaraṇa.

(V 9) A the Lord Jina is his friend that tree of desire to the needy . . . his father, Kalidēva the unstintingly bountiful and foremost among men of letters his elder brother, say, [who is equal] to Nēma, who is adorned by the jewels of virtue . . . and is blameless of conduct on the circling earth.

C—OF THE REIGN OF VIKRAMADITYA VI THE 7TH YEAR

This inscription is on a black stone built into the western wall inside the temple of Viśṇuādri, at its north-western corner. The stone itself was $\frac{1}{2}$ ft 11 in high and 2 ft $2\frac{1}{2}$ in broad. On the upper compartment, which was rounded, were the following sculptures: in the centre a standing figure of Viṣṇu, facing full front, to the proper right of this, a standing Garuda facing half towards Viṣṇu and half towards the front, to the left of Viṣṇu, a cow with calf, above the *o*, the sun (on left) and moon (on right). There may have been as other details concealed under the coating of chunnam upon the stone. Under this is the smaller lower, $\frac{1}{2}$ ft 3 in high and 2 ft $2\frac{1}{2}$ in wide.—The character is Kanarese of the period, a fine ornamental hand with a tendency towards flourish. The letters, which are generally well preserved, are from $\frac{1}{4}$ in to $\frac{3}{4}$ in high.—The language, with the exception of the final *śaṣṭyagūri* verses 112, and 13, is Old Kanarese. Initial *p* is preserved. The *re* in *reṣṭa* (l 22) and *reṣṭa* (l 23), where the vowel before it is metrically *re*, refer to my observations above, Vol XIII, p. 327. On the other hand, *reṣṭa* (l 15), *ilgum* (l 17), *balpadava* (l 26). The double *l* in *reṣṭa* (l 21), is worth notice of Pāṇini VIII iv 47, *Siddhānta* (l 4).

The record after refers itself in ll 2-5 to the reign of Tribhuvanamalla (Viśṇuādriya VI), gives in ll 5-11 details of an endowment consisting of certain lands, which were purchased by Kistavayana Ravikimayya-Nāyaka, a distinguished member of the *Thousand Burgesses* of Raviganigūri (a subdivision of the Thousand burgesses of *Viśṇuādri*) of a temple of Viṣṇu which he had built. After some hortatory remarks in ll 11-13 and verse (ll 15-17) the author proceeds to celebrate in verse Rājya's Pāṇini (ll 18-20) the Hundred of Pāṇi, the Hundred of Raviganigūri forming a part of the Hundred of the *Thousand Burgesses* (ll 17-20). The pedigree is as follows:

Dēma, of the *Śaṣṭyagūri*

Gormimayya

Rājya

Tikaraya

Kēśava





The date of the inscription is 7th year of the Chikilukya-Vikrama era, which corresponds to the year 1000 A.D. The *Śaṣṭyagūri* in question

occurred on Sunday, 25 December, A D. 1082, at 13 h 38 m after mean sunrise, and 1 Makara was accordingly reckoned as corresponding to the following Monday

The places mentioned, besides Pūli and the *tirthas* in l 15, are Raviyanagēri (ll 9, 20), the Belvala-nādu (l 17), Bhattara-kola or "The Bhaṭṭas' Lake" (l 11), and Kalkuṭigagere or "The Stonemasons' Tank" (l 11) On Belvala see above, Vol XIII, p 40 The other places seem to have been in or about Pūli, and can no longer be traced, Raviyanagēri was a parish (*kēri*, literally "street") of Pūli, as will appear below.

TEXT¹

[The metres are as follows verses 1, 13, *Anushtubh*, verse 2, *Mattēbha-vikrīḍita*, verses 3-9, 11, *Kaṇḍa*, verse 10, *Champakā-mālā*, verse 12, *Śālīni*]

- 1  Svasti [*] Jayaty-āvishkṛitam Viṣṇor=vvārūham kṣhōbhīt-ārṇnavam [*]
dakṣhūṇṇata-damshṭī-āgra-viśīṁta-bhuvanam vapu[h*] [1*] 
- 2  Svasti [*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Pṛithvi-vallabha mahārājādhuāja
paramēśvara paramabhaṭṭarakam Satyā-
3 śraya-kula-tīlakam Chālukya-ābharanam śrīmat-Trī(Trī)bhuvanamalladēvara vijaya-
rājyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhi-
4 vṛddhi-pravarddhamānam=ā-chamdr-ārka-tāram saluttam=ire [*] Śrīmach-
Chālukya-Vikrama-varshada 7neya
5 Dumndubhi-samvatsarad=uttarāyana-samkrāntiyandu | Svasti [*] Yama-niyama-
svādhyāya-dhyā-
6 na-dhāiana-mō(mau)n-ānushṭhāna(na)-japa-hōma-samādhi-sampannar=appa śrīmad-
agrahānam Pūli-
7 y=ūr-odeya-pramukha sāsuvvarum śrī-Kisuvāyara Ravikimayya-nāyakam
mādīsī-
8 da śrī-Nārāyana-dēvargge dharmm-ābhivṛddhi-nimitta[m dēva]ra jīrṇn-ōdhdhārāpa-
khanda-sphutitakkam suāna-
9 gandha-dhūpa-dīpa-nivēdyakkamv=amga-bhōgakkam satrakkam Raviyanagēriya
nūrvvara kayyol Ravikīma-
10 yya-nāyakam dravya-pūrvvakadim dhārā-pūrvvakam māḍīsī koṇḍu śrī-Nārāyana-
dēvargge Bhatta-
11 ra-koladalli biṭṭa mattar=āṅṇu Kalkuṭigagereyalli pāralu mattar=onḍu | Irnt=ī
dharmmamam sarvva-nama-
12 śya(sya)m=āṅṇi sāsuvvarum pratipāhsuvar=Idam pratipāhsidargge Vārapāsi
Kurukshētrav=Argghyatīrttham
13 Prayāge Gayey=emba tīrttha-sthānamgalol=mahū-dūnamgalam mādīda punyam=
akkum=imt=appudan=aṇḍu sū-
14 sūrvvarum dharmm-ōttar-ōttar-ābhivṛddhiy=app=amt=ā-chamdr-ārka-tāram-baram
pratipāhsuvar || Vṛitta || 

¹ From the ink-impression

- 15 ① Ivan=iy=amdadın=eyde pāḥṣidavamg=īṣṭ-ārṭṭha-samsiddhi sambhavikum
kond=alidamge Gamge Gaye Khē(Kē)dāram Kuru-
- 16 kshētram=emb=ivaṣol=pēsade pāivvaram goravaram gō-bṛṇdamam peṇḍuram tave
komd=ikkida pāpam=eydugum=a-
- 17 vam bilgum nūḡōdamgalol | [2*] ② Ambudhi-vṛita-dharanige vadanam
Belvala-nād(d)=adarkke tūakada vōl=chelvam-bīruva Pū-
- 18 lī-grāmam budha-jana-nīlayam=enipud=ā puravaradol || [3*] Amita-gun-anvita-
vipr-ōttamar=īṣṭā-pūrtta-va-
- 19 ittanar=ssāsivvar=yyama-niyama-svādhyāya-pramukh-āchārar=ssamasta-dōsha-vidūrar ||
[4*] Avar=olage vōda-sā-
- 20 stra-pravarar=shat-karmma-nīratar=enip=unnatīyīm Ravīyanagēriya nūrvvar-
bhūvanadol=atuvīśada-kirttiyam
- 21 prakatīśidar || [5*] Allī || Shā(Śā)ndīllya-gōtra vanaruha-chaṇḍakara[m*]
brahma-vidyeyol=sakala-jagan-maṇḍanan=eni-
- 22 sīda pemp=ola-kond-ire Dēmaya-panamgiyar¹=ssaḷe negaḷdar || [6*] Avar=
ātṛajan=akhūla-kalā-pravinan=anīm-
- 23 tta-bāndhavam Manu-charitam dhavala-yaśō-nīdhīy=ene pempu-vadedu jagad=olage
Gommimayyam negaḷda || [7*] ③
- 24 ④ Tat-tanujātam śrī-Puruṣaḥṭṭama-pada-kamala-yugala-bhṛṅgam dharmm-
ōḍāṭṭa-manam vibhu sakala-jaga-
- 25 t-tīlakam Ravikimayyar=amala-charitra || [8*] Tad-anujar=aśēsha-vibhav-
āspadha(da)r=īṣṭa-vīṣṭa-janake Su-
- 26 rabhiya vōl=bēlpadav=ittu pempu-vadedar=ssad-amalar=ene Tikanāryyanum
Kēśavanum || [9*] Vṛitta || Anupama-
- 27 kirttiyam padeda mūvarolam prabhu Raikimayyan=olpina kanī dharmma-
chittamane bhāvīśi chelvina Viṣṇu-gē-
- 28 hanam jana-nutama[m*] paratre(tra)-hitamam bhuvana-tṛitayakke pūjyam=āyt=ene
kadu-sēvyam=ādud=ene māḍīśi-
- 29 d=andam=id=ārgge tī[rtṭha?]mō || [10*] Vanadhigalum chamdr ārkkaruv=
animīsha-nāgēmdra-lōkamu[m] vasumatīyum Kanak-
- 30 mahā[cha]lamu[m*] [u]llinegam sale nīke Ravikimayyana dharmma || [11*]
⑤ Sāmānyō-yam dharmma-sē(sē)tur=nīpānā[m]
- 31 k[ālē kā]lē pālanīyō bhavadbhūh [11*] sarvvān-ētām(n) bhāgi(vī)nah pārtṭhivēm-
drām(n) bhūyō bhūyō yāchatō
- 32 Rā[macham]drah || [12*] Sva-datt[ā*]m para-dat[ā*]m vā yō harēti(ta)
vasundharā[m*] shasṭṭr(tim)-vvarsha-sahasrānī viṣṭhāyām jā-
- 33 yatō krimih || [13*] ⑥

¹ Read *śhadamgiyar*.

TRANSLATION

(Verse 1) Victorious is the manifested Boar-form of Vishnu that stirs up the ocean and holds the earth at rest upon the tip of his uplifted right tusk

(Lines 2-4) When the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Satyāśraya's race, embellishment of the Chālukyas, king Tribhuvanamalla, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (*to endure*) as long as moon, sun, and stars —

(Ll 4-5) on the *uttarāyana-samkrānti* of the 7th year of the Chālukya-Vikrama era, the cyclic year Dundubhi —

(Ll 5-11) the Thousand, headed by the mayor, of the Agrahāra of Pūli, who practise the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, spiritual concentration, observance of the vow of silence, prayer, oblation, and absorption,¹ for the purpose of fostering the religious practice of (*the temple of*) the god Nārāyaṇa constructed by Kisuṇvāyara Ravikimayya-Nāyaka, for the restoration of outworn (*buildings*) and (*renewal of*) broken and burst (*masonry*) belonging to the god, for baths, perfumes, incense, lights, and oblations, for the personal enjoyment (*of the god*), and for the choultry, Ravikimayya-Nāyaka made over to the god Nārāyaṇa six *mattar* at the Bhattas' Lake (*and*) one *mattar* of gravel soil (?) at the Stonemasons' Tank for which he had arranged the purchase with pouring of water and gift of money from the Hundred of Raviyanagēri

(Ll 11-14) So the Thousand shall protect this pious foundation as a *śarva-namasya* holding To those who protect it shall accrue the merit of making the great gifts at the holy places of Benares, Kurukshētra, Arghyatīrtha, Prayāga, and Gaya, knowing this to be so, the Thousand shall protect it for the continuous increase of religion as long as moon, sun, and stars endure

(V 2) To him who protects (*the foundation*) duly as it was given by him (*who established it*) shall befall the fulfilment of the objects of his desire To him who appropriates and destroys it shall accrue the guilt of downright cold blooded slaughter of Brāhmins, Goīvas² herds of kine, and women, he shall fall into (*degraded*) forms of rebirth

(V 3) The county of Belvala is the face of the ocean-girt Earth Like a beauty-spot thereon is the town of Pūli, overspread with loveliness, a home of sages there is in this excellent town

(V 4) The Thousand (*of Pūli*) are noble Brāhmins possessing boundless virtues, active in works of kindness and beneficence, practising the major and minor disciplines, scriptural study, and other duties, far removed from all sin

(V 5) Among them, the Hundred of Raviyanagēri, who are eminent in the lore of the Vēdas and devoted to the six practices,³ have displayed to an exalted degree exceedingly brilliant glory on earth

(L 21) Among them—

(V 6) As he possessed such eminence as to be called a sun to the lotuses of the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*, an ornament of the whole world in divine lore, Dēmaya the Shadangī was truly illustrious

(V 7) His son Gommimayya was illustrious in the world, attaining distinction as one who was expert in all arts, a kinsman without (*selfish*) object, following the practices of Manu, a treasure of white glory

¹ The construction seems to be an anacoluthon, the subject *vāsīrvaśum* being left as a *nominativus pendens*

² A class of Śaiva ascetics

³ See Manu, i 88

⁴ A master of the six *angas* or ancillary sciences of the Vēdas

(V 8) His son is the lord **Ravikimayya**, a bee to the two lotus-feet of the blest **Parushōttama**, having a soul exalted in godliness, an ornament of the whole world, stainless in conduct

(V 9) His younger brothers **Tikanārya** and **Kēśava**, truly stainless men, have attained eminence, holding rank in perfect dignity, like **Surabhi** granting their desires to agreeable and cultured persons

(V 10) Among (*these*) three (*brethren*) possessing incomparable fame, the lord **Ravikimayya**, a mine of excellence, inspired by a godly spirit, constructed a beautiful house of **Vishnu** renowned among folk, bringing welfare in the other world, so that it has become an object of worship to the three worlds, an object of intense reverence who are there that have a holy place of such sort?

(V 11) As long as the oceans, the moon and sun, the worlds of Gods and **Nāgas**, the earth, and the great Golden Mountain exist, so long forsooth may **Ravikimayya's** pious foundation stand

Vv 12-13 two common Sanskrit formulae

D—OF THE REIGN OF VIKRAMADITYA VI SAKA 1019

This document is cut upon a slab of black stone that was found built into the outside of the northern or front face of the temple of **Vīrabhadra**, on the western side of the door. The stone is 3 ft 10½ in above the ground, and 2 ft in width. It has a rounded top, with the following sculptures in the uppermost compartment in the centre **Vishnu**¹ standing, and facing full front, to his proper right successively, beginning from him, **Nandi**, a priest behind **Nandi** standing facing **Vishnu**, and two kneeling worshippers likewise facing the god, to the god's left, successively a kneeling **Garuda** (half turned towards **Vishnu** and half to front), a cow with calf, and a scimitar, above all these are the sun (on right) and moon (on left). Below this is the inscribed area, measuring 2 ft 10½ in in height and 1 ft 11 in in breadth. It is on the whole well preserved. The character is good Kanarese, but of a type about a century later than the alleged date of the record (Śaka 1019), it may be a genuine later copy of the original grant, but in estimating its authenticity we must note also the irregularity of the date. The letters in lines 1-4 are about ¼ in high, then they begin to increase in height, and from line 6 onward are on the average about ⅓ in. The letter *ṛ* in *ṛishu* (l 13) is apparently represented by a modified *ṛ*. The special cursive form of *v* (above, Vol XII, pp 335, n 1 and 337) appears 39 times, as far as the text is legible.—The language, except in lines 1-2 (verses 1-3, followed by the formula *namō Nārāyaṇāya*), which are in Sanskrit, is Kanarese, veering on the medieval dialect. The archaic *ḷ* is always changed to *l* (*mālkeyin*, l 15, *mālpar*, l 22, *hāla*, ll 35, 51-53, *alidham[ge]*, l 58, *bīlg[um]*, l 60). *V* is changed sporadically to *b* (*brajad=*, l 13, *dibyam*, l 23, *bya[ti]pātāmum*, l 25; *dibya-*, l 32, *drabya-*, l 37). The *upadhmānīya* is falsely written in *hputita-* (l 33), for *spḥuṭita*. The consonant *t* is doubled before *y* in *attyāyata-* (l 18) and *atryamta-* (l 20), cf. above, on inscr C. Initial *ā* is written *yā* (l 36). In the prose parts final *m* before a vowel is occasionally changed to *v*, and initial *p* becomes *h* in *hāla* (ll 35, 51-53), *hasuge* (ll 35, 51), *heb-batṭe* (l 36), *haralalk* (l 38), *hannomdu* (ll 39, 43), *hērimge* (l 55), *hozege* (lb), *hottalimge* (lb), *honnām* (l 56 f), while it remains in *padeda*, *pana*, *paduvana*, *paḍuvalu*. As regards flexion, we find an accusative plural in final *-a* three times (*-pādamgala*, ll 37, 39, 42), and a corresponding adverb (*-pūrvvaka*, ll 42, 50), that this is the genuine medieval form, and not a mere slip, is suggested by the adverb *samtata* (l 22) and the dative *-nāyakamga* (l 16), where the vocalic ending is guaranteed by the metre. There are a few words of lexical interest,

¹ [Probably **Harishara**, as suggested by vv 2 and 14 of the inscription and the figure of **Nandi** to the proper right side.—Ed.]

such as *udgrāhakar*, l 9 (spelt *udugrāhakar*), "studying successfully" (cf the Sinhalese *ugannavā*, "to learn"), and the technical terms *karuva*, ll 39, 43 (from *karma* ?), *sata*, ll 52-3, *soti* (?), l 54, and *hottalu*, l 55


The record, after three introductory verses, refers itself to the reign of Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI), and then launches out into verse in praise of Kuntala, Belvala, Pāli, the Thousand Mahājanas of Pūli, and the Hundred of Kalasavalligēri (ll 1-13). Among the last-named was a distinguished Brāhman family, the Ajjavas, belonging to the Ātiśya *gōtra*, to this stock belonged Sōbhana-Nāyaka, who begot by Muddikavve Nākimaṣya (Nākarasa or Nākimaṣya) Nākimaṣya begot by Nāgikavve Nānimeya, Rāmadēva, and Mahādēva (written *Mahādēva* for the sake of metre), and rebuilt a temple of Vishnu in Pūli (ll 13-23). Then follow specifications of various purchases of land acquired by Nākimaṣya from the Hundred of Raviyanagēri, Kalasavalligēri, and Ghaisāsagēri, and from the Thousand of Pāli (ll 23-53). Two minor endowments (ll 53-57) and a hortatory stanza (ll 58-60) conclude the document.


The date of the record is stated, on ll 23-25 as Śaka 1019 (expired), the cyclic year Īśvara, Pushya śuddha 5, Ādityavāra (Sunday), the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*, the *vyatipāta*, or *yōga* in which the declination of sun and moon are identical. This date again is irregular. Pushya śuddha 5 of the given year corresponded to Saturday, December 12, A.D. 1087, it began about 53 m after mean sunrise on the preceding Friday, and ended about 34 m after mean sunrise on the Saturday. It could not be connected with the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*, which occurred 10 h 45 m after mean sunrise on Thursday, 24 December—twelve days after it.




The places mentioned, besides Pūli and the *tīrthas* in l 58, are Kuntala (l 4), Belvala (l 5), Kalasavalligēri (ll 12, 37, 38), Raviyanagēri (ll 34, 53), Ghaisāsagēri (l 40), Konalagēri (? l 50), Kattiyagēri (l 52), and some minor localities, see above.


TEXT¹

[The metres are as follows: verses 1-3, *Anushtubh*, verses 4, 5, 16, *Mattēbha-vikrīḍita*; verse 6, *Mahā-sragdharā*, verses 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, *Kanda*, verses 9, 10, *Champakā-mālā*, verse 13, *Utpalā-mālā*]

1  Namas=tumga-śiṅg-ehumbi-ehamdra-ehumara-ehāravō [1*] trauḍkya-napaṇ-aram-


bha-mūla-stambhāya Sa(śa)mbhavō || [1*]  Śrīmatu-Haribhaṭ-ākhyāsyā
pād-āmburha(īha)m=akṣayaṃ [1*] bhakti-namra-janānām

2 eha śānti-puṣṭi-karam sadā || [2*]  Jayaty=a(ā)vishkri(kri)tam Viṣṇor=vv[ā*]rāham kṣhōbbhī-ārṇna(īna)vam [1*] dakṣiṇ-ōnnata-damshtr-āgra-viśrānta-bhuvanā
nam vapuh [||] [3*]  Namō Nāṣyaṇāya || 

3  Svasti [1*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Prithvi-vallabha mahāīśjādhirāja
paramēśvara paramabhaṭṭāraka Satyāśraya-kula-tilaka Chaluky-ābharaṇa
śrīma[t*]-Tribhuvana-

¹ From the ink-impression

² Read *Śrīmad-Dharmar-*

- 4 malladēva[ra*] iāṅgam=uttar-ōttar-ābhivṛddhi-pravai dhdhamānam-ā-(hamdr-āi kka
tāram-baram saluttam-ire ||  Vasudhā-viṣṭi(śi u, tam=appa Kūntala-vadhō-
saumy-ā-
- 5 nanam tām=enalu pesaram-betta mah-āgrahāra-nagara-śrī-paṭṭau-ākūnna(rna)dīm
rasavad-dhānya-samasta-vastu-chayadīm śrī-Belvelam sō(śō)-
- 6 bhīṣalk=eśev-ā Pūli mah-āgrahāra-tīlakam tad-dēśadolū iāṅkum || [4*] All ||
Alad=ambhōrha(ruha)-rāṅṅim parimala-śrī-mallik-ārāma-
- 7 dīm sale samd-irddā tatāka-kūpa-vibhava-prākūnna(rna)dīm suttī-gond(nd)=
elasuttī=irppa sahaśra(śra)-raṅṅa-Śiva-kūt-ānōka-kōti-prabh-ōṅ[?]* valitam ta-
- 8 tu(d)-bahiramga-śēvya-vibhavam śrī-Pūliy=mt=oppugu || [5*] Mudadīm śrī-Kēśavā-
dityara pada-vinu(na)tar=vvēda-vēdāṅga-vidyā-vidi-
- 9 tar shatu-tarkka-śatu-pravudiyol²=atīśatyad=udugrābhāru nitya-yajñāru mada-
mātsaryy-ādi-dīrār sakala-vibhu(hu)dha-
- 10 samrakshakar pūjyar=emdam sadayar sāsirvar=urvi-vinutai=akhila-śāstr-ārttha-
kāvyā-pravīnar || [6*] Ka || Dinapam tam-
- 11 nna karamgalan=anupamadīm Pūliyalli pūṅṅi nīratam jana-vinutai=sāsirvvaran=
anavaratam padedan=amt=av(d?)=ēm kri(kri)ta-kri(kṛi)tyaru || [7*]
- 12 Palav=agrahārakk(k)=ellam salahitadīm Pūli tīlakam=allige³ kalaśam sale
Kalaśavalligēṅṅe vila(la)sitam=āg=oppal=eśe-
- 13 dar=amt=ā nūrvaru || [8*] Avarol || Tili-golad=ante tan-mukutad=amte rīśi-
brajad=amte kūde nīrmalam=enis-irddud=Ajjava-
- 14 kulam sale puttīdan=alli permmeṅṅim salahita⁵-chāru-sach-charitadīm prabhu
śōbhana-Nāyakam mahā-bala-yuta-gōtra-
- 15 vardhdhanan=udāta-gunam Śiva-pāda-śēkharam || [9*] Sphuriyise sippinalli sale
muttina mālkeyin=mtu puttīdam su-
- 16 ruchire Muddikavve-satigam sale Sō(śō)bhana-Nāyakamga vistaratara-punya-
mūrtti puruś(śh)-ārttha-śikhāman Nā-
- 17 kīṁayyan=udhdharisidan=mtu Pūli-pura-madhyadol=ūrjita-Vishṇu-gēhamam || [10*]
Ka || Āyana satī bhuvanado-
- 18 l=attīyāyata-pati-bhakte Nāgikavve viśēśa(śha)-śrī-yute mahante nī[chcha]m
śrīyaskara-mūrtti putravatī bahu-
- 19 gunadīm || [11*] Ka || Ātrēya-vamśan=emdam mitra-prōtsāhi dāna-tatupara-
vibhavam pātrav-arid=ivan=udya-
- 20 du-gōtra-pavitram prasidhdha-vibhu Nākarasam || [12*] Vri || Tat-tanujar
śū(su)śōbha-vibhu Nānimeyam sale Rāmadēvan=attiyam-
- 21 ta-manōjñā-mūrtti Mahadēva-mahā-prabhu nālku-vēda-vēdāṅga-samasta-śāstra-vidaram
parishō(pō)shis dāna-dharmma-
- 22 mam samtata mālpar=amt=avara samtatī rāṅṅal=uttar-ōttaram || [13*] Tad-anam-
tara || Ka || Sale nālvar=irddad=alliye nelas-i-
- 23 kkum deyvam=ante vipra-sahaśra(śra)m salahita-vidyā-vibhavarū vvilasitar⁴=ire
Harihar-ākhyā-nīlayame dibyam || [14*] Svasti śrī-
- 24 matu-Sa(śi)ka-varsha 1019 neya Īśva(śva)ra-samvatsarada Puśya(śhya)-śudhdha
pamchamī Ādityavāradamduv=uttarā-
- 25 yana-sa[m*]kramā(ma)namum bya[ti]pātamum bamda punya-dīnadolu || [1*]
yaja[na]-yājan-ādhyayan-ādhyāpana-dāna-pra-

¹ The *prāsa*, *l* and *f*, is irregular⁴ Read *rīśi*.² Read *-rat-praudhīyo*!³ The *prāsa* is irregular, *la* for *ṣa*⁵ Or possibly *all-ire*⁶ Read *vīlasitar*.

- 26 tigrāha-śa(sha)t-karmma-nīrataram | śrīma[ch*]-Ch[ā*]!ukya-chakravartti-Brahmapuri-
sthān-ādhipatya(tya)rum | Hiranyagarbhā-mu-
27 kha-vinirgata-chatu-vvēda-vēdāṅga śāstīa-smṛi(smṛ)ti-puāna-kāvya-nānā-nātaka-pravi-
narum | sva-same(ma)ya-samu-
28 dīta-saiśchandra¹-chandrīkā-chakōrai um | kāmchana-kalāśa-śi(śi)ta-śa(sha)tu-
chchha(chha)tra-chāmara-panīcha-mahā-śabuda-ghaṭhika²-bhēri-rav-ā-
29 dī-rāja-chihh-ābhīnītarum | sapta-sōma-samsth-āvabṛi(bhṛ)th-āvagāhana-pavitrikṛita-
śārīrai um³ | Hāra-hās-ābhāśa(sa)-vi-
30 śāda-yaśah-kirttigalum | śrīmad-Andhāsura⁴-dēva-pād-ārādhakarum śaraṇ-āgata-
rakshaka[r]um | śrī-Kēśavādītya-dēva-la-
31 budha-vara-prasāda-sampannarum=appa śrīman-mah-āgrahāram Pūliy=ūr-odeya-
pramukha śāsīrvvai=mma-
32 hājanamgala dībya-śīi-pādangalan=ārādhīsi | āvara samnīdhiyalu | Ajchha(jja)vara
Nākīmayyam tānu mādhīsi-
33 da śrī-Harīhara-dēvara naivēdyakkam Chayitra-pavitṛakkam khanda-hpu(sphu)tita-
jīrn⁵-ōdhādhākkam pūjāriya jīvittakkam
34 Rave(vīya)nagēriya nūrvva[ra] padamgalam suvarṇna-pūrvvakam=ārādhīsi Būdana-
Moneya Raviyanagēriya
35 hāla hasugeya badagana tale-kamdikeyallī padeda mattaru mūrū | ā keyige
paduvana sime Kēśava-dēvara ke-
36 yī | badagalu heb-batṭe | mūdalu Būdana-Guttu | temkalu yā kōriya
bhūmi | ā nūru mattarggam |⁶ aṇu-vana pana-
37 v=omdu vi(vi)sam eadu kām eadu | mattam | Kalāśavallīgēriya nūrvvara
śrī(śrī)-pādangala ā Nākīmayyam dravya-pū-
38 rvvakam=ārādhī(dhī)si tōtada haralallī Sēnīgagereyū kelage sarvva-namaśya(sya)-
v=āgi padeda mattar=omdu | mattam Kalāśavallīgē[ri]-
39 ya nūrvvara śīi-pādangala ā Nākīmayyam hīranya-pūrvvakam=ārādhī(dhī)si
padeda karuva-geyi mattaru ha-
40 nomdu | ā keyige tīruva aṇu-vana ma[ttarim]ge hāgam eadu || Ka ||
Ghaśāsagēriy=ādhiparū bhāsura-tēja[ru]
41 mahantar=enīśida nūrvvaiu Kēśava-Mahēśa-dēvara lēs=enīśida pūjeg=ittaru
vūrjita-dhaīeyam⁷ || [15*] Ant=ā
42 nūrvvara śīi-pādangala Ajjavara Nākīmayyam dravya-pūrvvaka ārādhīsi
padeda . ma
43 mattaru hannomdu | ā keyige ti(tī)ruva aṇu-vana mattarimge hāgam eadu |
ā yeradu kōriya kām-
44 va-vaney=eradumam nālku maneyam mādhī dēvara Brahmapuriyo[lu] grī(grī)ha-
dāna-bhūmi-dānamam Nākīmayyam
45 ādhīda kramam=emt=emcode | Kēśava-Bhattarige bhatṭa-vri(vṛ)ttiyam nadasuv-
amt=ire paduvana mūdala mane | avarige keyi
46 mattaru ayi[du] | avaru dēvarige ti(tī)ruva aṇu-vana pana eadu hāgam
eadu | al[ī*]im mūdāna mane [Na]rasimha-
47 Sōmayāj[ī*]yarige | avarige keyi mattaru eradakkam aṇu-vana panav=omdu |
allim mūdāna mane N. rasimha-

¹ Read -śarāś chandra-² Read -ghaṭhikā .³ Read -pavitrikṛita śārīrarum⁴ Here and below the dh is written with the subscript character which usually denotes th⁵ Read jīrn-⁶ This danda is superfluous.⁷ Read ittar=ūrjita dh²

- 48 ghaissarige | avarige keyi mattaru eradakkam aru-vana panav-omdu | allim
mūdāna mane |¹ Kōneya Ma[lla(?)]-kra]mita-
- 49 rige | avarige keyi mattaru mūru | avaru ti(ii)ruva aru-vana panav-omdu
hāgam eradu || Mattam vūr-odeya-pra-
- 50 mukha sāsirvvar=mmahājanamgala divya-śīl-pada-padmamgalam A[j]javara
Nākīyannam dravya-pūrvvaka ārādhya [? Ko]na-
- 51 lagēriya hāla hasugeyolu |² sarvva-namaśya(sya)v-ūgi padeda mattaru eradu |
kammam nā[l*]nūr-ayvattu [l*]
- 52 ā keyige siṁe badagalu śrīmad-Andhāsura-dēvara keyi | mūdalu Kattiyagēriya
hāla śata | temkalu Mūla-
- 53 sthāna-dēvara keyi | paduval[u Ra]vīyāniya hāla śata | 3) Ayivatt=okkalum
sama-chchhāyeyol=irddu dēvara
- 54 divigege sotige epneyam bittaru || 4) Mattam Nākīmayya-Nāyakam Rāhara-
moradiya
- 55 Chikkarasana eleya sumka hērimge . | horege nūru | hottalimge
ayivattu mām=akkā
- 56 gadyānam nālvatt-ayidu honnam ko . || paduvana bhāgada
nāvira kādayamanu³
- 57 mūru gadyāna honnam kodu . . . pana eradu hāga .
||
- 58 Ida(va)n=iy=amda[din=eyde] pāhsuvava[mg=isht-ārttha-samsiddhi sam]bhavikum
komd=alidha(da)m[ge Gamge Gaye Kēdāram Ku]ru-
- 59 kshētram=emb-iva[rolu] pēsade pārva[ram go]ra[varam gō-vrindama]m pendiram
ta[ve komd=ikkida pāpam=e]-
- 60 [ydugu]m=avam bilg[um mgo]damgalo[lu ||] [16*]

TRANSLATION

(Verse 1) Homage to Śambhu comely with the yak-tail fan that is the moon kissing his lofty head, the foundation-column for the structure of the city of the Triple World !

(V 2.) The blest Harihara's lotus-foot is eternal, and ever causes increase of peace to those who bow down to him in devotion

(V 3 identical with verse 1 of C)

(Line 2) Homage to Nārāyaṇa !

(Lil 3-4) When the reign of—hail !—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Satyāśraya's race, embellishment of the Chēlukyas, king Tribhuvanamalladēva, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars —

(V. 4) While the blessed Belvala with its multitude of renowned great *agrahāras*, cities, and happy towns and with its abundance of sapful grain and all kinds of treasures shines indeed, as one may say, as the lovely face of the world-renowned lady Kuntala, thus bright Pāh, an ornament of great *agrahāras*, is resplendent in that region

¹ This *danda* is superfluous

² This *danda* is also superfluous

³ These letters are mostly very uncertain we may read either *kā* or *ko*, and the *ya* is doubtful

(L 6) In that (*Pūli*)—

(V 5) Being encompassed by lines of swaying lotuses, by pleasances of jasmine rich in perfume, indeed, and with a profusion of splendour of appropriate pools and wells, radiant with the brilliance of many pinnacles on thousands of charming sanctuaries of Śiva wherein men find delight, having worshipful majesty in the exterior thereof, thus does the blest Pūli display itself

(V 6) Joyfully bowing at the feet of the blest Kēśavāditya, renowned for lore of Vēdas and Vēdāngas, extraordinarily proficient in goodly skill in the six (*courses of*) logic, holding constant sacrifice, remote from conceit, envy, and other (*vices*), protectors of all sages, worshipful ever, gracious, world-famous, versed in the purport of all books of teaching and in poetry are the Thousand (*of Pūli*)

(V 7) The sun, massing to an incomparable degree his rays on Pūli, constantly and ceaselessly has engendered the world-famed Thousand thus have they not fulfilled their end?

(V 8) Pūli by its charmingness is an ornament of all the many *agrahāras*, as Kalaśavalligēri in truth appears in grace as a pinnacle thereto, thus the Hundred (*of Kalaśavalligēri*) are eminent

(L 13) Among them—

(V 9) Stainless like a clear pool, like a diadem thereof,¹ like a company of saints together is the Ajjava family, in truth, in it was born the lord Sōbhana-Nāyaka, who by his eminence, his charming and beautiful conduct caused the increase of his mighty *gōtra*, being exalted in virtues, crowned by Śiva's feet

(V 10) In the wise of a pearl in sooth as it flashes in its shell, so was born indeed to the most charming lady Muddikavve and to Sōbhana-Nāyaka, Nākamayya, an embodiment of most abundant merit, a crest-jewel of mankind's desires so he restored the splendid house of Viṣṇu in the midst of Pūli

(V 11) His good wife is Nāgikavve, immensely devoted to her lord, peculiarly fortunate, great ever, having a form fraught with blessing on earth, a mother of sons through exceeding virtue

(V 12) Of the Ātiśya lineage, ever encouraging friends, having his high estate devoted to charity, one who makes gifts with knowledge of the recipients, a purifier of his noble *gōtra*, is the renowned lord Nākarasa

(V 13) His sons, the brilliant lord Nānimeya, in truth, Rāmadēva, and the great lord Mahādēva exceedingly charming of form, foster the masters of all the lore of the Four Vēdas and the Upanishads and practise constantly the duty of charity as thus their lineage becomes increasingly illustrious —

(L 22) Subsequently to this—

(V 14) With the four² present there, in sooth, the divine sanctuary of Harihara stands like a celestial (*building*) with a thousand Brāhmins magnificent in charming lore displaying themselves in grace therein

(Ll 23-25) Hail! On Sunday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Pushya in the cyclic year Īśvara, the 1019th (*year*) of the Śaka era, on a holy day on which occurred both the *uttarāyana-samhrānti* and the *vyatīpāta*,³—

¹ If the text is right, it must mean "a diadem of the Hundred of Kalaśavalligēri", but the sense seems rather strained, and one is tempted to conjecture *san mukuta*—

² Namely Nākamayya and his three sons

³ A *yōga* in which the declination of the sun and the moon are the same.

(Ll 25-32) Having adored the divinely blest feet of the Thousand Mahājanas, headed by the mayor, of the great Agrahāra of Pāli, who are constant in the six duties of sacrifice by themselves and by others, study, teaching, alms-giving, and acceptance (of charity), masters of the establishment of the Chālukya Emperor's Brahmapuri,¹ versed in the lore of the Four Vēdas that issued from Hiranyagarbha's mouth the Upanishads, sacred law, Purāṇas, poetry, and various dramas, who are *chakḍra*-birds to the moonlight arising from the autumnal moon of their church, who are decorated with golden pitchers, six white parasols, yak-tail fans, the five great musical sounds, gongs, drums, and other emblems of royalty, whose bodies are purified by plunging in the baths of the seven *sōma-samsthās*,² who have glory and renown brilliant as the radiance of Hari's smile,³ who are worshippers of the god Andhāsura's feet, protectors of refuge-seekers, receiving the grace of boons from the god Kṛṣṇādhitya,—

(Ll 32-35) In their presence, Ajjavara Nākimayya, having adored with (offering of) gold the feet of the Hundred of Raviyanagēri, purchased three *mattar* in the upper *landike* on the north of the waste-land *hasuge*⁴ of Raviyanagēri at the Ghost's End for (the expenses of) the oblations of (the temple of) the god Hanūhara constructed by himself, the *Chaitra-paṭistra*,⁵ the restoration of broken, burst, and outworn (*masonry*), and the maintenance of a priest

(Ll 35-37) Of this field the western bound is the field of the god Kṛṣṇa, on the north, the high-road, on the east, the Ghost's Copse, on the south, the lands of the parish.⁶ For these three *mattar* the *aru-ṇa*⁷ is one *pana*, two *viśa*, two *hāni*

(Ll 37-38) Likewise the same Nākimayya, having adored with (offering of) money the blest feet of the Hundred of Kalasāvalligēri, purchased (of them) one *mattar* as a *sarta-namasya* holding below the Gildsmen's Tank in the gravel-land of the garden

(Ll 38-40) Likewise the same Nākimayya, having adored with (offering of) gold the blest feet of the Hundred of Kalasāvalligēri, purchased a *harura*-field of eleven *mattar*, the *aru-ṇa* paid for this field is two *hāga* on each *mattar*

(V 15) The Hundred who are lords of Ghaṭṭāsagēri, brilliant of splendour, great, have given abundant land for the approved worship of the gods Kṛṣṇa and Mithūsa

(Ll 41-43) So Ajjavara Nākimayya, having adored the same Hundred's blest feet with (offering of) gold, purchased eleven *mattar* . . . , the *aru-ṇa* paid for this field is two *hāga* on each *mattar*

(Ll 43-49) When he had built two *harura*-houses in (each of) these two parishes,⁸ (altogether) four houses, the arrangement under which Nākimayya made his grants of houses and land in the Brahmapuri of the god was as follows —For Kṛṣṇa-Bhatta, houses on the west and east, so as to keep up a professor's stipend, for him a field of five *mattar*, the *aru-ṇa* paid by him to the god is to be two *pana* and two *hāga*. To the east thereof, a house for Narasimha-Sōmayāji, for him a field of two *mattar*, on which the *aru-ṇa* is to be one *pana*. To the east thereof, a house for Narasimha-Ghaṭṭa, for him a field of two *mattar*, on which the *aru-ṇa* is to be one *pana*. To the east thereof, a house for Kōṇeya-Malla(?)—Kramita, for him a field of three *mattar*, the *aru-ṇa* paid by him is to be one *pana* and two *hāga*

(Ll 49-53) Likewise Ajjavara Nākimayya, having adored with (offering of) money the divinely blest lotus-feet of the Thousand Mahājanas, headed by the mayor, purchased as a *sarta-namasya* holding two *mattar* and four-hundred and fifty *lamma* in the waste-land *hasuge*

¹ Cf. above, on inscr. B

² A list of these is given in *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, p. 54

³ Cf. *Meghadūta* I. 58

⁴ See Kittel, s. v. *hasige*, and above Vol. XIII, p. 37

⁵ Apparently the lands of Raviyanagēri

⁶ Namely Kalasāvalligēri and Ghaṭṭāsagēri

⁷ See I A, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 52

⁸ See above, on inscr. A

of Kopalagēri(?) Of this field the bounds are on the north, the god Andhāsura's field, on the east, the *śata* of the waste-land of Kattiyagēri, on the south, the field of the Mūla-sthāna god, on the west, the *śata* of the waste-land of Raviyāni

(L 53-54) The fifty households by common agreement granted oil for burning in the god's lamps

(L 54-57) Likewise Nākimayya-Nāyaka [assigned] a toll on the betel-leaves of Chikkarasa of the Rāhas' Hill, on a (*large*) load, a hundred on a (*small*) load, fifty on a bagful, (on) a maund of husked rice, forty-five *gadyāna* in gold . . .

(V 16 identical with verse 2 of inscription C)

E—OF THE REIGN OF VIKRAMADITYA VI THE 20TH YEAR, ETC

This is an inscription upon a black stone that was found standing against the east wall of a small empty shrine a little to the south-east of the front (eastern) face of the temple of Maṇuśvara or Andhakēśvara. The stone was 7 ft 6 in high, and 3 ft 0½ in wide. Its top was a rounded panel containing the following sculptures: in the centre, a *linga* in a shrine, to the proper right of this, a priest sitting, facing it, in the same shrine, in the proper right corner, a cow with calf, in the left corner, the bull Nandi, above these, the sun (to left) and moon (to right). Below this is the inscribed area, 4 ft 8½ in high and 3 ft broad. The character is Kanarese, a good hand of the last quarter of the twelfth century, with a supplement in a later hand (ll 53-56). The letters are on the average ½ in high, they are generally well preserved. The type of *ḥ* noted on the Sūdi inscription F above, Vol XV, p 86, occurs on ll 22, 27. The cursive *v* is used in *-chakravartti* (l 47).—The language, except for the introductory Sanskrit verse, is Old Kanarese, verging on the medieval dialect. The *l* is preserved in *negalḍa*, l 38, and *ṛḍuv*, l 39, and wrongly written in *Beḥalav*, l 5, on the other hand, it appears as *l* in *pēl*, l 15, *pogalguṇ*, l 30, *ēleneya*, l 40, *ēl*, l 43, *hāla*, ll 37, 42, 50, and as *r* in *negarddar*, l 8, *negarddam*, l 25 (both with the second syllable short), and *nōṛppada*, l 24. Initial *p* in the prose is retained in *pēringe*, l 34, *pasuge*, l 37, but changed to *h* in *hāla*, ll 37, 42, 50, *hasuge*, ll 43, 45, 50, *hana*, l 43, *haduvana*, l 46, *hēb-batte*, l 51, *hallada*, l 52. Lexically interesting are *bhānasu*, l 4, *kuttumbitti*, l 5, *ēharu*, l 13, *balu*, l 14, *sojja*, l 34, *chamdāvura*, l 34, *sata*, ll 44, 47, 51, 52, and *sauti*, l 46.

The record is a consolidated one, comprising three different grants to the same foundation (ll 1-39, 40-47, and 47-52), with a later supplement (ll 53-56). When the third grant was executed and written out (A D 1184), the two earlier grants were copied and prefixed to it, and in A D 1224 some one began to write as a supplement the fourth grant, but did not complete it. The first grant begins by referring itself to the reign of Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI), and then states that a general and minister, who was also Steward of the Royal Kitchen, by name Anantapālarasa, had a son-in-law, Lakkarasa, a general who administered Belvala and Puligere, and this Lakkarasa, with the authority of Anantapālarasa, commissioned a certain Singarasa to assign one share in the proceeds of fines levied in Pūli to the treasury of the god Andhāsura, a form of Śiva (ll 2-7). This was accordingly done, under the auspices of the Achārya Tatpurusha, a disciple of Jñānaśakti, this Jñānaśakti was a distinguished divine and scholar, to whom king Bhuvanaikamalla (Sōmēśvara II) paid particular reverence, in connection with which a fine temple of Śiva (probably that bearing the name of Andhāsura, with which the present series of grants is concerned) was built (ll 7-18). Then comes, apparently as a supplement to this grant, a record of two endowments of Andhāsura. The first (ll 18-36) opens with verses praising the town of Pūli and its mayor (*ūr-odeya*), a scion of the Chāḷukya race named Mangalārṇava, who seems to have won some renown in the wars against the Chōlas, Mājavas, and Gūrjaras, and is stated to have settled 1,000 Brāhmanas on an estate granted by

himself, after this come verses in praise of the Thousand, who are said to have built a stately temple of Andhāsura (probably that already mentioned) Then follows another supplement (ll 36-38), chronicling a donation of land by four persons

The second main division of the record (ll 40-47) announces gifts of land to Andhāsura from the above-mentioned Jñānaśakti (ll 40-44) and the Thousand (ll 44-47) Next comes a third paragraph (ll 47-52) announcing the gift of some land to the god by the Hundred of Kalasavalligēri, the Thousand of Pūli, and a certain Kalidēvayya-Setti Last comes an unfinished paragraph, added long after the preceding, to chronicle a grant by the guild of weavers to the Āchārya Vamaśakti for the expenses of the establishment (ll 53-56)

Corresponding to its composite character, our inscription contains four dates The first of these is given on ll 7-8 as the 29th year of the Chālukya-Vikrama era, the cyclic year Tārana, Pushya śuddha 10, Brīhaspativāra (Thursday), the *uttarāyana-samkrānti* This is irregular The *tithi* Pushya śuddha 10 corresponded properly to Wednesday, 28 December, A D 1104, on which it ended about 18 h 25 m after mean sunrise, i.e. about 12 25 P M, so that the connection with the following Thursday is not far wrong But it cannot possibly have been connected with the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*, which took place about 6 h 13 m after mean sunrise on the preceding Saturday, 24 December.

The next date is that given in ll 40-41 the 7th year of the Kalachurya Tribhuvanamalla (Biṇṇala), the cyclic year Chitrabhānu, Śrāvana full-moon, Sōmavāra (Monday), an eclipse of the moon This again is irregular, but only to a slight degree The given *tithi* corresponded to Friday, 27 July, A D 1162, on which it began about 55 m before mean sunrise, and it ended about 4 41 A M on the following Saturday On the same Friday there was a lunar eclipse lasting from 21 h 45 m to 23 h 57 m after mean sunrise (see *Eclipses of the Moon in India*, p xxvii) The Simha-samkrānti took place about 6 13 A M on Saturday, 28 July

The third date is given on ll 47-48 the 2nd year of Sōmēśvara [IV], the cyclic year Krōdhi, the full-moon of Pushya, Sōmavāra (Monday), the *uttarāyana-samkrānti* This is also irregular The given *tithi* corresponded to Wednesday, 19 December, A D 1184; it began about 4 h 14 m after mean sunrise on the preceding Tuesday The *uttarāyana-samkrānti* did not occur until several days later, it took place about 22 h 53 m after mean sunrise on Monday, 24 December Thus we see that the details of our date are a conflation of two distinct dates, as is often the case

The last date is stated on l 53 as Śaka 1146 (expired), the cyclic year Tārana, Jyaishta śuddha 8, Sōmavāra (Monday) This is correct The given *tithi* corresponded to Monday, 27 May, A D 1224, on which it ended about 19 h 50 m after mean sunrise

The places mentioned, besides Pūli, are Belvala and the Six-hundred of the "Two Belvalas" (ll 5, 19), Śiveyagēri (l 37), Kokkuligēri (ll 42, 49), Kattiyagēri (ll 44, 52), Ghaisāsagēri (l 46), Kalasavalligēri (l 48), Ravīyani and Ravīyanagēri (ll 44, 51), Būragutti (l 51), and some minor localities

TEXT¹

[The metres are as follows verse 1, *Anuṣṭubh*, verses 5, 7, 9, 10, 12-15, 18, *Kanda*; verses 4, 17, *Mahā-sragdharā*, verses 6, 8, 11, *Ohampaḥa-mālā*]

- 1 ॐ Namas=tunga-śraś-chumbi-chandra-chāmara-chāravē [1*] trailōkya-nagai-ārambha-mūla-stambhāya Śambhavē [11*] ॐ

¹ From the ink impression

- 2 ☉ Svasti [*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśīaya Śī-Prī(pr)thvi-vallabha mahārējādhīrājam
paramēśvaram paramabhattānakam Satyāśraya-kula-tīlakam Chālukya-ābharanam
śī-
- 3 ma[t*]-Tribhuvanamalladēvara vijaya-rājyam=nttar-ōttar-ābhuvrī(vrī)ddhi-pravarddha-
mānam=ā-āhamdi-ārka-tāram saluttam=ire [*] Tat-pāda-padma-ō-
- 4 pajivī¹ samadhigata-pamcha-mahā-śabda-mahāsāmantādhipati mahāpiachanda-danda-
nāyakam śrīman-mahāpradhānam bhānasu-
- 5 verggade Anantapūlarasara deseyn=avar=ahyam dandanāyaka Lakkarasam kut-
tumbitti bhatta-gāvey=olag-āgi Belvalav=erad=aru-nū-
- 6 rumam dushtha-nigraha-śīshtha-pratapālanadīmd=āluttam-irddu va(dha)rmma-kāryy-ōddē-
śādīm tanna palihatam Simgarasanam kaied=agrahāram Pūhya
- 7 śrīmad-Andhāsura-dēvaigge Pūhya danda-dōshad=olag=ondu bhāgama[m*] bid=emdu
sama[1*]ppise śrīmach-Chālukya-Vikrama-kālāda 29neya Tāra-
- 8 na-samvatsarada Pushya-suddha daśami Brī(Brī)haspativārada=nttai āyana-samkra-
manadi divya-tathiyol || Ī mahiyol=negaidda(īda)r=vidyā-mahi-
- 9 m-ōnnatiyol=ugra-tapadol=mukti(kti)-śrī(śrī)- mukha-mani-makurar = Kkālāmukhar = ēnō-
(nah)-parān(n)mukhai=mmuni-mukhyai || [2*] Vritta || Avarol=Pūhya-
- 10 dēvar=embar=eseda=unishth-āgragayai=bbalikk = avarimdam Lakulīśadēvar = avarim
Vakhkā(kkhū)nīdēvar=gguna-pravarar=ssarvva-kal-āgama-piathita-Vidyēśāna-yōgim-
dra-
- 11 r=ant=avarim pe[m]pina Sōmadēva-munipar=vviśvambharā-bhāgadol || [3*] Ruchir-
ōdyad-ratna-rōchi[s*]-stabaka-vilasit-ānēka-bhūpāla-chūdā(dā)-nichaya-prōdghrishta-pā-
- 12 da-dvayan=upagata-sārasvatam nūtna-va(ka)rm-ōpachay - āmbhōrāśī - Kālānana(la ?)-
mukhila-munīmdī-ōttamam mōksha-lakshmi-kucha-kumbh-ālamkrit-ōia[s*]-sthala-
- 13 n=amala-yāsa[m*] Jñānāsakti-vratīmdra || [4*] Ēkariy=ire bahu-tarkka-vyākaranam
Jñānāsakti-pandita dēvargg=ēkāksharām=emdu mahi-lōkam bannisuvud²=avara
- 14 mahim-ōnnatiya || [5*] Vitata-yāsam Chalukya-kula-tigmakaram Bhuvanay(ai)ka[ma]
Ila-bhūpati bahy-attī tan-muni-pad-ābja-yugakke vinamna-
- 15 n=āgi nischita-mati kotta pūjeyole mādisida=Śśīva-gēhamam śīl-āyatanaman=intu
mātipare pōl=enutum va(dha)ie bannip-annega || [6*] Avar=anugi-
- 16 na śīshyar=īlā-pravarar=gguna-gana-samanvitar=nnūnā-śāstra-vidai = Ttatpurushar=ddig-
vivaramgalan=amala-kūttayim dhavalisidar || [7*] Int=enisida sthān-āchā-
- 17 ryyar=appa Tatpurusha-panditara samakshadolam ūr-odeya-pramukha sāsuvvar
mmahūjanamgala sannidhānadalum śrīmad-Andhāsura-dēvara pā-
- 18 da-prakshālanam-goydu dēvar=amga-bhōgakkam khanda-sphutita jirnp-ōddhārakkam
danda-dōshad=olag=ondu bhagamam perggade Simgarasam bitta ☉ Vanadhi-
parita
- 19 bhūtala-vilāsavati-mukhad=ante tōrppa chelvīne kam Belvalakke tilak-ākri(kri)-
tiyīmd=esed-irppa Pūhy=ēn=Animisha-rājan=irppa puramō Phani-rājana rā-
- 20 jadhāniyō manuja-nivāsam=allad=enisal=neregum perat=ondu śōbheyim || [8*] Adu
vēdamgala tāy-manoy=adu nūnā-tarkad=irkke dānam kēl=ant=adu
- 21 śāstramgala kanīy=enisidud=avanī-chakrad=olage Pūli-grāma || [9*] Ārame pant=
eragida sahakārame bhōr=emdu moroyut-irpp=alini-
- 22 jhamkūrame sugandha-kusum-āsārame poṇa-volalol=emdod=ō vannipudō || [10*]
Sura-nīlayamgal-Īśāna Dīnēśana pāda yugakke bhaktai=appara[n=a]-
- 23 var=uppa śāśvata-padakak=adaidd(rd)=ērisal=emdu sārām=ūg=ire Bidi kattid=omdu
patham=emba vol=ambaramam tarumbi bhāsuratara-sāt ikumbha-kalāsānga-

¹ Read -ōpajivī² The da has been omitted and then rqi oozed in, written small

- 24 hn=oppngum=entu nōrppada || [11*] Akhila-mahidēvar=Śśatamakhanam tapipalko
kūde mādutt=ire kārmmukhadha¹ vol=esegum nānū-ma-
- 25 kha-dhūma-stōmadindam=emdum vyōma || [12*] Chōla-kula-Kāla-dandam Mālava-
kula-vīlaya-kētu Gūrjjara-kula-nīrmmūla[ka*]n=enc sale regardda(īdā)m
- 26 Chālukya-kul-ōmdu Mamgalārnnava-dēva || [13*] Ā Mamgalārnnavam jagati-
mudrita-vīmala-kīrtti sarvva-namasyam bhūmiyan=ittu sahasra-dha-
- 27 rāmararam nīhī Pūliyam pālisida || [14*] Gudi chamarav=ojja(jja)ram bel-goḍe
hadapam ghalgey=ubhaya-śamkham modal=āg=odeya mahā-
- 28 mahimeyam=ūr-odeya śrī-Mamgalārnnavam kūde padedar || [15*] Vachana || Antu
paded=ūr-odeya-pramukha sāsīrvvar=mmahājanamgala mahā-
- 29 mahimey=ent=emdade || Vipul-āchārār=aganna(ṇya)-punna(ṇya)-nīle(la)yar=llōk-aika-
pūjyar=kkalē-nīpunar=ssā(śśā)rada-nīrad-ōpama-jaśar=śśīst-ē-
- 30 shta-vargg-āmar-āmgħrīpar=udvītta-vīrōdhi-sāva(dha)na-haiar=śrī-Kēśavāditya-dēva-pad-
āmbhōruha-bhri(bhri)mgar=emdu pogalgum sāsīrvvaram bhūtala || [16*]
- 31 Param-audāryyakke janm-ālayar=enisida sāsīrvvarum tammol=atjādaradindam kūdi
va(dha)rmm-āmritān=osedu pīral=manam-
- 32 [go]mdu lōk-ōttaram=app=ātmiya-kīrtti-prabala-lateg=adarpp=embīnam śrīmad-Andhā-
sura-dēv-āvāsamam mādīsīdar=amara-śailakke
- 33 sādri(dri)śyam=āgal || [17*] Ant=enisid=ūr-odeya-pramukha sāsīrvvar=mmahājanamgal=
ē(ai)kamatyav=āg-irddu nela-varttīge sāsīrakke
- 34 pannomd=adakeya sojjamumam chamdāvuram belc modal=āg=ulid=adakegalg=ellam
sāsīrakke irppatt-omd=adakeya sojjamumam pērimge lābha-
- 35 gavalgey=entu-ūr=eleyumam tale-vor[e*]ge lābha-gavalgeya nāl-nūr-eleyuma[m*]
śrīmad-Andhāsura-dēvara pāda-prakshālanam-
- 36 mādi dēvar=amga-bhōgakk=emdu sāsīrvvar=bbittar || Ālālara Nāgadēvayya
Haradara Śāntay[y*]ja Mamndeyara Mākanayya
- 37 Ubbarada Bammayya imt-i nālvaru Śiv[e*]yagēriya nūrbbarige pāda-ghā(pū)-
jeyam kottu hāla pasugeolage² Kadakina-
- 38 keṇya kelage nālku mattar=kkeyya sarvva-namaśya(sya)v=āgi śrīmad-Addhā-
(ndhā)sura-dēvarige komdu bittar || Jagad=olage negalīda Pūliyo-
- 39 l=aga(gha)-pattar=ddēva-nīvahav=ellam kichchim dhagadhaga bhugilt=emd=urīyal=
poge khamndam³ muttad-īlīduv=Amndhāsūrana || [18*]
- 40 Svasti [i*] Śrīmatu-Kalachuryya-chakravartti(rtti) Tribhuvanamalladēva-varśa
(rsha)d=ēleneya Chitrabhānu-samvarsa(tsa)rada Śrāvana-sudhdha⁴ punnamī
Sōmavāram[u*]m
- 41 sōma-grahanamum kūdi banda punya-dīnadolu śrīmad-Andā(ndhā)sura-dēvara
sthānad=āchāryyar=appa śrī-Jñānāśakti-dēvaru śrīman-mah-a(ā)gra-
- 42 hāram Pūliy=ūr-odeya-pramukha sāsīrvvaram dravya-pūrvvakam=ārādī(dhi)śi dēvara
snāna-nīvēdyakk=emdu Kokkul[i*]gēriya hāla hasuge-
- 43 yalu komdu bitta mattar=ēl=adakke aru-vapa mattarimge hana omdu [i*]
keyya sime ent=e[m*]dade badagana sime Gōkharanēsvara⁵-dēvara key[y*]im
- 44 temkalu Ajjavara-dēvta(va)ra key[y*]im badagalu mūdalu Kattayagēriya
sa(śa)ta paduvalu Raviyaniya sa(śa)ta ☉ Svasti [i*] Śrīmad-n-
- 46 r-odeya-pramukha sāsīrvvarum śrīmad-Andā(ndhā)sura-dēvargge snāna-nīvēdyakkey-
ede-volada hasugeyalli sarvva-namaśya(sya)-

¹ Read *kārmukhada*² Read *pasugey-olage*³ There seems to be an *r* written over the *kha*.⁴ Read *sudhdha*⁵ Read *Gōkarnēsvara*

- 46 v=āgi bitta mattai=emtu [*] adakke simey=ent=e[m*]dade mūdana si[me*]
 Akkasāhgeyī | temkaṇa sime betta | haduvana sime sauti | badagan
 sime Ghais[ā]-
- 47 saḡēriya sa(śa)ta |(II) Svasti [*] Śrīmatu-Chālukya-chakravartī śrī-Sōmēśvara-
 dēva¹-varśa(rsha)d=eraḡeneya Krōdhi-samvachha(tsa)rada Puśya(shya)-sudhdha²
 punnamī
- 48 Sōmavāra uttaiāyana-samkramā(ma)nadamdu śrīmatu-Kalasa(śa)valligēriya nūrvvarum
 sāsīrvvarum same(ma)ya-chakravartī Kalī-
- 49 dēvayya-settiyarum sah[ī*]tam śrīmad-Amhāsū[ra*]-dēvargge snāna-nivēdyakke
 Mairāvanada hadināḷku mattaru keyam-
- 50 mām³=māṛ[ā*]tav=āgi Kokkuligēriya hāla hasugeya modala sthaladalli sarvva-
 namaśya(sya)v=āgi bi-
- 51 tta mattaru⁴ [*] adara śi(si)me Ravīyanagēriya sa(śa)taḡindam mūdalu
 badagana sime Būragut[t*]i-heb-batte
- 52 mūcāṇa sime Kattiyagēriya sa(śa)ta temkaṇa simey=Edavanahallada battey=i(I)
 da(dha)rmmamam sāsīrvvaru pratipāḷisuvuru ||
- 53 ☉ Svasti [*] Śrīmatu-Śaka-varsha 1148eneya Tārana-samvatsarada Jyēshtha-
 sudhdha² ashta[mī*] Sōmavāradamdu [*] Svasti [*] Samasta-guṇa sampannar=appa
- 54 śīma[t*]-Trika[ū*]tēśvara-dēvara divya-śrī-pāda-padm-ārādhakarum=appa śrī-Pūhya
 sālga-sama-
- 55 yamgalum=ūr-odeya sāsīrvvara sannidhānadalu śrīmad-Amhāsūra-dēvara sthān-
 āchāryaru-
- 56 m=appa Vāmaśakti-dēvarige dēva-kāryakk=emdu dhārā-pūrvvakav=āgi kotta
 harike⁵ okkalimge homge⁶

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1 identical with verse 1 of inscription D above)

(Lines 2-3) When the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Satyāśraya's race, embellishment of the Chālukyas, king Tribhuvanamalladēva, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars —

(Ll 3-7) On behalf of him who finds sustenance at his lotus feet, the great Lord of Endowments who receives the five great musical sounds, the great august general, high minister, and Steward of the Kitchen, Anantapālarasa,—his son-in-law, the general Lakkarasa, administering the Six-hundred of the two Belvalas,⁷ including the kuttumbitti and provision-villages,⁸ so as to suppress the wicked and protect the cultured, despatched his deputy Singarasa on a mission of religious business, and having bade him to assign one share in the proceeds of the fines of Pūli to the god Andhāsura of the Agrahāra of Pūli, consecrated (the same), whereupon—

¹ Read *Sōmēśvaradēva*—

² Read *suddha*

³ Read *keyya* (P)

⁴ Possibly a numeral has been dropped before *mattaru*

⁵ There seems to be a *sonne* at the end of this word on the stone, over the *ge*

⁶ The record here seems to break off in the middle of the sentence

⁷ This means the Three hundred of Belvala and the Three hundred of Paligeṛe see Dr. Fleet's note on the Soratūr inscription, above, Vol XIII, p 178

⁸ See note on *bhatta grāme* (Sūdu inscr F, l 20) above, Vol XV, p 92, n. 1

the Creator as his choicest work in order to raise the votaries of the feet of Īśa and the Sun to enter into the everlasting seat where they¹ abide

(V 12) The sky is ever bright with masses of smoke of various sacrifices, like a rainbow, which all the Brāhmanas together make for the satisfaction of the Lord of a Hundred Sacrifices [Indra]

(V 13.) Mangalārnavadēva, a moon of the Chālukya race, has become in sooth illustrious as a rod of Kāla to the Chōla race, a meteor of ruin to the Mālava race, an uprooter of the Gūrjara race

(V 14) This Mangalārnavā, whose stainless fame is stamped upon the earth, having given land on *sarva-namasya* tenure (and) settled a thousand Brāhmanas, protected Pūli

(V 15) The fortunate Mangalārnavā, the mayor, received as a gift (*marks of—Ed*) the high dignity of governorship, namely the flag, yak-tail fans, discus (?), white parasol, betel-bag, gong, double shell, and the rest

(Ll 28-29) As regards the high dignity of the Thousand Mahājanas, headed by the mayor who has had this fortune —

(V 16) The earth extols the Thousand as being men of abounding (*good*) conduct, seats of incalculable merit, uniquely worshipful to the world, skilled in arts, having fame like autumnal clouds, celestial trees to the companies of cultured and agreeable men, ravishing the powers of hanghty foes, bees to the lotus-feet of the blest god Kēśavāditya

(V 17) The Thousand, who are birth-sites of supreme generosity, having together drunk with delight the nectar of religion with exceeding reverence for him, moved in spirit built a dwelling for the blessed god Andhāsura, which was to be as it were a support for the mighty creeping-plant of their own superhuman fame, so that it was like to the celestial mountain

(Ll 33-36) The Thousand Mahājanas headed by the mayor thus described, by unanimous consent, laved the feet of the god Andhāsura and granted for the god's personal enjoyment on *nela-varthi* eleven *sojja* of areca-nuts per thousand, on all other areca-nuts, such as *chandāvura* and *bele*, twenty-one *sojja* per thousand, on each load (*of betel-leaf*), a bundle² (*consisting of*) eight-hundred betel-leaves, on each head-load, a bundle (*consisting of*) four-hundred betel-leaves

(Ll 36-38) Ālālara Nāgadēvayya, Haradara Śāntayya, Mandeyara Mākanayya, and Ubbarada Bammayya, these four, having offered worship at the feet of the Hundred of Śiveyagēri, purchased (*of them*) and assigned to the god Andhāsura as a *sarva-namasya* holding four *mattar* below the Kadakū Tank within the waste-land *pasuge*

(V. 18) In Pūli, which is renowned in the world, the whole company of gods is grief-stricken if a morsel (*of sacrificial food*) should enter the flames in fiery glow with crackling sound, without coming to Andhāsura

(Ll 40-41.) On the holy day on which occurred Monday, the full-moon of the bright fortnight of Śrāvana in the cycle year Chitrabhānu, the seventh of the (*regnal*) years of —hail!—the blest Kalachurya Emperor Tribhuvanamalladēva,³ together with an eclipse of the moon,—

(Ll. 41-44) Jñānaśaktidēva, the Āchārya of the establishment of the god Andhāsura, having adored with (*offering of*) money the Thousand, headed by the mayor, of the great Agrahāra of Pūli, purchased and assigned for the god's baths and oblations seven *mattar* in the

¹ Namely Īśa and the Sun

² *Lābha-gavaḷige* the word *kavaḷige* means "a quantity embraced, a pack or bundle of betel or plantain-leaves, etc" (Kittel, sv).

³ See *Dyn. Kanar. Distr.*, p. 474.

waste-land *hasuge* of Kokkuligēri, the *aru-iana* for it is one *hana* on each *mattar*. As regards the bounds of the field, the northern bound is from the field of the god Gōkarnēśvara, on the south from the field of (the god) of the Ajjavas,¹ on the north-east the *śata* of Kattiyagēri, on the west the *śata* of Raviyāni.

(Ll 44-47.) Hail ! The Thousand, headed by the mayor, assigned to the god Andhāsura for baths and oblations eight *mattar* as a *sarva-namasya* holding in the *hasuge* of the Lower (?) Field. As regards its bounds, the eastern bound is the Goldsmiths' Field, the southern bound the hill, the western bound the *sauti*, the northern bound the *śata* of Ghaisāsagēri.

(Ll 47-48.) On the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*, Monday, the full-moon of the bright fortnight of Pushya in the cyclic year Krōdhi, the second of the (regal) years of—hail !—the Chālukya Emperor Sōmēśvaradēva,—

(Ll 48-52.) The Hundred of Kalāśavalligēri and the Thousand (of Pūli), together with the Samaya-chakravartti Kalidēvayya Setti, assigned to the god Andhāsura for baths and oblations a (?) *mattar* as a *sarva-namasya* holding in the first grounds of the waste-land *hasuge* of Kokkuligēri, in exchange for a field of fourteen *mattar* belonging to Mairāvana.² Its bounds are on the east from the *śata* of Raviyanagēri, its northern bound the highroad of Būragutti, its eastern bound the *śata* of Kattiyagēri, its southern bound the road of the Edava's river.³ This pious foundation the Thousand shall protect.

(L 53.) On Monday the eighth of the bright fortnight of Jyēsthā in the cyclic year Tārana, the 1146th year of—hail !—the auspicious Śaka era,—

(L 53-56.) Hail ! Endowed with all virtues, worshippers of the divinely blest lotus-feet of the god Trikūtēśvara, the weavers' guilds of Pūli, in the presence of the mayor and the Thousand, granted with pouring of water a votive gift (?) to Vāmaśaktidēva, the Āchārya of the establishment of the god Andhāsura, for the business of the god for each household, on every gold-piece.

F—OF THE REIGN OF VIKRAMADITYA VI SAKA 1029

This is an inscription on the upper part of a black stone found standing in the *mandapa* on the southern side of the entrance into the adytum of the temple of Kere-Siddhappa. The lower part of the stone, with the inscription from l 31 onwards, has been broken away and lost. What remains is 3 ft 5½ in high and 1 ft 8½ in wide. It has a rounded top, on which are sculptures, viz in the centre a *linga*, to the proper right of this, a squatting figure, possibly Śiva or a Yōgi, to the left of the *linga*, a cow with calf, over the cow, a scimitar, above these, the sun (to right of *linga*) and moon (to left). The inscribed area below this is 2 ft 2½ in high and 1 ft 8½ in broad.—The character is good Kanarese of the period, with letters about ½ in high, which, however, become smaller as the inscription goes on. The cursive *v* occurs in *vatipātadalu*, l 26.—The language is Sanskrit in the prelude (ll 1-3), and for the rest Old Kanarese. The *l* appears only as *l*, viz in *rogalvudō* (l 14) and *pogalvud=* (l 18).

The record opens with two Sanskrit verses, the first of which is the formal *Namas-tunga*, and the second the introductory stanza of Kālidāsa's *Raghuramā* (ll 1-3). It then refers itself to the reign of Tribhuvanamalladēva, i.e. Vikramāditya VI (ll 4-7), and next in a series of verses extols the Belvala *nādu*, Pūli, the Thousand of Pūli, the Hundred of Kalāśavalligēri, the Śaiva divine Siddhēśvara, and his disciple Sōmēśvara, both of whom were Āchāryas

¹ The Ajjava family is mentioned above, in inscr D.

² This is the name of a demon, an ally of Ravana, whose legend is popular in the south. Possibly a sanctuary of his may be meant, but it is doubtful.

³ On the epithet *edara* see above, Vol XV, p 81, n 7.

2

4

8

8

10

12

4

16

8

0

2

4

3

8

6

8

10

12

4

8

1



of the temple of Kalasēśvara in Kalasavalligēri (ll 7-24) Descending then into prose, it chronicles a gift of land to this sanctuary by the Hundred of Kalasavalligēri, in the midst of which it is broken off.

The date of this record is given on ll 24-26 as Śaka 1029 (expired), the cyclic year Sarvajit, Pushya śuddha 12, Budhavāra (Wednesday), the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*. This is irregular, being another instance of the conflation of two distinct dates The *tithi* Pushya śuddha 12 corresponded to Saturday, 28 December, A D 1107, it ended about 20 h 11 m after mean sunrise on Saturday, i.e. about 2.11 A M on Sunday The *uttarāyana-samkrānti* again occurred about 50 m after mean sunrise—scil 6 50 A M—on Wednesday, 25 December

The places mentioned are Pūli, the Belvala nādu (l. 9), Kalasavalligēri (ll 16, 28), and Rudragere (l. 30) The last cannot be identified

TEXT¹

[The metres are as follows Vv 1, 2, *Anushtubh*, v 3, *Onampakamāṭī*, v 4, *Mattēbhakrīdita*, Vv 5-9, *Kanda*]

- 1  Namas=tumga-śiraś-chumbi-chandra-chāmara-chāravē tīlōkya-nagar-ārambha-
mū-
- 2 la-stambhāya Śambhavē || [1*] Vāg-artthāv=iva sampriktau vāg-arttha-
piatipattayē [1*]
- 3 jagatah pita[r]au vamdē Pārvvati-Paramēśvarau || [2*] Ōm namah Śivā[ya] ||
- 4  Svasti [1*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśraya Śrī-Prithvī-vallabha mahārājādhirāja
5 paramēśvara paramabhattarakam Satyāśraya-kula-tlaka Chālukya-ā-
6 bharanam śrīma[t*]-Tribhuvanamalladēva-vijaya-rājyam=uttar-ōtta-
7 r-ābhivra(vr)ddhi-pravarddhamānam=ā-chamdr-āikka-tāram saluttam=ire || Śara-
8 nidhi-mēkhal-āvrita-vasundharey=emba vilāsini-mukh-āmburūha-
9 da vōl=vīrājusuva Belvala-nēlge podalā śōbhag=āgaram=enis=irppa
10 Pūli tilak-ākṛitīyīmd=esed=irppud=ā puram Sura-puramam K[u]-
11 bēran=Alakā-puramam nagugum vilāsadim || [3*] Bhuvana-prastutar²=ēka-vākya-
12 r=achalar=śrī-Kēśavāditya-dēva-vara-prāpta-samasta-sampadar=aśēsh-āsī(śā)-sa-
13 mēkīrṇa(rṇa)-varṇa(rṇa)-vilāsar=chchaturar=chchatus=same(ma)ya=samsōvyar=chcha-
tur-Vvēda-Śā-
14 stra-vichāra-kshamar=emdad=ē vogalvudō sāsīrvvara, khyātiyam || [4*]
15 Allī || Vīditam(ta)-śrī-Pūli-pura-vadan-ālōkana-sudarppapar=ttāv=enipa-
16 r=ssad-amala-charitar=guna-gaṇa-sadanar=enalu Kalasa(śa)valligēriya nū-
17 rvvaru || [5*] Alliy=āchāryyaru || Snāna-japa-hōma-niyama-dhyān-ā-
18 nushthāna-śīla-tatparanāh sad(j)-jñāna-nidhi māna-nidhiy=emd=ānāhdade
pogalvud=a-
19 vani Siddhēśvaranam || [6*] Bauddh-Ārhata-Sāmkhyāyā³-bōd[h]dhīgal=emd=e[m]-
20 ba birudu samdudu jagadol=Siddhēśvara-pamditarg=atyuddhata-vād-ibha-simhar=e-
21 ne mechhadar=ār || [7*] Avara śishyaru || Agha-dūra-muniśvaranūh
jaghamnyam(nya)-yati-ta-
22 tiyol=emdu saman=en=abaiḥku laghu-guna-rahitam bhuvanadol=Aghōra-japa-
nushthit-ātma-Sō-

¹ From the ink-impression

² The *ta* was omitted by the engraver and then added below the line

³ Corrupt the true reading may perhaps be *sāmkhyāyana* (taking *āyana* as equivalent to *tātra*) [or rather *Sāmkhya-Nyāya*—Ed].

- 23 mēśvaranam || [8*] Jalañdhī-parīta-vasudhātāladolu naishthika-muni(nī)śvar-
ārādhyam śrī-Kala-
- 24 śēśa-dēva-p[ā*]da-kamala-bhṛīṅga Sōmēśvara-bratīśam stutyam¹ || [9*] Svasti [i*]
Śrīmach-Chhaka-varsha
- 25 1029eneya Sarvvajitu-samvatsarada Pushya-śuddha 12 Budhavāradam-
- 26 d=uttarāyana-samkrānti-vyatipātadalu śrīman-mah-āgrahāram
- 27 Pūliy=ūr-odeya-pramukha-sāsirvvar=mmahājanamgala samnidhānadalu
- 28 śrīmatu-Kalasa(sa)valligēriy=aśēsha-nūrvvar=mmahājanamgalum śrīmatu-Kale(la)śē-
- 29 śvara-dēvara [kham]da-sphutita-jirnn(rnn)-ōddhārakkam nivēdyakkav=alliya tapō-
dhanar=ālāra-
- 30 [dēnakkam] key[y]ḥ Rudrageṇya mattaru nālku
kamma²

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1 . identical with v 1 of inscription D above)

(V 2) For attainment of words and ideas I adore Pārvatī and Paramēśvara, the parents of the universe, who are united like word and idea³

(L 3) Ōm ! Homage to Śiva !

(Ll 4-7) When the victorious reign of—hail !—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Satyāśraya's race, embellishment of the Chālukyas, king Tribhuvanamalladēva, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars —

(V 3) Pūli, which may well be called a mine of brilliant beauty, displays itself in the form of a beauty-spot on the county of Belvala, which is radiant like the lotus-face of that graceful lady the ocean-girdled Earth. This town by its elegant appearance laughs to scorn the city of the Gods and Kubēra's city of Alakā

(V 4) As they are known as being praised throughout the world, uniform of speech, unwavering, receiving all good fortune from the boons of the blest god Kēśavāditya, having the splendour of their praises diffused through the whole of space, skilful, worshipped in the four churches,⁴ competent for the study of the four Vēdas and books of instruction, what praise can befit the renown of the Thousand ?

(L 15) In that (town)—

(V 5) The Hundred of Kalasavalligēri are indeed goodly mirrors to view the face of the famed and blest town of Pūli, being men of good stainless conduct, seats of numerous virtues

(L 17) The Āchāryas there—

(V 6) The earth with delight praises Siddhēśvara, who is devoted to the practice of bathing, prayer, oblation, minor disciplines, and contemplation, as a treasure of goodly knowledge, a treasure of dignity.

(V 7) The title of instructor in Buddhist, Jain, and Sāṅkhya⁵ doctrines is applied in the world to Siddhēśvara-Pandita who are there that do not land him as a lion to those elephants the exceedingly haughty disputants ?

¹ The defective metre shews that the text is wrong. The most likely emendation seems to be -bhṛīṅga Sōmēśa-bratī śastvityam

² Line 20 ends with this word. Towards the end of line 31 the tops of a few letters are visible, but not one letter in the line is complete. The rest of the stone is lost.

³ This is the opening verse of Kādhāsa's *Raghuramsa*

⁴ See above, on inscr. B, l 10

⁵ [See f. n 3 on p. 197 —Ed.]

(L 21) His disciple—

(V 8) When (*can there be*) even a great saint remote from guilt in the series of recent ascetics, who is his equal? Can he match¹ Sōmēśvara, who is void of vain qualities and whose spirit is devoted to prayer to Aghōra?

(V 9) On the sea-enccompassed earth the great ascetic Sōmēśvara is adored by devout saints, a bee to the lotus-feet of the blest god Kalāśeśa, highly honoured

(Ll 24-26) On Wednesday, the twelfth of the bright fortnight of Pushya in the cycle year Sarvajit, the 1029th (year) of—hail!—the auspicious Śaka era, during a *vyatipāta*² in the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*,—

(Ll 26-30) In the presence of the Thousand Mahājānas, headed by the mayor, of the great Agrahāra of Pāli, the full Hundred Mahājānas of Kalāśavalligēri [assigned] for the restoration of broken, burst, and outworn (*masonry of the temple*) of the god Kalāśeśvara, for oblations, and for the supply of food to the ascetics of the place . . . a field, four *mattar* *kamma* of Rudragere . . .

G—OF THE REIGN OF VIKRAMADITYA VI THE 32ND YEAR

This is a *śira-gal*, which was found by Dr Fleet lying between two stones of the same class, one of them being the inscription A above, lying to the north of the Bhīmēśvara temple. It was removed by him into the porch of another temple which stands a few yards to the north of the Bhīmēśvara, and for which the villagers had no certain name, though they inclined to call it the Tarakēśvara. The stone is 6 ft 2 in high (not reckoning the tenon at its base), its breadth is 1 ft 9 in at the first line of writing, and 2 ft 1 in at the base. The basis in which it originally stood has been lost. It is divided into seven compartments, four containing sculptures and the intermediate three the text. The uppermost compartment, which is rounded at the top, has in the centre a *linga* in a shrine, on the proper right of this is Gaṇēśa seated and facing full front, with a worshipper at his right knee. On the proper left of the *linga* are three worshippers, and there are three more round the upper part of the compartment. Below this are lines 1-4 of the text. The compartment next below these has in its centre the figures of three seated goddesses, facing full front, to the proper right is a female dancing, and on the left a seated female playing on a lute. Above these are eight females standing in a row, who hold chowries. Underneath this come lines 5-6 of the text. The compartment immediately below the latter has at its centre a male figure in movement, with his arms on the shoulders of two females, one at each side of him, in each of the four corners is a group of three figures, also in motion. Below these are lines 7-10 of the text. In the lowest compartment is a figure of a man shooting arrows from a bow, he faces half front and half to the proper left. Two corpses are lying under his feet. Facing him are two horsemen and three archers, and behind him are two or three archers shooting at the other party, and behind these again, in the upper proper right corner, are twelve cows running away. The character is good Kanarese of the period, the letters are generally $\frac{1}{2}$ — $\frac{3}{4}$ in high. The language is Old Kanarese. The *ḷ* appears as *ḷ* (*alidam*, l. 10). Of some lexical interest are the words *Vaddavāra*, l. 2 (cf. above, Vol XII, p. 147), *taḷāra*, l. 3 f., *mēḷad=āl*, l. 9, and *anuvāra*, l. 9³.

¹ This translation is based upon the assumption that *abaraku* is the same as *amarkku*. But this is not quite certain, and the word is perhaps corrupt.

² A *Yōga* in which the declination of sun and moon is the same.

³ *Anuvāra* is glossed in Gangadhara Madhaveswar Tirmar's *Śabdamañjarī* (Dharwar, 1890) as *kāḷaga*, "battle," which is probably right. But neither the word itself nor the verb *anu* *ṛi* is given in the P. B.; Kittel in *loco* translates it "selecting, making (anything) one's special aim," and he gives the verbal stem *anu varisu*, ignoring the explanation of the *Śabdamañjarī*.

The record itself is of a type common on monuments of the kind. It begins by referring itself to the 32nd year of the Chālukya-Vikrama era, *i.e.* of the reign of Vikramāditya VI, and then relates in prose that a certain Torapara Būtayya carried off cows belonging to Pūli, and thereupon Gangara Bōsi (Bōsiga) and his messmate and comrade Peruva Malli (Malliga) made a brave attempt to recover them, in which they perished. Each of these heroes has a verse devoted to his praise.

The Torapas are mentioned as enemies of the Hundred-and-four Mahājanas of Rōn in an inscription of Rōn of Śaka 1102 which is also being published by me in this Journal. It styles the latter *Torapa-lulāmtakarum*. Apparently they were a race of bandits.

The date of the inscription is given on ll 1-2 as the 32nd year of the Chālukya-Vikrama era, the cyclic year Sarvajit, Śrāvana bahula 5, Vaddavāra (Saturday). This is regular. The given *tithi* corresponded to Saturday, 10 August, A.D. 1107, on which it began about 3 h. 50 m. before mean sunrise.

The only place mentioned is Pūli (ll 3, 7).

TEXT¹

[The metre is *Kanda*]

- 1 Ōm² [*] Svasti [*] Śrimach-Chālukya-Vikrama-kālada 32neya Sarvvaji-
- 2 t-samvatsarada Śrāvana-bahula 5 Vaddavāradamdu
- 3 Torapara Būtayyam Pūliya tñracam kondade³ ta-
- 4 līra-nāyakam Gangara Bōsiyuv=ātan=odan-umda kele-
- 5 yam Peruva Malliyum turuvig=addam bamdu mēl-ālum kuduieyu-
- 6 mən=iridu palaram komdu sūryya-mamdalamam bhōjisidar ||
- 7 Torapar=dir=etti Pūliya turuvam kole kamdu Bōsiga[m] pagevaran=ānt=i-
- 8 ridu Divijēmdra-puradol=meredam nija-vikrama-pratāp-ōnnatiy[*]m || [1*]
- 9 Odan-umda keleyanam samgadad=ālam mēlad=ālan=annuvarad=edeyol bida-
- 10 l=āgad=emdu Bōsigan=odan=alidam Malligam pratāp-ōnnatiyīm || [2*] ☉ ☉

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-2) On Saturday, the 5th of the dark fortnight of Śrāvana in the cyclic year Sarvajit, the 32nd (year) of—hail!—the auspicious Chālukya-Vikrama era,—

(Ll 3-6) When Torapara Būtayya had seized cows belonging to Pūli, the chief headle Gangara Bōsi and his messmate Peruva Malli stepped in the way of the cows, smote the leader and (his) horse, slew many, and enjoyed the orb of the sun⁴.

(Verse 1) When the Torapas, making an assault, carried off the cows of Pūli, Bōsiga, seeing it, confronted the foemen, smote them, and became brilliant in the city of the Lord of Gods by the high degree of his valour and nobility.

¹ From the ink impression.

² The *ōm* is detected to be somewhat fantastic figure, apparently based upon the *śaṅkha* symbol.

³ T. I have first written *kondade*, and then cancelled the first *e*.

⁴ that they were killed in the battle and their souls were carried up to the Valhalla of fallen heroes in the sun. Cf. the well-known verse *Drāt=imau puruṣau lōkē sūrya-maṇḍala bhēdītau || paritṛāḍ-*
ṣṭa=paṇi śaśa raṇā śāra mukhā śūlā ||

(V 2) Saying "I cannot leave my messmate, my associate, my comrade on the field of battle," Malliga perished together with Bōsiga by reason of the high degree of his nobility

H—OF THE REIGN OF VIKRAMADITYA VI

This is a fragment of a Jain record. It is cut on the upper part of a black stone which was found lying in the courtyard of the Pañchalīnga temple, and was placed by Dr Fleet for security in the *sabhā-mandapa* of the sanetnary. The lower part of the slab was lost. The remainder was 2 ft 7½ in high and 2 ft. 8 in. broad. The topmost compartment, which was rounded, contained sculptures, viz in the centre a squatting Jina (Pārśvanātha ?) facing full front, with a canopy of inflated cobras' hoods over his head, in a shrine, and having below him a pedestal with a floral device and on each side of it a lion, to his proper right a cow and calf, to his left a scimitar, above him, to the left, the sun and moon. The inscribed area beneath this is 1 ft 4 in high and 2 ft 7½ in broad.—The character is good Kanarese, with letters of about ¾ in high.—The language is Sanskrit (verses 1-4 and 6) and Old Kanarese (verses 5, 7-17 and prose). As regards the latter, we may note that *ḷ* is not found, it appears as *l* (*pogalīnam* l 4, *podalīda*, l 10, *pogalut*, l 20) and *r* (*nōrppaḍame*, l 9, *nōrppaḍe*, ll 10, 11, *negarḍda*, l 18). The words *jaḡadalām*, l 17, *līmkad=amka*, l 19 (see above, on inser B, l 14), and *kal-vesam* l 21 may be noticed.

The record, after the usual Jain prelude, extols in poetry the Ganadhara Sudharman, Bāhubalin, the famous Jain divine of the Kāṇḍāru-Gana of the Yāpanīya-Saṅgha, Śubhachandra and Maunīdēva, of the same Gana, and Māghanandin (ll 1-5).¹ Then it refers itself in prose to the reign of Tribhuvanamalladēva (Vikramāditya VI), whom it lauds in verse (ll 6-9), thence proceeding to extol in verse Kuntala, possibly Bolvala, and Pūli with its Thousand Mahājanas (ll 9-15). It next gives the titles of an otherwise unknown *rāja* named Pitta, who styled himself "Lord of Kōlālā, best of cities" (ll 15-17), and adds in verse that he had four sons, Perma, Bijja or Bijjala, Kīrtti, and Gorma, and a daughter, Mailaladēvi, Bijjala slew certain kings, and had some relations (a lacuna prevents us from knowing what they were) with king Jayasīma of the Gūrjarāśhtra, possibly the Paramāra Jayasīma of Mālwa, who flourished about 1055 A.D. (ll 19-20). A mutilated verse speaks of Rēvakanirmadi as sister of king Kanhara, comparing to her Sīriyādēvi as sister of somebody else (l 20). We then learn that Bijjala built a Jain sanetuary, which possibly may be the Pañchalīnga, and apparently that he or somebody else granted to it a place named Pergummi(?) The rest is lost.

The reference to Rēvakanirmadi and Kanhara is interesting. Kanhara is the Rāshṭrīkūṭa Krishna III, and Rēvakanirmadi was his elder sister, she married the Ganga Satyavākya Bātuga II, who succeeded between 933 and 940 A.D.² This fact, and the titles "Gāṅgēya of the Gangas" and "lord of Kōlālapura," indicate that Pitta was a scion of the Ganga family.

The places mentioned, besides Pūli, are Kuntala (l 9), Kōlālapura, i.e. Kolhāpur³ (l 16), the Gūrjarāśhtra, i.e. Gujāt (l 19), Bolvala (l 22), Pergummi (ib), and Mānikya-tīrtha (l. 24).

¹ Bāhubalin is well known. Māghanandin and Śubhachandra may conceivably be the same as the divines so named who are mentioned in *Inscr. Śrāvana Belgoḷa*, Nos 40 1, 43, 45 9, 59, 64 5, 144, and I A, Vol XIV p 22. A Maunada Bhattāra is mentioned in *Inscr. Śrāv. Belgoḷa*, No 6.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol VI, p 71, cf *ib.*, Vol IV, p 352, and *Dyn. Kanar. Dist.*, p 304. The Gāwarwād inscription previously published by me speaks of Bātuga as Rēvakanirmadiya vallabham (l 15), so does the Annigōri record which is almost identical.

³ [Kōlālāpurra is only an epigraphic variant of Kuvalālapura which has been identified with Kōlār, the chief town of the Kōlār district in the east of Mysore. See *Bomb. Gaz. Vol. I—Part II*, pp. 297-8.—Ed.]

TEXT.¹

[The metres are as follows V 1, *Anushtubh*, vv 2, 3, 6, *Trishtubh Upajāti*, v 4 *Āryāgītī* (?), vv 5, 12, 13, 16, *Kanda*, v 7, *Mahāśraṅgharā*, vv 8, 15 *Chamṛaṁamā* 2, vv 9, 14, *Utpalamālā*, vv. 10, 11, 17, *Mattēbhavikrīḍita*]

- 1 [Śīmat-parāma-gambhī]ra-syūdvād-āmōgha-lāmcchhanam [1*] jlyū[t*]-tirulōṭya-nāthasya śāsanam Jina-śāsanam © [1*] Śri-Vha-nāthasya gan-īśvarō=bhūt-Sudharmma-nāmā pravādhūta[— — | — —]
- 2 [— — — —] Yāpaniyē sa[nghē] pūras-tatra cha chāru-mūrggō © [2*] Kaṇḍūru-vikhyāta-ganē babbūvuh purā munimdiū bahavō mahā(?) [— — — —]
- 3 [— — — —] d²-auka-simbō munīśvarō Bāhubali babbūva © [3*] Jayatu Śubhachandradēvah Kamdūr-ggaṇa-pumdarika-ana-māritamdaś=chamda-tridamda
- 4 . . . ³pārago budha-vinutah © [4*] Nuta-Yāpaniya-samgha-pratita-Kandūr ggan ābdhī-chamdramar=emd=ī kshiti-vale(la)yam pogalvinam=ummati-vettar=Mmō(Mmau)ni[dē]-
- 5 [va-divya-munimdra]ru⁴ © [5*] Śri-Māghanamdi-bratinātham=idū Kāmārī⁵-bhīm-ō[ra]ga-Yamatēyam [1*] nam[n]-āvanipālaka-uddha-kī[r*]tti[m*] sī[ddh]ānta-ta[ttv]-ārpnava-pūinna-cha[mdrām ©] [6*]
- 6 [Svasti [1*] Samasta-bhuvā]n-āśrayam Śri-Pri(Pri)thvi-vallabham mahārājīdhirāja[m] paramēśvaram paramabhattārahkam Satyāśraya-kuḷa-lalakam Chāluky-ābharnuam śrimat-Tribhuvanamalla-
- 7 [dēvara vijaya]-rājyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhivri(vri)ddhi-pravaraddhamūnam=ā-chamdi-ārkkā-tāram-baram saluttam=ire © Kshitiḡ=ellam tanna tōjam tolagi belago tann=ājñe Chōl-ā[vani]-
- 8 [— — — — — — — —] o]lu nartīsut=ire sale tann=ārppu lōkakke Kalpa-kshitiyātam kūde pant=amt=ire Kāḷi-yingadolu pattiḡum Rāghav-ādi-kshitiyāl-ānikarolu pā[— —]
- 9 [— — — — — — — —] Vikra[māditya]dēva © [7*] Jaladhi-parita-bhūtala-vadhū-tige kumtalad=amdadim | manam-golisuvud=emtu nōrppadame Kumtala-dāsam=ava(da)kke chinna-pūgala terad=amte ramḡis[— — —]
- 10 [— — — — — — — —] ita⁶ mauktik-āvaliya podalda hāraḡa vol=irppudu nōrppade Pūlī hileyim © [8*] Mattam © Pom-galasamgalimd=eṣeva dēva-grihamgalin=oppu-vetta vārāmgapeyakkal[— — — —]

¹ From the ink impression.

² It is doubtful whether this is *d* or *ḍ*

³ The *pā* is not quite certain

⁴ This gap is filled from l 31 of the second Ratta inscription in *Journ. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol X p [May be corrected into Kūnādi—Ed]

⁵ The vowel before *ḡḡa* may be either *ā* or *o*

- 11 [— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — (f)podn]lda Vēdamgale mūrtti-gomdud=emp=amdada-
oppuva viprarinde giāmanigala chakravarttiy=esed=iddudu nōppade Pāli
hleyim ☉ [9*] Mattam=alhya viprara mahimey=e[nt=emdode] [1*]
- 12 [∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — ∪]pi(han=enipa śrī-Kṛishna-dēvam savistaradim
tanma sāhasam=aappa pesaram rūp=āg=naḷu mādi s-ākshara-Vēd-ākshara-jiva-
mamtri-chayamam tiv=ittu Pāli-mahā-pura[— — ∪ ∪]
- 13 [— ∪ — ∪ eseda]=śāsirvva=imt=urvvayolu ☉ [10*] Upam-ātitam=enippa
pempu gunam=audāryyam chalani sāhasam japa-hōmain niyamam māli-ōnnatika-
vātyam śaṇcham=ū[— ∪ —]
- 14 [∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — ∪] śistrad=odavim śrī-Kēśavāditya-dēva-pad-āmbhōja-
vara-piśādar=eseda=śāsirvva=imt=urvvayolu ☉ [11*] Hari kile-neleyim
cha(²ba)hsida hari-bada-bettam
- 15 . k=emdu mākāripudu śāsirvva=uchitade chalita-vachanam
☉ [12*] Svasty=anavarata-vinamad-Ama[ia]-iājat-ti(ki)ita-kōti-tāti(di)ta-Jinō[m]dra-
charan-āravinda-ma .
- 16 . [chal]d=uttaramga ☉ Vira-vidvishita samharana-piātāpa-Kārttikēya
☉ Ganga-Gāmgēya ☉ Chapala-vani-vāhini-samhanana-piātāpa-Lankōśvaram
☉ Kōkila-p[uravar adhiśvaram ☉]
- 17 . [emt=em]dode ☉ Māmdalika-jagadalam māi-kkomdaia
Javan=artthi-janake kalpa-mah(hu)jam gamdara titttham sitagara gamdam
māi-kkōla Bhairavam Pitta-nripam ☉ [13*] Mattam [— ∪ ∪ —]
- 18 [∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ —] puttida=oppe
Permma-nripa Bijja-mahipati Kirtti-bhūpanam jettiga Gormmanu
negardda(lda) Mail[a*]ladēviyum=amte rūpinimdh(d)=ittalav=āgi [— ∪ ∪ ∪]
- 19 [— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ —] ☉ [14*] [∪ ∪ ∪ ∪]
hmkad=amkad=ari-bhūbhūjaram tave komdu Gūrjja-rāshtrada Jayasimhadēva-
dharaniśvaranam nija-rājya-lakshmiyolu padu[∪ ∪ — ∪ —]
- 20 [∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ —]p]o-
galut=irppudu Bijjala-bhūmipālanam ☉ [15*] Mattam ☉ Rēvaka-
nirmmadī Kamnharadēvamg=emt=akkan=amte bhū-nute Sīriy[ādēvi]
- 21 [☉] [16*] [∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — ∪]
— ∪ ∪ ∪ — — ∪ — — ∪ — ∪]du dal=tāy-vaney=emdu
Bijjala-nripam chauvisa-Tirtthakkalam mudadim mādisi kal-vesm samesi-
d[— — — ∪ — — ∪ —]
- 22 [∪ ∪ — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — — — ∪ — — ∪]
∪ ∪] dūm bitta [∪ — ∪] Beḷvaladol=imt=opp=ippa Perggummiyam ☉
[17*] Haralārubādakamsi(?)

¹ Three more lines are more or less visible, but only a very few letters in them can be deciphered. In l 23 can be read the words *Chāḷukya chakravartti Permmadīrāyan āyayol*, and in l. 24 *mādisi* *Mānukya tirttha*. The rest of the stone is lost.

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1, identical with verse 1 of inscription B above)

(V 2) There was a Gaṇadhara of the blessed Vira, named Sudharman, who had cast away . . . and again in this Yāpaniya-Saṅgha, which is beautiful in its conduct,—

(V 3) In the Gana known as that of Kaṇḍūr there were formerly many great saints . . . there was the great saint Bāhubali, a lion . . .

(V 4) Victorious be Śubhachandradēva, a sun to the lotus-park of the Kaṇḍūr-Gana . . . to the terrible tridanda¹ . . . renowned among sages

(V 5) As the circling earth extols him as a moon to the ocean of the famous Kaṇḍūr-Gana in the renowned Yāpaniya-Saṅgha, the great and holy saint Maunidēva rose to eminence

(V 6) I adore that lord of ascetics the blest Māghanandin, a Garuda to the dreadful serpent Kamāri,² whose fame is attended by bowing monarchs, and who was a full-moon to the ocean of the principles of doctrine.

(Ll 6-7) When the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, supreme Master, ornament of Satyāsraya's race, embellishment of the Chālukyas, king Tribhuvanamalladēva, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars —

(V 7) As his splendour shines radiantly over all the earth, his authority dances upon [the heads³] of Chōla kings, his power in truth as it were bears fruit equally with the Tree of Desire for the world, and he, being born in the Kali age . . . in the company of Raghu's son and other monarchs . . . king Vikramāditya

(V 8) How doth the land of Kuntala, even as one looks, fascinate the mind by its semblance of a lock of curls (on the head) of that lady the ocean-encompassed Earth¹ . . . is resplendent after the manner of golden flowers Pūli, when one looks, is in its graceful aspect like a conspicuous string of . . . threaded pearls

(L 10) Moreover,—

(V 9) Pūli, when one observes, appears as an emperor of towns in its graceful aspect, with golden pinnacles, with bright temples, with comely public women . . . with Brāhmanas so stately that the . . . Vēdas seem to be incarnate in them

(L 11) Moreover, as regards the eminence of the local Brāhmanas —

(V 10) The blessed god Kṛṣṇa, who is a basis . . . having abundantly caused his thousand names to take bodily form, and richly stowed a multitude of syllables of the Vēdas, together with the Syllable [Ōm], and of vital spells, in the great town of Pūli . . . thus the Thousand [are eminent] on earth²

(V 11) Dignity transcending comparison, virtue, generosity, spirit, enterprise, prayer and oblation, minor disciplines, high exaltation, truth, purity . . . by possession of teaching-books, the Thousand, having the grace of boons from the lotus-feet of the blest god Kēśavāditya, are thus eminent on earth.

(V 12 mostly illegible)

(Ll 15-17) Hail! As regards the . . . of him who is an [impassioned bee] to the Lord Jina's lotus-feet which are beaten by the crests of the radiant diadems of . . . ceaselessly

¹ The *tridanda* are the sins of body, speech, and mind.

² Usually *Kāmāri* means "the foe of Kāma," viz Śiva, but the context suggests here the meaning "that enemy Kāma" [See f. n 5 on page 202.—Ed.]

³ The text seems to be that the Thousand of Pūli are incarnations of the 1,000 names of Kṛṣṇa or Viṣṇu.

bowing celestials, who is a lintel of high-spirit, a majestic Kārttikēya in the destruction of valiant foes, a Gāngēya¹ of the Gangas, a majestic Lord of Lankā in shattering the armies of unsteady foemen, the Lord of Kōlāla, best of cities —

(V. 13) A jagadala of governors, a Death-god to adversaries, a Tree of Desire to the needy, a way of salvation to warriors, a warrior against the wanton, a Bhairava of counter-arrows, is king Pitta

(L 17) Moreover,—

(V 14) . . . there were born with distinction king Perma, king Bijja, king Kirtti, the wrestler Gorma, and Mailaladēvi, thus forming a group in beauty .

(V 15) As he slew hostile kings of the *limkad=amka*² the monarch Jayasimhadēva of the Gūrjara kingdom in his own royal fortune [the world] praises king Bijjala.

(L 20) Moreover,—

(V 16) As Rēvakamrmaḍi was the sister of king Kanhara, so the world-renowned Sīriyādēvi

(V. 17) Saying "Truly a mother-house", king Bijjala, having with joy constructed (*images of*) the twenty-four Tirthas,³ prepared a building of stone . . . granted the beautiful Pergummī in Belvala.


I.—ON NAGARASI'S COLUMN

This is an inscription on the eastern face of the south-western column of the four central columns in the outer *mandapa* of the Pañchalīnga temple. The face of the column is 9½ in. high and 1 ft 5½ in wide, the whole of it is covered by the writing, which runs over the margin to about an inch round it. There are no sculptures. The character is good Kanarese with letters of about ⅝ in high. The language is Old Kanarese, mostly verse.

The purport of the inscription is to record the construction of the column by the Śaiva divine Nāgarāśī, a disciple of Jñānaśākti—probably the same Jñānaśakti who was introduced in inscription E above,—and to laud their merits.

TEXT ⁴

[The metres are V 1, *Mattābhavikriḍita*, v 2, *Kanda*.]

- 1  Tanag=I Dakṣiṇa-Vāranāśī-puru-Pāli(11)-paurad=Am-
- 2 dhāsūram janatā-bhāsūran=ānat-āsura-narēm-
- 3 dr-ārādhyān=ārādhyān=olpina Kālāmukha-
- 4 darppanam nī(ni)ja-guru śrī-Jñānaśaktiśan=e-
- 5 nd=ene vidyā-nidhi Nāgarāśīyan=ad=imn=ā vām-
- 6 nṇipam bannipam || [1*] Yele-veldimgala kāmṭi-
- 7 ya balagaman=ola-komda nī(ni)ja-ya-
- 8 śō-ruchiyim bhū-valayakk=anuraktateyam
- 9 taledam śrī-Nāgarāśīy=enag=īdu chitram || [2*] Nā-
- 10 garāśidēvaru mādisīdar=I kambamam ||

¹Karṇa or Bhishma. [Rather the latter for Karṇa was not a Gāngēya—Ed]

²See above, on inscr B, l 14

³The Tirthamkaras or Jinas.

⁴From the ink-impression.

TRANSLATION

(Verse 1) As he had (*for deity*) Andhāsura of this Southern Benares, the great town of Pūli, for his master the blest lord Jñānāsakti, who is resplendent among men, an *ārūdhya*¹ adored by bowing monarchs of demons and men, an excellent mirror of Kālāmukha (*doctrine*) can a panegyrist now find words to laud the treasure of learning, Nāgarāśi ?

(V 2) By the lustre of his fame, which possesses the mass of loveliness of the young moon, the blest Nāgarāśi has gained the affection of the circle of earth this is singular to me²

(Lines 9-10) Nāgarāśidēva caused this column to be made


J.—ON MADI-GAUDA'S COLUMN

This is an inscription on the eastern face of the next column to the south of the column which contains inscription I. The inscribed face is 1 ft 2½ in high and 1 ft 5 in wide. It has no sculptures. The character is good Kanarese, with letters about ⅝ in high. The language is Kanarese, the verse being in the older dialect and the prose medieval.

The object is to record that the column was presented by Mādi-Gauda, son of Bāchi-Setti and lay-disciple of the Nāgarāśi mentioned in inscription I, and to sing the praises of Mādi and his master.

TEXT³

[The metre is *Champakamālā*]

- 1  Suvidita-bhōga-bhōgūnge Bhāgale-nānge Bā-
 2 chi-Settig=udbhavisīda sūnu dāna-Ravi-sūnu
 3 vachō-Mbuja-ṣūnu sad-guna-pravarana
 4 Nāgarāśi-munirājana sī(śi)ksheya sūnu
 5 lōkadol=Kavadiya Mādi-Gaudan=esevam
 6 mahi(hi)-mastaka-vastu-nāyakam || [1*] Guru śara-
 7 ṇu || Kavadi(hi)ya Mādi-Gauḍa mād[1*]sī ko-
 8 ttan=i kambhava ||

TRANSLATION

(Verse 1) Illustrious in the world, a master of treasure at the head of the earth, is Kavadiya Mādi-Gauda, who is the son born to the lady Bhāgale, the enjoyer of famous delights, and to Bāchi-Setti, and who is in bounty a son of the Sun [Karna], a Son of the Lotus [Brahman] in speech, a son of the teaching of the king of saints, Nāgarāśi, who is eminent in good qualities.

(Lines 6-8) The Master is our refuge. Kavadiya Mādi-Gauda caused this column to be made and gave it.

K—RECORD OF MARTTANDA

This little poem is engraved on the eastern face of the beam over the adytum of the western shrine in the temple of Bhīmēśvara. The beam, which is 2 ft 3 in high and 7 ft 4 in broad, is adorned with a good piece of sculpture representing Durgā dancing on the back of a

¹ The title of a class of Śaiva Brāhmins

² This is the rhetorical figure *viśama* fame is conceived as white, and *anuraktatā*, literally "redness," means also "affection", so red is produced from white


³ From the ink-impression.


crouching demon, with Sarasvatī on her right, another goddess on her left, and the eight Dik-pālas in a row above her, the rest of the stone is filled in with figures of lions and other creatures, and on each side is a large *makara* or sea-monster, as our inscription states. The inscription runs along the bottom of the beam, covering an area 2 in high and 6 ft 2½ in broad. The character is Kanarese, of about the same date as Nos I and J., the letters are generally between ⅓ in and ½ in high. The language is Old Kanarese verse. The *l* appears in *tiḷchidano* (1 1), which seems to be an error for *tīrcchidano*, and is replaced by *l* in *pogalad* = (1 2). *Atom* (1 2) is archaic.

The object of the inscription is to celebrate the beauty of the archway above mentioned, on the beam of which it is engraved. We learn that the archway was constructed at the instance of Jñānaśakti, whom we have already encountered in Nos E and I above. The third verse praises the virtues of Mārttanda, who may possibly have been a disciple of this sage, his connection with the work is not clear, but conceivably he may have caused the inscription to be added some time after the construction of the archway.

TEXT.¹

[The metres are V 1, *Mahāragadhārā*, v 2, *Prithvī*, v, 3, *Mattēbhavikīdita*]

1  Idan=atyānandadinda[m] samedano Kamala-piṣṭbhavam Viśvakarmmam
mudadim mēṇ=int=idam tiḷch[i]dano² makara-yugm-ānvitam tōṇam gattidanō
mēn pratyag-āsā-patiy=idan=ene sarvv-ḍivvi-śōbhā-ṽbhūty-āspadam=int=i Jñānaśakti-
viati sam[e]yisida[m] [— ∪ — —]lpad=entum || [1*] Anūnataru-
Padmasambhava-Bhav-Ā[b]janābh-ārchchegal manōharataramgal=āgi [ma]ka-

2 ra-dvayam śōbhey[i*]m manam-golisc mādī=i makara-tōṇam dhātriyol
vinūtatarām=int=idam pogalad=irppan=āvom gadam || [2*] Hara-pād-āmbuja-
shatpadam [∪ ∪ ∪ —] vār(d²)-ibha-pamehānanam durit-ḍivvidhara-vaṅgan-
uj[j*]vala-[∪ — — — ∪]rat[n]a[karam ∪ ∪ —]i ratī-dūran-
ishta-janat-ādharām kalā-kōvidam guru-bhak[t]am niyam-ōktan=ambudan=enal
Mārttan[d]jan=ēm dhanyanō || [3*] 

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) Has the Lotus-born (Brahman) in exceeding delight fashioned this, or has Viśvakarman with joy executed this, or has the lord of the western region [Varuna] constructed this archway adorned with a pair of sea-monsters? Such a site of the magnificence of the whole earth's splendours is that which this ascetic Jñānaśakti has caused to be fashioned in every way.

(V 2) This archway (adorned) with sea-monsters, which has been made so that the very numerous images of the Lotus-born (Brahman), Bhava (Śiva), and (the god) of the Naval-lotus (Vishnu) are most charming and the pair of sea-monsters with their elegance delight the mind, is very famous on earth so who indeed is there that does not praise it?

(V 3) As one may state the fact that he is a bee to Hara's lotus-feet, a lion to the elephants, a disputant (?), a thunder bolt to the mountains of sin, a jewel-mine of brilliant remote from carnal love, a support to agreeable persons, skilled in arts, devoted to his master, holding speech by rule, how fortunate is Mārttanda.

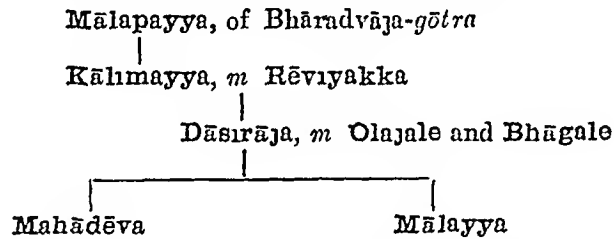
¹ From the ink impression

² Apparently meant for *tīrcchidano*.

L—OF THE REIGN OF BIJJALA SAKA 1084.

This inscription is engraved on a black stone which was found on the road outside the house known as the Virakta-maṭha, and was placed by Dr Fleet for security in the *sabhā-mandapa* of the Pañchalunga temple. The height of the stone is 5 ft 2 in and the width 1 ft 9½ in. The rounded top bears sculptures, viz in the centre a standing Viṣṇu, facing full front, to his proper right, a kneeling Garuda facing full front, to the left of Viṣṇu, a cow with calf, over them, the sun (to left) and moon (to right). Under this is an inscribed area, 3 ft 5 in high and 1 ft 8½ in wide. The character is fairly good Kannaṇese of the period, well preserved. The average height of the letters is about ½ in. The language is Old Kannaṇese, verging on the medieval dialect in the prose, with two opening stanzas and a final verse in Sanskrit. The *upadhānāya* appears in *Viṣṇuh=p°*, l 2. The *l* is not preserved. We find *nnegarda*, l 11, and on the other hand *ēlgeyoḷ*, l 25, *hāla*, l 39, and *bīlgum*, l 47. The treatment of initial *p* fluctuates. We have it changed in the prose to *h* in *hāla hasugey=*, l 39, *hattilalu* l 43, *harada=*, l 43, *hannondam*, l 44, while in other cases it is preserved. On the genitive *°shta-sīstara* (l 19, the same in inscri M, l 25) see my note in *Journ R Asiat Soc*, 1918, p 105.

The record refers itself in ll 4-6 to the reign of the Kalachurya king Tribhuvanamalla-dēva (Bijjala), and then proceeds to sing in verse the praises of Pūli, the Thousand Mahājanas thereof, and the Hundred of Śiveyagēri forming part of them (ll 6-12), and it celebrates the excellences of a family in the latter parish, giving the following pedigree (ll 12-33) —



We then learn that on the given date Dāsirāja restored the decayed temple of Kēśava (Viṣṇu) of Nāgarakhandi, reconsecrated it, and bought from the Thousand of Pūli some land which he assigned for its maintenance (ll 33 ff.)

The date of this record is given on ll 33-34 as Śaka 1084 (expired), the cyclic year Chitrabhānu, Pushya bahula 2, Sōmavāra (Monday), the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*. This is nearly but not quite regular. The given *tithi* corresponded to Tuesday, 25 December, A D 1162, it began about 13 h 18 m after mean sunrise on the preceding Monday, and ended about 12 h. 58 m after mean sunrise on the Tuesday, with which it was properly connected. The *uttarāyana-samkrānti* took place about 6 h 18 m after mean sunrise on the Tuesday, while the *tithi* bahula 2 was still current.

The places mentioned are, besides Pūli, Kālmājana (i.e. Kālāñjara, on which see *Dyn Kan Distr*, p 469), l 4, the Kottaja-vāvi, l 7 (apparently a pond in Pūli), Śiveyagēri, l 12, Nāgarakhandi, l 35, Kokkulgēri, l 39, and Kattiyagēri, l 40. On the Nāgarakhanda Seventy of the Bāṇavāsi province see I 4, Vol XIX, p 144, and above, Vol V, p 213 ff.

TEXT¹

[The metres are as follows Vv 1, 2, 17, *Anuṣṭubh*, v 3, *Śāṇḍilavikrīḍita*, vv 4, 10, 11, 14-16, *Mattēbhavikrīḍita*, vv 5-9, 12, *Kanda*, v 13, *Utpalamālā*]

1 [Ja]yaty-āviṣkṛitam Viṣṇōr=Vaiāham kshōbhīt-ārṇna(rṇna)vam [!°] dakṣhiṇ-
ōm(n)nata-damshtr-āgra-viśānta bhu-

¹ From the ink-impression

- 2 [vanam vap]uh ☉ [1*] Jaḥ Viṣṇu[s*] sthālē Viṣṇur=Viṣṇuḥ=parvata-mastake
 [1*] jvālā-mālā-kulē Viṣṇus=sarvvaṃ Viṣṇu-
- 3 [ma]yam jagat || [2*]
- 4 Svasti [1*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśrayam Śrī-Prithvi-vallabham Kāḷāmjana-puravar-
 ādhiśvaram damaruga-tū-
- 5 ryya-nirgghōshanam Kalachuryya-bhujabala-chakravartti Tribhuvanamalladēvara
 vijaya-rājyam=utta-
- 6 [r]-ōttar-ābhivridhī-pravarddhamānam=ā-chandīr-ārka-tāram saluttam=ire || Rām-ārā-
 ma-vikīrṇa(rṇa)dim nikhīla-dēv-ānīka-
- 7 dim Rī(Rī)g Yajus-Sām-Ātharvvaṇa-Vēda-Śāstra-vidita-vyāpāra-chāturyyāṃ śrīmat-Kot-
 ṭaja-vāviyīm ke-
- 8 regalim kēntā-jan-ānikadīmd=ē mātō sale Pāḥi lile vaḍegu[m] pū-dōmṭad=omd-
 ōhiyīm || [3*] Inanam tē-
- 9 jadol=Imdranam vibhavadol=Chānā(na)kyapa(na)m nī(nī)tiyol=Manuvam chāru-charitra-
 dol=jalarī(dhī)yam gāmbhīyyādo-
- 10 l dharyjadol=Kanak-ādriImdraman=eyde pōlpar=emp=ī sāśirvvara khyātiyol-
 mma(ma)nuja[1*]kkaḷ=padipāṭi [p]ā-
- 11 satī samam-barpp=amnar=ār=ddhātīyol || [4*] Allī || Orvvorvvorvvar¹=pparibhāviśe
 sarvvāṇa[r*]=nnegarda Vē[da-Śā]-
- 12 stramgalol=emd=urvitalam=abhivarnmī(rṇa)se nūrvvar=śrī-Śiv[e*]yagēriyol=karam=ese-
 dar || [5*] Avarol || Bhāra-
- 13 dvāja-kul-āgrāṇi chāru-charitram vivēki vāchaspati Kamsāri-pada-kamala-bhriṃgan-
 udāram prabhu
- 14 Mālapayya-perggadey=esedam ||-[6*] Ā vibhuvimg=ndī(da)yisidam Śrī-vanītā-priya-
 tanūjan=amnam iū-
- 15 pīm bhū-valaya-prastutyanol=āvam doie Kālimayya-sachiv-ōttamanol || [7*] Ātana
 kula-vanīt-ō-
- 16 ttame Siteg=Arundhatige Ratige pempīm gunadīm khyātiyīm=atīśayam=empal=nītiya
 kam Rēviyakka-
- 17 n=ene mechchadar=ār || [8*] Ā dampatigalg=ogedam Vēdānta-priyan=Ananta-bhaktam
 pesarīm śrī-Dāsirājan=um(n)-
- 18 natan=ādām vikhyāta-kirtti mārṭtamda-nibham || [9*] Charitam san-muni-mūla-
 sūtram=aṛitam Vāg-dēvatā-mamga-
- 19 l-ābharanam kirtti dig-amganā-kusuma-vallī-dāmaṇ=ārpp=īśhta-śīstara bayt=itta
 suvarṇa(rṇa)m=emdod=itara-
- 20 r=ppōlv-amnar=ār=ssad-guṇ-ōtkaranam perggade-Dāsirājanan=udāra-śrī-sur-ōi vviṇa-
 nam || [10*] Sahajam satyav=u-
- 21 dāram=anvaya-gunam svābhāvīkam sad-guṇa-grahāṇam nīti-nisāggam=ātma-kula-
 dharmmam chāru-chā-
- 22 ritram=īśhta-hit-ārṭtham nīja-jīvatavyam=ala-vatt=ū mantra-śakti-trayam saha-jūtam
 tanag=emdad=īm piri-
- 23 yar=ār=śrī-Dāsirājam baram || [11*] Ratīy=amnalū rūpīm Bhāratīy=amnal=vāg-
 vilāsadīm saushtha-
- 24 vadīm kshītiy=amnal=Dāsīya kula-satīy=Olajale-nāriy=antu nōntaṇum=olaiē || [12*]
 Kshīra-samudra-
- 25 manthanade puṭṭida Lakshmiya rūpīm=ēlgeyol=Gaurīyol=omdi ninda pati-bhaktiṇa
 permmeiyol=im-

¹ Read *Ort-orovar*=

- 26 pu-vetta Vāg-nāriya vāg-vilāsa-tatīyol-neṣe pōrva(ive)ge-vandala[1*]dod=inn=ār-
ene Dāsirājana ma-
- 27 nōrame Bhāgaleg=i dharitriyol || [13*] Tat-utar || Gṛih-dol L k-hrai mah-ōt-vam
berasu
- 28 mūdala=tamna tad-vak-tradol=mahim-ūlam¹ pite²-appa Vāg-vante³-vīdal⁴-tara⁵ vā-
kirtti Sūta-Himā-
- 29 drimdradol=eyde tīvala=mal=āmānyan=āg-īdan² Mahadēva-prabhu Dāsirāja-tana-
yam
- 30 aujanya-ratnākaram || [14*] Dhiuvan=amnam dhiptiyol=Śaṣṭy-bhavan=amnam vāg-
mīyol=chemna Mādhavan=am-
- 31 nam nija-mūrttiyol=Khaṣharan=amna dānadol=Kumbha-sambhavan=amnam sucharitrī-
dol=jaladhīy=am-
- 32 nam gumpinol=bhāvaal=saman=ār³-ppeiggade-Dāsirāja-tanayam Mālayyanol=māna-
- 33 [va]r || [15*] Svasti [1*] Śrīmatu-Śaka-varsha 1084noya Chitrabhānu-samvatsarada
Pushya-
- 34 bahula 2 Sōmavāradand=uttarāyana-samkrāntiya divya-tithiyala śrīmat-pe-
- 35 rggade Dāsirājām Nāgarakhandiya śrī-Kṛṣṇa-dēvalayam jinnu⁴=rulu jinnu⁵-
ōddhāra-
- 36 mam punah-pratishthe salutam mādisiy=ā dēvara bhanda-sphutita-jinn(īnu)-
ōddhārakkam ni-
- 37 tya-nivēdya-Chaitra-pavitra-nandā-divige pñjāriya jivita-nimittav-āgi śrīma-
- 38 n-mah-āgraharam Pūhī=ūr-odeya-pramukha-sāsirvāra⁶=mamahajanamgala⁶ divya-
- 39 śrī-pāda-padmanāgalam divya-p[ñ]rvakam=ārādhasi Kōṭkūligēriya hāla hasu-
- 40 geṣ=olage Kattiyagēriyam paduvalu Galatige-geṣyam bēdagalu Chikkanika-
- 41 ra⁷-dēvara keṣyam mūdalu mattarige panav=ondara lekkaḍim⁸=āru-vannanam
ti(tī)ruv=ā-
- 42 nt=āg=ire padedu hita mattar=āru | Ā dēvarige Kṛṣṇa(śa)valligēriya bēdagana
koppala
- 43 hitilalu harada-vaneyim mūdalu bāda-vaneyim paduvana meṣya sthalada
nivēṣana-
- 44 d=agalav=e[k*]-kayī nila hannondam mattam sāsirvaram hiraṇya-pūrvakav-
ārādhasi sarva-nama-
- 45 āya(sya)v=āg=ire padedu hitar [1*] Int=i mathamumam keṣyuman=āva-āntara-
vasate-nyāyam-
- 46 galu puttīdadam sāsirvaram sa[d*]dharmmadim pratipāḍipar || Intam
nīśchayam=āge bhāvi-
- 47 suvud=i dharmmakke(a)pāyak[k*]e varppan=amōgham sa-kulam nigōda-laladol=
bilgum mahā-pāta-
- 48 kam manam-old=nt=īdan=eyde rakshisuva dēvamg=akkum=āyushya-varddhanam=
atyūrjita-
- 49 lakshmi nirmala-yasam bhādrām śubham mangalam || [16*] Sva-dattām
para-dattām vā yō harēta va-
- 50 sundharām | śashtir(śhtim)=vva[1*]śha-sabastrāni viśthāyām jyatē kṛmib [17*] @

¹ Irddaj would be more regular² We should expect irddanē³ The engraver first wrote samanar, and then corrected it to saman=ār⁴ Read jinnu-⁵ Read jinnu-⁶ The ga was first omitted by the engraver, and afterwards added, partly on and partly below the line,

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1 identical with verse 1 of inscription C above)

(V 2) Vishṇu is in the waters, Viṣṇu is on land, Viṣṇu is on the mountain-top, Viṣṇu is on the multitude of lines of fire the whole universe is composed of Viṣṇu

(Lines 4-6) When the victorious reign of—haṇi¹—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, lord of Kāṣṁjṇa, best of cities, attended by the sound of *damaruḡa* drums and (other) musical instruments, the Kalachurya Emperor, strong of arm, Tribhuvanamalladēva, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars —

(V 3) With a profusion of delightful pleasancess, with the company of all the gods with men skilled in renowned familiarity with the lore of the Rik, Yajus, Sāma, and Ātharvāṇa Vēdas, with the blest Kottaja well, with ponds, not to speak of companies of fair women, (and) an unbroken line of flower-gardens, Pūli in truth possesses a charming aspect

(V 4) What men on earth are such as to bear comparison with the renown of these Thousand, who in sooth resemble the Sun in brilliance, Indra in majesty, Chāṇakya in policy, Manu in beautiful conduct, the ocean in profundity, the great Golden Mountain in firmness?

(Line 11) In that (town),—

(V 5) While the earth lauds them by saying that each of them, if one considers, is omniscient in the illustrious lore of the Vēdas, the Hundred in the blest Śiveyagēra are verily distinguished

(L 12) Among them,—

(V 6) A leader of the Bhāradvāja race, beautiful of conduct, discreet, a lord of speech, a bee to the lotus-feet of Kamsa's foe [Kṛishṇa], generous, the noble sheriff Mālapayya was eminent

(V 7) To this noble man was born (a son) like in form to the dear son of the lady Fortune who is peer to the great minister Kāṣimayya, renowned in the circuit of the earth?

(V 8) His excellent high-born wife Bēviyakka, a mine of propriety, may be said to surpass Sitū, Arundhati, and Rati in eminence, virtue, (and) renown who does not praise (her) in these terms?

(V 9) To this couple was born a lover of the Vēdānta, a votary of Ananta, by name the blest Dāsirāja, he is exalted, renowned in glory, like the Sun

(V 10) His conduct is a basic rule for worthy saints, his learning a festal ornament for the Goddess of Speech, his fame a festoon of flowering creeping plants for the ladies of the regions of space, his power (like) the gold which agreeable and cultured men have laid in deposit¹ hence what other men are such as to compare with the sheriff Dāsirāja, a crowd of good qualities, a celestial tree of noble fortune?

(V 11) Inborn truthfulness, the generous virtues of his lineage, congenital appreciation of good qualities, natural instinct for propriety, the religious practices of his race, beautiful conduct, his own life devoted to the benefit of friends, the congenital attendant triad of powers of counsel being his, who are superior to the blest Dāsirāja?

(V. 12) Do any even observe religious vows like the lady Oḡajale, Dāsī's high-born wife, who is like Rati in form, like Bhārati in grace of speech, like the earth in steadiness?

¹ This seems to mean that his power is like the property of Brāhmins, in that it was not liable to be diminished by adverse occupation or limitations (*Nārada smṛiti* i 81, *Bṛhaspati smṛiti* ix 12 and 21), and that it could not be taken from him (*Nārada-s'* xviii 49), or that it enabled him to acquire boundless worlds, like the gift of property to Brāhmins (*Apastamba dharma-sūtra* II x 26, 1)

(V 13) As she fully equalled the high degree of beauty of Lakshmi born from the churning of the Milk Ocean, the greatness of wifely devotion present in Gauri, (and) the series of graces of speech of the charming lady Vāk, who on this earth now are peer to Dāsirāja's beloved Bhāgale?

(L 27) Their sons —

(V 14) Fortune abode with great delight in his house, the lady Vāk adorned with magnificence resided in his mouth, his goodly fame completely filled (every place) from Sctū to the great Snowy Mountains: hence was Dāsirāja's son lord Mahadēva,¹ that gem-mine of nobility, an ordinary man?

(V 15.) Like Dhruva² in firmness, like the Lotus-born (Brahman) in eloquence, like the comely Mādhava in his form, like the Sun in bounty like the Jar-born (Agastya) in right conduct, like the ocean in profundity, when one considers—what men are equal to the sheriff Dāsirāja's son Mālayya?

(Ll. 33-34) On Monday, the 2nd of the dark fortnight of Pushya in the cyclic year Chitrabhānu, the 1084th (year) of the blessed Śaka era, on the holy lunar day of the *uttarāyana-samkrānti*,—

(Ll. 34-42) As the temple of Kēśava of Nāgarakhanda was falling into decay, the sheriff Dāsirāja, having restored the decayed parts and reconsecrated it, adored with (offering of) money the divinely blest lotus-feet of the Thousand Mahājanas headed by the mayor, of the great *agrahāra* of Pūli and for the restoration of [broken, burst, and decayed (masonry of the temple)] of that god and for the regular oblations, *Chaitra-paṭtra* rites,³ perpetual lamps, and stipend for the officiating priest, purchased and granted six *mattar* within the waste-land *hasuge* of Kokkuligēri, on the west of Kattiyagēri, on the north of the field of Galatige, (and) on the east of (the sanctuary of) the Chukkanikas' god, on which is to be paid an *aru-rana* at the rate of one *pana* on each *mattar*

(Ll. 42-46) Having again adored the Thousand with (offering of) gold, they purchased and granted to the same god a dwelling one cubit in width and eleven in length in the *meyya eṭhala* north of Kalaśavalligēri, east of the traders' house at the backyard of the town-house, as a *sarva-namasya* holding. So the Thousand shall religiously protect this monastery and field in respect of any minor claims to possession that may arise

(V 16) Realise this with conviction the great sinner who comes to overthrow this pious foundation will inevitably sink to levels of (degraded) rebirth, together with his race; so to the king who cheerfully guards it in due wise shall accrue increase of vitality, most brilliant fortune, stainless fame, luck, welfare, happiness

(V 17 a common Sanskrit formula)

M — OF THE REIGN OF BIJJALA : SAKA 1084

This inscription is on a black stone built into the northern wall on the inside of the *man-ḍapa* of the Agastyēśvara temple (see above) The slab is 4 ft 10 in high and 2 ft 2 in wide The topmost compartment bears the following sculptures. in the centre, Viṣṇu reclining on a serpent with seven hoods, with Brahman seated above him on the lotus arising from his navel, and to his proper left Lakshmi seated at his feet, below Viṣṇu, Garuḍa, to the proper right of Viṣṇu a goddess (Earth or Sarasvatī?),⁴ seated and facing full front, to his proper right, a cow and calf, over these, the sun (to left) and moon (to right) Below these is the inscribed area, 3 ft 1 in. high and 2 ft 1 in. wide It is in good preservation The character is fair Kanarese of the period, the letters being from $\frac{1}{2}$ in to $\frac{1}{4}$ in. high The language is Old Kanarese, with an introductory and a final verse in Sanskrit The Kanarese verses are richer in vocabulary

¹ By metrical license for *Mahādēva*

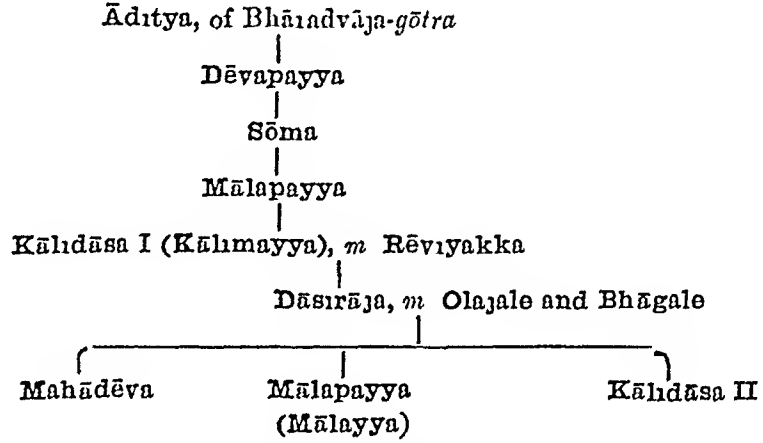
² See I. A., Vol. XXXVIII, p. 52

³ See *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, I. XL-XII

⁴ [V. 2 of this inscription would indicate that she is the Earth-goddess.—Ed.]

and more skilful in technique than most of the kind. The *l* is not preserved—it appears as *r* in *erttamdu* (l. 3), *negar[r*]d*= (l. 4), and *arbhbbh*= (l. 16, for *alvu*), and as *l* in *pēl* (l. 16), *pēlvad*= (l. 18), *ēlgeyam* (ll. 20 f.), *kalalchuvan* (l. 31), *balaldu* (l. 33), *hāla* (ll. 40, 44), and *bilguni* (l. 48). The *p* is changed to *h* in *halgalam* (l. 31, verse), *hōheyam* (l. 32, verse 19, for *hūheyam*), *hun* (l. 33, verse 20), *hāla hasugey*= (ll. 40, 44 f.), elsewhere it is kept, even in prose. As to lexicography, we may notice *dharmmēta* (l. 40)¹ and *śata* (l. 41).

The record, after preliminaries of the usual sort, eulogises Pūli, its Thousand Mahājanas, and the Hundred of Śiveyagēri (ll. 4-13). It then gives in ll. 13-31 the pedigree of the same family which figures in inscription L above, but with some more details—putting the two together, we have the genealogy:—



Two vigorous verses then introduce king Bijjala (ll. 31-34). Next comes prose referring the record to his reign and giving him full regal titles² (ll. 34-37), followed by the date (ll. 37-38) and details of some lands purchased and granted by Dāsirāja for the upkeep of the Nāgara-Bhāvi and some other local establishments and for the expenses of the worship of the Agastyēśvara temple (ll. 38 ff.)

The date, given on ll. 37-38, is identical with that of inscription L.

The places mentioned are, besides Pūli, Śiveyagēri (l. 13), Kālāmjana (l. 35—see above, on inser. L), Nāga-vāvi (l. 39), Kattiyagēri (l. 41), Nāgarakhamdi (l. 41—see on inser. L), Yēramdagēri (l. 42), Kokkuligēri (l. 44), and Jamnavegere (l. 47). The Nāga-vāvi or “Nāgas’ Well” is the same as the Nāgara-Bhāvi, on the side of which the Agastyēśvara temple stands (see above). Yēramdagēri (i.e. Ēramda-gēri, the “street of the castor-oil plants”) seems to be another of the parishes of Pūli.

TEXT³


[The metres are as follows: Vv. 1, 22, *Anushtubh*, vv. 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, vv. 4, 9, 11, 14, 15, 21, *Mattēbhavikrīḍita*, vv. 6, 12, 13, 16-18, *Kanda*, vv. 10, 19, 20, *Champakamālā*]

1 (ॐ) Jayaty=āvishkritam Viṣṇor=Vārāham kshōbhāt-ārṇna(rṇna)vam | dakṣiṇ
 ōnnata-damshtṛ-āgra-vīśrānta-bhuvanam vapuh [|| 1*] (ॐ)

¹ This denotes some kind of religious establishment, and may possibly be derived from *dharm āyata* (=āyatana).

² See *Dyn. Kanar. Distr.*, p. 475.

³ From the ink impression.

- 2  Kshir-āmbhōdhiyol=app=Ananta-śayanam Nārāyanam Kaustubh-ādhāram tamna
samakshadol=Kamaleyum Bhū-kānte-
- 3 yum nābhiyol=sār-āśam-baded=Abjagarb[h]bha-sahitam śrī-Pūlig=erttamdu¹ nind-
ārādhyam karunā-ras-ārdra-hṛdayam ra-
- 4 kshukke sāsirvvaram || [2*] Ant=enisi nega[i*]d=agrahāra-chūdāmaniya vikhyātiy=
emt=appud=emdade [i*] Samasta-kalegalge ni-
- 5 laya-sthānamum vilāsakk=āvāsamum śrimgārakke janma-bhūmiyum vasanta-sama-
yakk=ikke-dānamum=enisidud=am-
- 6 tum=alladeyum || Rām-ārāma-vikīrṇa(rṇa)dīm nikhila-dēv-ānikadīm R₁(R₁)g-
Yajuh-Sām-Ātharvvana-Vēda-Śāstra-nivaha-prakhyāta-sā-
- 7 sirvvarim Kām-ōddāma-gajamgal=ant=ir=eseva² vārāngan-ānikadīm śrīmat-Pāli
nirantaram sogayikum sat-sēvya-sampattiyim || [3*]
- 8 Inanam tējadol=Imdranam vibhavadol Chāpā(na)kyanam nītiyol=Manuvam chāru-
chari[tra]dol jaladhīyam gāmbhīryadol
- 9 dhairyadol Kanak-ādrīmdraman=eyde pōlpar=enip=i sāsirvvara khyātiyol=manu-
jarkkal=padipāti pāsati samam-barpp=amna-
- 10 r=ār=ddhātīyol || [4*] Śrī-Rāmāyaṇa-Bhārat-ādi-Manu-chārītramgala vyāptiyol=sār-
āśāra-vichāra-tarkka-nichaya-pra-
- 11 [khyā*]ta-śāstramgalol śūrar=Vvēda-samūhadol=sakala-tat[t*]va-jñāna-sampattiyimd=
ārādhyar=ddhareg=emdadīm pūriyar=ār=sāsirvvarind=urvvī-
- 12 yol || [5*] Avar=olage || Kavi-gamakī-vādi-vāgmigala vivēkada deseyan=aṇiyar=
āśrita-be(ja)nam=utsavadīm bēdalk=ivar=ssavilā[sī]-
- 13 gal=alte Śiveyagēriya nūrvvaru || [6*] Avar=olage || Bhāradvāja-kul-āmbara-
dyumanī tējah-pumjadīm permmeyim kshir-āmbhōndhi [dh]ai-
- 14 rryad=umnatīkeyimdām Mamdaram śauryyadol śrī-Rāmam paramārthā-nīśchayadīm-
ā Kamjūsanam tām=enalk=ārum pōlvege barpparē bu-
- 15 dha-jana-prastutyan=Ādityanol || [7*] Tat-suta || Śrīramgamg=atibhaktan=oppuv=
amal-āchāram yaśō-vallabham pūrāvārame mērey=ā-
- 16 d=avaṇi(ni)jarkkalg=eyde chakrēśvaram sāra-grāhī samasta-dēśadavargalg=arbhbh(rbb)³=
ikk=iralu rakshīpam dhīr-ōdāttan=enippa Dēvapayanol=pēl=ā-
- 17 r=ssamam-barpparē || [8*] Tat-suta || Dhuradol=bamd=urad=oddī nūmd=arī-bala-
brātakke kajy=ūntu bamd=ered=artthī-prakarakke vāra-vanit-ānika-
- 18 kke gambhīra-sāgaran=i p[e*]rggade Sōman=ānt=īnyal=iyal=sōhsal=pēlvad=ā Hari-
putram Hari-putran=ā Hari-sutam tām=enda-
- 19 d=ēm(ē) vanṇipam || [9*] Tat-suta || Vara-vanitā-janamgala manam Kusum-
āstra-śarakke sad-budh-ōtkara-kara-pamkajam bahu-suvarṇa-chayakk=adhunātha-
mam-
- 20 dīram sthūratara-rājya-lakshmiḡ=edey=ādavu rāpa-vilāsad=ēlgeyīm nūrupa[ma*]-dāna-
dīm pati-hit-ōm(na)natīyīm prabhu-Mālapayyanam⁴ || [10*] Tat-su-
- 21 ta || Akalamkam tanuv=āgi varṭtisuva Chāmdram kāntīy=omd=ēlgeyīm sakala-
vyāpakan=āgi jādyanamam bitt=īrda⁵ Padmāsanam sukavīmdratva-

¹ In classical spelling eī tamdu² Apparently to be corrected to essevā³ Apparently for a/cu(or arcu.—Ed), "harm" ⁴ Perhaps a slip for Mālapayyana. ⁵ Irddā would be more usual

2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
20
22
24
26
28
30
32
34
36
38
40
42
44
46
48
50

2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
20
22
24
26
28
30
32
34
36
38
40
42
44
46
48
50

- 22 [d]ol=Īṣanim kīdada Kāmam rūpa-sampatti(tti)yim prakāṣam-betta charitradim
Manuv=enippam Kālidās-ottamam || [11*] Tat-satī || Ratīy=amnal rūpi(pi)m
Bhā-
- 23 [ra]tīy=amnal vāg-vilāsadim saushthavadim kshītiy=amnal permeg=Arumdhatīy=
amnal Rēviyakkan=ene mechchadar=ār || [12*] Ā dampatigalg=ogedam
Vēdānta-
- 24 [pri]jan=Ananta-bhaktam pesarim śrī-Dāsirājan=ūrjitan=ādam vikhyāta-kīrtti
mārttamda-nibham || [13*] Charitam san-muni-mūla-sūtrav=aṣitam Vāg-
dō[va]tā-
- 25 [mamga]l-ābharaṇam kīrtti diḡ-amganā-kusuma-vallī-dāmay=ārpp=ishṭa-śiṣṭara
bayt=itta suvaranav=emdad=itarai=ppōlv=amnar=ār=ssad-gun-ōtkaranam
- 26 [peiggade]-Dāsirājanan=udāra-śrī-sar-ōrvvījanam || [14*] Sahajam satyam=
udāram=anvaya-gunam svābhāvīkam sad-guna-grahanam nīti-nīsa-
- 27 [igga]=ā)tma-kula-dharmmam chāru-chāritram=ishṭa-hit-ārttham nīja-jīvitavyam=ala-
vaṭṭ=ā mamtra-śakti-trayam saha-jūtam tanag=emdodim pīryai=ā-
- 28 [r=śrī-D]āsirājam-baram || [15*] Tat-sutaru || Śīramga-dēva-bhaktan=udārate-
yīm kalpa-bhūiham sthūrateyol=ā Mōru-gūṛimdrām permmeyo-
- 29 [l]=ārimd=atjadhikan=alte Mahadēva-budham || [16*] Ātana tammam śrūta-
vikhyātam Śīva-pāda-śōkharam sakala-guṇa-brātame bhūṣhanam=enippam nītiya
- 30 kaṇi Mālapayyan=ene mechchadar=āru || [17*] Avar=īrvvarimde kīryam
bhuvana-stutan=enippa Kālidāsam Kumbhōdbhavan=amnam chāritradim=ivar=
opp[u]-
- 31 va Dāsirāja-sutar=esed=īrddaru || [18*] Javan=ivan=ōvan=emban=adaṭim Kulik-
āhuja halgalam kalalchuvan=īdir=āge Rāvananuvam nelak=ikkuvan=U-
- 32 gra-hō(hū)hejam¹ bha(ba)varadol²=āntod=ātana bhujamgalan=oppuva khalga-dhāro-
yimdame kadī khamdam=āge ṭarivam sale Bijjanadēva-bhūbhūja || [19*]
- 33 Paiv=arup-āmbu sūśida mīdul=pared=okka karul=balaldu jōld=arī-karī-samkulam
suṇidu kittuva hup=beras=āduv=aṭṭey=im charam=eṣeya-
- 34 lke pādūva bhaṭarkkala pan-daleyimdo nōdal=āsūramam=agurvvum=āyt=īrdu gold=
ede Bijjanadēva-bhūpana || [20*] Svastī [I*] Samasta-bhuvan ā-
- 35 śraya Śrī-Prithvī-vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvaram Kālāmjana puravar-
ādhīśvaram ḍamaruga tūryya-nirgghōṣhanam para-chakra-bhīṣha-
- 36 nam śrīmat-Kalachuryya-bhūjabala-ohakravartti Tribhuvanamalladēva-vijaya-rājjam=
uttar oṭtar-ābhivīddhi pravarddhamānam=ā-chamdi ā-
- 37 rkka-tāram saluttam=ire || Śīmach-Chhaka-varsham 1084neya Chitrabhānu-
samvatsaraḍa Pushya-bahula 2 Sōmavāradam=uttarāyapa-samkrā-
- 88 [nti*]yalu vyatipātam kīdida divya-tīthiya³lu dharmma kāryya-nimittam perggade
Dāsirājam śīman-mah-āgrahāram Pāhy=ūr-o-
- 39 deya-pramukha sāśīrvvar=mmahājanamgala divya-śrī-pāda-padmamgalam⁴ dravya-
pūrvvakam=āīādhī Vārāpā(ṇa)śīya⁴ samānav=appa Nāga-vāviya khamda-

¹ [The reading seems to be Haihayam (=Arjuna Kārtavīrya) —Ed.]

² The engraver seems to have begun with the intention of making the first letter a *b*, and to have finished it off as *bh*, for, unlike the regular *bh*, it is not open at the base, but on the other hand it has a horizontal tick on the right hand top corner, like a regular *bh*

³ The engraver has omitted *gaḥa*, and then inserted it below the line, marking the corrigendum by a cross above the line

⁴ The *ṇā* has been omitted, and inserted above the line

(L 13) Among them —

(V 7) As he may be termed because of the mass of his splendour a Sun in the sky of the Bhāradvāja race, because of his greatness a Milk Ocean, by reason of the high degree of his firmness a Mandara, in heroism a blessed Rāma, in judgment of transcendental lore the Lotus-seated (Brahman) himself, can any compare with Āditya, who was renowned among sages?

(L 15) His son —

(V 8) Say, who can equal Dēvapaya, who was deeply devoted to Śrīranga (Vishnu), a man of eminent stainless conduct, a darling of fame, verily an emperor to the natives of the ocean-bounded earth, gathering the best (of all knowledge), a protector of the peoples of all lands when harm befell, firm and exalted of soul?

(L 17) His son —

(V 9) Going to battle and ceaselessly resisting the multitude of foemen's hosts—stretching forth his hand to the troops of suppliants that came and begged (of him)—a deep ocean to the companies of public damsels—this sheriff Sōma was in his own person a Hari's son (Arjuna) in confronting and smiting, a Hari's (Sūrya's) son (Karna) in making gifts, a Hari's (Kṛishna's) son (Yama²) in conquering, when the tale is told hence how can one sing his praises?

(L 19) His son —

(V 10.) The souls of choice damsels became a place for the shafts of the god of the flower-arrows, the lotus-hands of companies of worthy sages a place for abundant quantities of gold, the royal mansion a place for the right firmly established Fortune of the kingdom, through the lord Mālapayya, by reason of the perfection of his grace of form, his incomparable generosity, and the high degree of his services to his sovereign (respectively)³

(Ll 20-21) His son —

(V 11) The excellent Kālidāsa was indeed through the unique perfection of his beauty a moon appearing with unspotted form, through his high skill in poetry a Lotus-seated (Brahman) devoid of insentience while pervading the universe [or, intimate with all], through his gift of beauty a Kāma who was not destroyed by Īśa,⁴ by his eminent conduct a Manu

(L 22) His good wife —

(V 12) Rēviyakka was like Ratī in form, like Bhārati in grace of speech, like the earth in steadiness, like Arundhati in greatness who do not give praise in these terms?

(V 13 almost identical with verse 9 of inscription L above)

(V 14-15 identical with verses 10-11 of inscription L above)

(L 28) His sons —

(V 16) The sage Mahadēva is a votary of the god Śrīranga, a Tree of Desire by reason of his generosity, a Mount Mēru in firmness, altogether surpassing all in greatness, truly

(V 17) His younger brother Mālapayya is renowned for scriptural lore, crowned with Śiva's feet, an aggregate of all virtues, a very ornament, a mine of propriety who do not give praise in these terms?

(V 18) The youngest brother of these twain is the world-renowned Kālidāsa, like the Jar-born (Agastya) in conduct these eminent sons of Dāsirāja have become distinguished

¹ *Dhīr-ōdātta* is a term for one of the types of hero of drama, and is defined in *Daśarūpaka* 11.5 as "of great excellence, exceedingly serious, forbearing, not boastful, resolute, with self assertion suppressed, and firm of purpose" (Hans's translation)

² [But Yama is also called Hari. So it would be better to take Kārttikēya or Bhīma as the *upamāna* especially when Hari is an epithet of Śiva and of Vāyu also.—Ed.]

³ This verse, like the preceding, is an instance of the rhetorical figure *yathāśankhyā*

⁴ This is the rhetorical figure *adhik ābhēda rūpaka* [according to appaya Dikshita. See *Kuval ayānanda* under *Rūpaka*—Ed.]

(V 19) The monarch Bijjanadēva would say "what can this Yama do?", boldly he would knock out the serpent Kūlika's teeth, if he confronted him, he would strike to earth even Rāvana, if he were to meet in battle the figure of Ugra,¹ he would lop his arms into fragments with his bright sword-edge

(V 20) When one looks, the place where the monarch Bijjanadēva has won victory by blows is demonic and frightful by reason of the decapitated heads of warriors uttering wail while there arise sweet sounds from the headless trunks whose wounded limbs move in concerted action, (wounded limbs) from which drink smothering the troops of foemen's elephants whose marrow, over which streams gushing blood, and loosely out-bursting entrails come about and dangle down

(Ll 34-37) When the victorious reign of—hail!—the asylum of the whole world, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great Emperor, supreme Lord, lord of Kāśhijana best of cities, attended by the sound of *ḍamaruga* drums and (other) musical instruments, terrible to other realms, the Kalachurya Emperor strong of arm, Tribhuvanamalladēva, was advancing in a course of successively increasing prosperity, (to endure) as long as moon, sun, and stars —

(Ll 37-38) On Monday, the 2nd of the dark fortnight of Pushya in the cyclic year Chitrabhānu, the 1084th (year) of the blessed Śaka era, at the *uttarāyana-zarikrānti*, on the holy lunar day with which coincided a *vyatīpāta*,

(Ll 38-43) For the purposes of religion, the sheriff Dāsikāja, having adored with (offering of) money the divinely blest lotus feet of the Thousand Mahājānas headed by the mayor, of the great *agrahāra* of Pūli, granted as a *sarta-namasya* holding for the restoration of broken, burst, and worn-out (masonry) of the Nāgas' Well, which is equal to Benares, and for the *dharmēta* of that place, and for the management of the fire-hearth six *mattar* within the waste-land *hasuge* of Kokkuligēri. The bound of this is on the east the *śata* of Kattiyagiri, the southern bound is the land of (the temple of) the god Kṛṣṇa of Nūgarakhaḍi, the western bound is the land of the sheriff Śaṅkarayya-Nāyaka's choultry, the northern bound is the land granted as a substitute to Ērandagēri. So whatever claims may arise, the Thousand shall religiously preserve this pious foundation. Happiness! Great fortune!

(Ll 44-47) On the same holy lunar day, having adored the Thousand Mahājānas, headed by the mayor, and the votaries, headed by the bazaar-mayor, he purchased (from them) and granted for the purposes of the eightfold worship² of (the temple of) the god Agastyaśvara³ at the western gate of the town two *mattar* within the waste-land *hasuge* of Kokkuligēri as a *sarta-namasya* holding. The bound of this is on the east the land of the god Melasēśvara, on the south the road of Jannavegere, on the west the black (?) land, on the north the land of the god Melasēśvara

(Vv 21-22 identical with verses 16-17 of inscription L above)

NO 23 —DON BUZURG PLATES OF GOVINDACHANDRA [VIKRAMA]- SAMVAT 1176

By DATA RAM SAHNI, M A, RAI BAHADUR

These copper-plates were lent to me for examination and decipherment by the Mahārāja of Majhauḥ in the Gorakhpur district of the United Provinces in 1906 when I toured in the Gorakhpur and Saran districts under the orders of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, to collect notes on certain places for the use of the late Dr Fleet. At my suggestion, these plates were deposited in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow where they are now preserved. The plates were unearthed by a Chamār cultivator in a field near the village of Dōn Buzurg situated 7½

¹ [See foot-note 1 on p 215 —Ed]

² Namely by offering of water, scent, flowers, rice grains (*akṣhata*), incense, lamps, oblations (*naśvēdya*), and betel.

³ See above, p 170

miles to the north of Mairwa Railway Station on the Bengal and North-Western Railway, and made over to the Mahārāja of Majhanli. At my visit to this village, I did not notice any other antiquities of special interest. The village itself is, however, situated on a large ancient mound and the size of bricks unearthed by the villagers averages $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9'' \times 2''$.

The plates are inscribed on one side only and measure $14\frac{3}{4}''$ by $10\frac{7}{8}''$ and $14\frac{3}{8}''$ by $10\frac{5}{8}''$, respectively. The edges of the plates are fashioned into rims the maximum height of which is $\frac{1}{2}''$. Both the plates were originally soldered on a circular ring passing through the upper part of Plate II and the lower part of Plate I. Plate I is loose on account of a small piece having broken away from the ring hole. The seal is now attached to Plate II and is of the usual Gāhādavāla type. The only orthographical peculiarities in the record that deserve special mention are the use of *j* for *y* in *parjanlah* (l 18) and *jathā* (l 25) and the confusion of *s* and *ś* and of *i* and *u*. *Ā* for *yā* in *utthāam* (l 30) is an evident mistake or a Prākṛitism. The form *utakṛitam* in l 36 evidently stands for *utkṛnam* or the causal *utkṛitam*. There are many other mistakes of spelling in the inscription and they have all been corrected in the text.

The inscription consists of 36 lines, of which 19 are engraved on Plate I and the remaining 17 on Plate II. The whole of the document is in an excellent state of preservation. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is metrical Sanskrit in the first eleven and last eleven lines which contain respectively the usual genealogy of the Gāhādavāla kings of Kanauj and the imprecatory and benedictory verses. The remaining fourteen lines as well as part of the last or 36th line are in Sanskrit prose and represent the formal historical portion of the document.

The inscription records that on Tuesday¹ the 8th tithi of the bright half of Jyēsthā of [V] S 1176 (A D 1119 20) after bathing in the Ganges at his camp residence (*yāna-vāsa*) at the village of Mamdaliā, belonging to Alamvīmahāpura, the Gāhādavāla king Gōvīndachandra granted the village of Vadagrāma² in the Alāpa district to a Brāhmana named Tultāccha-³ Śarman. This Brāhmana belonged to the Vachchha (Skt Vatsa)-gōtra of Drōṇāyanashada. The fourth syllable of this latter name is not decipherable, but it is not impossible that it was the name of a town or village or of some *muni* to whom (a branch of—Ed) the Vatsa-gōtra owed its origin. If this assumption is correct, we may without hesitation identify this locality with the village at which the plates were found and which is still called Dōn Buzurg, or the Holy Dōn. It is interesting to note here a legend which describes a small cultivated area in the neighbourhood of this village as Dīṇa-kā-garh or Drōṇa-kā-garh, that is the residence or citadel of Dīṇa, the preceptor of the Kaurava and Pāṇḍava princes. It is stated by the villagers that Dīṇa resided at this place and was on one occasion transported to Lankā to prescribe medicine for Vibhishana, brother of Rāvana. The story is not worth much, but it shows at least that the local pandits already recognize in the name Dōn a corruption of Drōṇa, probably a remnant of the original long name of the place.

At the time of issuing the grant, the king Gōvīndachandra was encamped at a village named Mamdaliā, which was situated in Alamvīmahāpura. The latter was probably the name of the district in which the village in question was situated, and it is evident that the village stood somewhere on the banks of the Ganges. I am as yet unable to identify either of these places. The village granted was *sapātaka-kōṇā*-Vadagrāma which I interpret as Vadagrāma together with its outlying hamlet and its corners. This village was situated in the district (*pattalā*) of Alāpa,

¹ [This requires correction, for the original (l 19) clearly gives सोमदिने, i.e. Monday. Reference to the late Mr L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Ephemeris*, Vol. III, p. 240, will show that this date is quite regular and rightly corresponds to Monday, the 19th May, 1119 A D.—Ed.]

² Vadagrāma appears to have been a common village name. In the Chandrāvati plate of Chandradēva of [V] S. 1148 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 302 ff.) we find Chandrāvati referred to as Vadagavā, a slightly modified form of Vadagrāma. [See f. n. 1 on p. 223.—Ed.]

³ [See f. n. 2 on page 222.—Ed.]

which cannot as yet be identified But there is a village of the name of Bargū in the Salempur Pargana of the Gorakhpur district which might represent the Vadagrāma of our inscription.

TEXT¹

[Metres Vv 1, 3, 10, 11, 13-20, *Anushtubh*, vv. 2, 21, *Indravajrā*, vv. 4, 7, *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita*, vv 5, 6, 8, 22, *Vasantatilakā*, v 9, *Drutavilambita*, v. 12, *Śālīnī*]

First Plate

1 श्री² स्वस्ति ॥

अकुण्ठोत्कण्ठवैकुण्ठकण्ठपीठलुठत्करः [1*]

संरम्भः सुरतारम्भे [स] त्रिय. त्रयसेस्तु वः ।। १*]

आसीदसी(शी)तद्युतिवंस(श)जा-

2 त-

क्षमापालमाल[ग]सु दिवङ्गतासु ।

[सा]क्षाद्विष्वानिव भूरिधान्ना

नाम्ना यशोविग्रह इत्युदारः ॥ [२*]

तत्सुतोभूम्भ[ही]चंद्रचंद्रधाम-

3 निभं निज ।

येनापारमकृपारपारे व्यापारित यशः ॥ [३*]

तस्याभूत्तनयो नयैकरसिकः क्रान्तद्विषन्मंडलो

विध्वस्तोद्धतधीरयोधति-

4 मिरः श्रीचंद्रदेयो(वो) नृपः ।

येनोदारतरप्रतापस(श)मितासे(शे)षप्रजोपद्रवं

श्रीमन्नाक्षिपुराधिराज्यमसम [दो]र्विक्रमेणार्जितं ।। ४*]

तं(तो)र्धानि

5 क(का)सि(शि)कुसि(शि)कोत्तरकोस(श)लेन्द्र-

स्थानीयक(का)नि परिपालयता[धि]गम्य [1*]

हमात्मतुल्यमनिसं(श) ददता द्विजेभ्यः(भ्यो)

येनाङ्किता वसुमतौ

6 स(श)तस(श)स्तुल(ला)भि ॥ [५*]

तस्यात्मजो मदनपाल इति क्षितींद्र-

चूडामणिर्विजयते निज[गो]तचंद्रः ॥³

यस्याभिषेककलशोन्नसितैः प-

7 योभिः

प्रक्षालितं कलिरजःपटलं धरित्रयाः ॥ [६*]

यस्यासीद्विजयप्रयाणसमये तुङ्गाचलोच्चैश्चल-

न्माद्यत्कुंभिपदक्रमासम-

8 भरभस्य(श)श्रीमंडलो(लः) [1*]

चूडारत्नविभिन्नतालुबलितस्थानासृगुणासितः

से(शे)पः पेषवसा(शा)दिव क्षणमसी क्रोडे निलीनानन[.] ।। ७*]

¹ From ink-impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol

³ Cancel one *danḥa*

- 9 तस्मादजायत निजायतवा(वा)हुवलि-
 वं(वं)धावरुद्धनवराज्यगजो नरेन्द्रः ।
 सांद्रास्तद्रवमुषां प्रभवो गवां [यो]
 गोविन्दचन्द्र(द्र) इति
- 10 चंद्र इवांवुरासे(शे): ॥ [८*]
 न कथमप्यलभन्त रणक्ष[मा]-
 स्तिष्ठपु दिष्टु गजानय वज्रिणः ।
 ककुभि व(व)भ्रमुरभ्रमुवक्षभ-
 प्रतिभट्टा(टा)
- 11 इव यस्य घटागजाः ॥ [९*]
 सीयं समस्ताराजचक्रसंसेवितचरण. । स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधि[रा]-
 जपरमेस्व(श्व)रपरममा-
- 12 हेस्व(श्व)रनिज[भु]जोपार्जितश्लोक(का)¹न्यकुब्जाधि[पत्य]श्लो²द्रदेवपादानुध्यातपरम-
 भट्टारकमहा[रा]जाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रपरममा-
- 13 हेस्व(श्व)रश्रीमदनपालदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रपर-
 ममाहेस्व(श्व)रश्रीम[होवि]न्दच[द्रदे]वो विज-
- 14 यो । अलापपत्तलाया(यां) सपाटककोणावडग्राममध्ये पूर्वदत्तदेवव्रा(व्रा)-
 क्षण ।³ तथा कवचसमानपाटक एतान् व(व)ह्नि कृत्वा ग्राम अस्मिन्⁴
- 15 निवासिनो निखिलजनपदानुपगतानपि च राजराज्ञीयुवराजमन्त्रिपुरोहितप्रतो-
 हारसेनापतिभांडागारिकाचपटलिक-
- 16 भिषग्नेमित्तिकान्तःपुरिकदूतकरितुरगपत्तनाकरस्यानगोकुलाधि[का]रिपुरुषान् समा-
 प्रापयति वो(वो)धयत्यादिस(श)ति च
- 17 यथा विदितमस्तु भवतां यथोपरिलिखितग्रामः सजलस्थ[ल]: सलो[हल]वणाकरः
 सगर्तो[प]रः समधूकचूतवनप्राटिकाविट-
- 18 पतृणयुतिगोचरपर्ज(र्य)न्तः ससीमापर्यन्तश्चतुराघाटविसु(शु)द्धः घ[ट्ट]मत्यधिकस(श)-
 तैक(का)दस(श)संवत्सरे ज्येष्ठे म(मा)सि सु(शु)क्लपक्षे अष्ट(ष्ट)-
- 19 म्यां [भौ]मदिने⁵ अल्लविमहापुरीये मंदलिआयामा-

Second Plate

- 20 'मावासे अद्भुतः संवत् ११७६ ज्येष्ठ शुदि ८ मौसे⁶ मंदलिआयानवासे
 श्रीमहंगायां विधिवत्स्नात्वा मंत्रदेवमुनिमनुज-

¹ [The correction is unnecessary, for both the forms *Kā°* as well as *Ka°* are used.—Ed.]

² Cancel the *danda*.

³ Read *यामिः*

⁴ [The original reads *सीमदिने* which is correct, see f n 1 p 219 above —Ed.]

⁵ Cancel the syllable *मा*

⁶ [The original reads *मौसे*, *au* for *ō* is evidently a clerical mistake —Ed.]

- 21 भूतपितृगणास्तर्पयित्वा तिन(मि)रपटलप[1*]टनपटुमहसमुष्णरोक्षिपमुपस्याधौ-
पधिपतिस(श)कलय[शे]खरं समभ्यर्च्य त्रिभुवग(न)-
- 22 त्र[1*]तुर्वीसुदेवस्य पूजा विधाय प्रचुरपायसेन हविर्भुज हत्वा मातापित्रो-
रात्मनश्च पुण्ययसो(शो)भिद्वये अम्नाभिः द्रोणाय-
- 23 गण्डोयवच्छ(त्स)गोत्राय भार्गवच्यववा(न)अर्म(और्व)जामह(ट)ग्न्यआप्रवानप(प)-
चप्रवराय छ[1*]दोगसा(शा)ग्विने ।¹ भट्ट्योनरसिंहप्रपौत्रा-
- 24 य भट्ट्योजान्तापौत्राय योपूतपुत्राय भट्ट्यो²टुल्लाडचम्ब(श)र्मणे गोकर्ण-
कुशलतापूतकरतलोदकपूर्वमाच(च)द्राक्क याव-
- 25 छासनीकृत्य प्रदत्त इति मत्वा ज(य)यादीयमानभागभोगकरप्रवणिकर-
प्रभृति[स]³सच्चा(व्वा)दायान् दास्यथ ॥ ७ ॥ स्वस्तिकर-
- 26 श्लोकः(काः)⁴ ॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति उभौ तौ
पुण्यकर्माणी नियतौ स्वर्गागामिनौ ॥ [१०*] स(श)खं भद्रासनं [च]क्र⁵
वराग्ना
- 27 वरवारणा । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलनेभा(म)त्र पुरंदर ॥ [११*] सर्वानेभा(ता)
न्माविनः ।¹ प(पा)घ्रिवेद्रान्भूयो भूयो याचत(ते) रामभ[द्रः] । सामा-
- 28 न्योयं धर्मस(से)तुर्नृपाणा काले क(का)ल(ले) पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [१२*]
व(व)(हु)भिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्ययस्य यदा भूमि-
- 29 स्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥ [१३*] स(सु)वर्न(र्क)मक(कं) गामेकं(कां)
भूमेरप्य(प्ये)कमगुलं । हरत्ररक्ताशोति यावदाभूत्स(तस)प्लवं ॥ [१४*]
तडा[ग]नां सहस्रेण अश्व-
- 30 मेघस(श)नेन च गवा कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न सु(शु)ध्यति ॥ [१५*]
स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरत वसुंधरां । स विष्ठात्रा(या) कृमिर्भूत्वा
पितृभिः
- 31 सह मज्जति ।[१६*] षष्टिं वर्षा(स)हया(सा)पि स्वर्गे वसति भू[मि]दः ।
आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नर[क(के)] वसेत् ।[१७*] वारिहोने-
वरन्ये(स्ये)षु सु(श)ष्कक्रोट[र]-
- 32 वासिनः । कृष्णसप्पो(पी)¹च जायन्ते देवब्रह्मश्व(स्व)हारिणः ॥ [१८*]
न विषं विषमित्वाहुव्र(र्त)ह्यश्व(स्व) विषमुच्यते [1*] विषमेकाकिनं हन्ति
व्र(व्र)ह्मवं पुत्रयो[व]-

¹ [Cancel the *danda*.—Ed.]

² [The syllable read as *ल्ल* possibly stands for *ल्ल*—Ed.]

³ Cancel the syllable in brackets

⁴ [The reading seems to be सवनि चातु श्लोका In the Kamaul plates, above, Vol. IV, p 101, text
l. 23 f. these verses are rightly called पुण्यश्लोका.—Ed.]

⁵ [Read *सु*—Ed.]

- 33 कं ॥ [१६*] फलकष्टं (ष्टां) मही (हीं) दद्य [१*] त्ववी (नो) जां सस्यसा (शा) लिनीं ।
यावत्पुण्यकृता लोक (का) स्तावत्स्वगे (गं) महीयते ॥ [२०*] यानीह
दत्तानि पुरा
- 34 नर (रं) द्रैर्हीनानि धर्मार्थयस (श) स्कराणि । निर्मात्यवान्तप्रतिना (सा) नि तानि
को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ [२१*] वाताभ्रविभ्र-
- 35 समिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्मधुरा (रो) विषयोपभोगः । प्राणास्तृणायजल-
वि (वि) न्दुसमा नराणा धर्मः स-
- 36 खा परमही परलोकयानि । [२२*] लिखित करणिकठकुरश्रीसह-
देवेन । [श्री] शू (स) त्वधारह्वालेकेन उतकेरित (उत्कोर्षं) ॥ ❀

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 11 to 25) That victorious and illustrious king, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Paramamāhēśvara Govindāchandrādēva,—whose feet are honoured by the entire circle of kings, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious P M P P Madanapālādēva, who (in his turn) meditates on the feet of the illustrious P M P P Chandradēva, who acquired the sovereignty over Kanyakubja by (the strength of his) own arms, orders, informs and commands all the people assembled, residing in this village, (namely), in the midst of Vadagrāma,¹ in the district (*pattalā*) of Alāpa, together with its outlying hamlets and corners, after excluding (the portions) already given to gods and Brāhmanas, also portions meant for fortifications² as well as the kings, queens, crown-princes, ministers, preceptors, door-keepers, generals, treasurers, record-keepers, physicians, astrologers, chamberlains, messengers, and officers charged with the care of elephants, horses, towns, mines (?), *sthānas* and *gōkulas* in the following manner —

“Be it known to you, that I have, on Tuesday, the 8th of the bright fortnight in the month of Jyēshtha, in the year (*comprising*) eleven hundred increased by seventy-six, while staying at the village of Mamdalīā belonging to Alamvimahāpura, in figures Samvat 1176, Jyēshtha śu di 8, Tuesday,³ after bathing in the prescribed manner in the holy Ganges at (my) camp, at Mamdalīā; after propitiating the sacred texts, divinities, sages, men, beings and the groups of deceased ancestors, adoring the Sun whose lustre can dispel heaps of darkness, worshipping the Moon-erected (Śiva), worshipping Vāsudēva, the protector of the three worlds and after offering to (the god of) Fire an oblation rich in milk-rice for the increase of merit and fame of my mother and father and myself, bestowed by a charter by (pouring) water from the palm of my hand, sanctified by the *gōkarna* and *kusa*-grass for (as long as) the Moon and the Sun endure, the above-mentioned village, together with water and dry land, mines of iron and salt, with pits and deserts up to and including gardens of *madhūka* and mango (trees), parks, and trees, grass and pasture-lands, up to its proper limits clearly defined by the four boundaries, upon the learned and illustrious Tultācha-śarman, the son of the illustrious Pūnta, the grand-

¹ The name of the village seems to be Kōnāvada — Ed]

² I am unable to offer a satisfactory explanation of क्वचसमानपाटक. Literally it would mean “portions resembling a coat of mail” The rendering in my translation is a mere conjecture [The word *pātaka* would suggest that what is read as क्वचसमान gives the name of some hamlet.—Ed]

³ [See f n. 3 on p 221, above —Ed]

son of the learned and illustrious Jāntā and the great-grandson of the learned and illustrious Narasimha of the Chhāndōga school, whose five *pravaras* are, namely, Bhārgava, Chyavana, Aurva, Jāmadagnya and Āpnavāna, and who belongs to the Vatsa-gōtra of Drōnāyanashada. Bearing this in mind, you should give (the donee) the *bhāga-bhōga-kara*, the *pravani-kara* and all the other sources of income that are due

[Ll 26 to 36 contain thirteen imprecatory and benedictory verses]

(L 36) Written by the *Karāṇika*,¹ the illustrious *Thakkura Sahadēva* Engraved by the illustrious *sūtradhāra*, *Hālēka*

No 24—CHHATARPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF GOVINDACHANDRA-DEVA OF KANAUI [VIKRAMA]-SAMVAT 1177

By DAYA RAM SAHNI, M A, RAI BAHADUR

The copper-plates on which this inscription is engraved are two in number. They were forwarded to the Director General of Archaeology in India by the District Magistrate of Cawnpore with the following information about the circumstances that led to their discovery: "The plates were discovered on or about the 5th July, 1920, by one Chhatryan Chamār when digging the foundations for a hut. Local rumour has it that he found with it jewellery and gold ornaments, but of this I have no corroboration. No one has claimed the plates or any knowledge of their antecedents. The site was the village of Chhatarpur near Sheorājpur, a small town, lying on the Grand Trunk Road, 21 miles north-west of Cawnpore. Sheorājpur was formerly a place of some importance—the seat of the Rājas of Chandēl family. Chhatarpur itself contains a very old temple of Khērēshwar² Mahādeo which is regarded with the greatest veneration." The plates were in a much corroded state when they reached the office of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, who had them thoroughly cleaned and sent to me for publication in this Journal.

Both the plates on which this inscription is engraved are rectangular in shape, each measuring 1'-3½" by 10". Their edges are turned upwards, thus forming a rim ½" high, on all sides. The plates are held together by a stout circular ring of copper which passes through two holes cut in the bottom of plate I, and the top of plate II, respectively. To the ring is attached, as is frequently the case with such plates, a heavy seal of the king bearing the inscription *Śrīmad-Govindachandradēvāh* with a figure of Garuda above it and a conch below it. The plates, the ring and the seal are in a perfect state of preservation, except one corner of plate II and another of plate I, which are slightly damaged, but we find no loss of the inscription on this account. The epigraph, which consists of thirty-two lines, is engraved on the inner side of each of the two plates, the number of lines on each plate being sixteen. The characters are Nāgarī and the language is Sanskrit throughout. In respect of orthography, we observe the same peculiarities as in other inscriptions of this king. The letter *ba* is everywhere written as *da* and the palatal *v* as the dental sibilant, though occasionally it has its own proper sign, especially in

¹ This word means a scribe, i.e. 'one who has to do with documents' (*karana*). Mr Y R Gupte has kindly drawn my attention to the fact that certain families among the Chāndrasēniya Kāyastha Prabhus (a class of writers in the Deccan) to this day bear the surname of *Karāṇika* (Sanskrit *karāṇika*). The Prabhus referred to are supposed to have migrated from the district of Oudh in the United Provinces.

² The correct name would appear to be Khērēśvara.

ligatures. A few other mistakes of spelling may also be noticed. In line 18, we meet with *śōrddhādhās-* for *śōrdhvādhas*¹. In the same line we also find *ushna* wrongly spelt as *usna*, while in line 21, the *rēpha* is omitted from the name *Bārhaspatya*.² The *Sandhi* is frequently disregarded.

The first ten lines and a half are in verse and contain, as in other copper-plate inscriptions of this dynasty, the genealogy of the king beginning from *Chandradēva*, while the nine lines at the end (ll. 24-32) are taken up by seven benedictory and imprecatory verses quoted from the *Mahābhārata*. The rest of the inscription, i.e., from the middle of line 11 to line 24, and the latter portion of line 32, is devoted to the formal subject matter of the epigraph. The object of the document is to record the fact that king *Gōvīndachandradēva*, son of the illustrious *Madanapālādēva*, son of the illustrious *Chandradēva*, after bathing with the water of the Ganges at *Vārānasi* on the occasion of the full³ moon of *Kārtika* in the [*Vikrama*]-*Samvat* year 1177, after having duly propitiated the sacred⁴ texts, divinities, etc., and adored the Sun, *Mahādēva* and *Vāsudēva*, gave away, by this charter, the village of *Sāsaimaua* in the *Kōti* district, clearly defined by its four boundaries, together with what is above and below it, to the *Brāhman*, the illustrious *Sāhulaśarman*, the son of the illustrious *Thakkura Lāhula*, and the grandson of *Avasthi-Śrī-Mālhē*, whose *pravaras* are *Āngirasa*, *Bārhaspatya* and *Bhāradvāja*, and who belongs to the *Bhāradvāja-gōtra*. The king further commands the residents of the aforesaid village to continue regularly to pay all the taxes to the donee. The document was written by the *Karanika Thakkura Śrīdhara*.

The name of the village, whose grant is recorded in this inscription, was *Sāsaimaua*. The locality, where the two copper-plates were unearthed, was, as mentioned above, the village of *Chhatarpur* near *Sheorāpuri* in *Cawnpore* district. If *Chhatarpur* is really the place where the donee of the grant actually resided, then the village of *Sāsaimaua* must have been situated somewhere in its neighbourhood. I have referred to a large scale map of the *Cawnpore* district, but have failed to discern any village of this precise name. I have, however, received a copy of a letter from the District Magistrate to the address of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, which states that there is a village of the name of *Sisamau*, which now forms part of the *Cawnpore* City. This village answers very nearly to the ancient village *Sāsaimaua*. The District Magistrate is unable to throw any light on the ancient district of *Kōti*.

TEXT⁵

First Plate.

[Lines 1 to the middle of 11 are the same as in the *Dōn Buzurg* plates of *Gōvīndachandra* of [*Vikrama*]-*Samvat* 1176, above, p. 218.]

- 11 सोय समस्तराजचक्रसंसेवितचरणः ।
परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधि-
12 राजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वर(१)निजभुजोपाज्जितश्रीकन्यकुलाधिपत्यश्रीचन्द्रदेवपादानु-
ध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजा-

¹ [This remark is not justifiable for the word is written with or without *v*, cf *Śabdakalpādruma* under the word, "सवकारी निर्वकारश्च"—Ed.]

² [I think it is there—Ed.]

³ [Not mentioned in the inscription which simply says *कार्तिपक्षिणि*. It may be any of the five *parvans*.—Ed.]

⁴ [It would be better to take *mantra-dēva* together, meaning 'gods invoked by, etc.—Ed.]

⁵ From the ink-impression.

- 13 धिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीमदनपालदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिरा-
जपरमेश्वरपरम-
- 14 माहेश्वरश्रीमन्नोषिन्दचन्द्रदेवो विजयो । कोटिपत्तलायां सासैमौश्रग्रामे
त्रिधामिनो निखिलजनपदानुपगा(ग)तानपि-
- 15 च राजराज्ञीयुवराजमन्त्रिपुरोहितप्रतीहारसेनापतिभाडागारिकाक्षपटलिकभिय-
ग्नैमित्तिकान्तःपुरिकदूतकरितुरग-
- 16 पत्तनाकरस्थानगोकुलाधिकारिपुरुषांश्चाज्ञापयति वो(वो)धयत्यादिशति च विदित-
मस्तु भवतां यथोपरिलिखि-

Second Plate

- 17 त(ग्रामः) सजलस्थलः सलोहलवणाकरः समत्स्याकरः सपर्णाकरः सग(र्तो)परः
समधूकचूतव[नवाटिका]वि-
- 18 ड(ट)पटुण्युतिगोचरपर्यन्तः सोर्डा(ध्वी)धस्यतुराघाटविसु(ग)ङ्गः स्वसोमापर्यन्तः
सम्बत् ११७७ अवेह^१ वाराणस्यां कार्तिकपर्वणि
- 19 गंगोदकेन स्नात्वा विधिवन्मन्त्रदेवसुनिमनुजभूतपितृगणांस्तर्पयित्वा तिमिरपटल-
पाटनपटुमहसमुश्र(ण)रोचिषसुपस्था-
- 20 यौषधिपतिशकलसे(शे)खरं सममार्च्य त्रिभुवनत्रातुर्वीसुदेवस्य पूजा विधाय
प्रभुरपायसेन हविषा हविर्भुज हृत्वा मातापित्रो-
- 21 रात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये गोकर्णकुस(श)लतापूतकारतलोदकपूर्वमस्त्राभिः भारद्वा-
जगोत्राय आंगिरसवा(वा)हंस्यत्यभार-
- 22 हाजत्रिप्रवराय अवस्थीश्रीमालहेपौत्राय ठक्कुरश्रीलाहुलपुत्राय श्रीसाहुलशर्म्मेणे
ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय आचन्द्रार्क्षं यावच्छासनी-
- 23 कृत्य प्रदत्तो(त्तो) मत्वा यथा दीयमानभागभोगकरकू[ट]प्रवणिकरप्रभृतिसर्वा-
दायात्(न्) तुरुष्कदडादाय आज्ञाविधेयीभूय दास्य-
- 24 थेति ॥ ७ ॥ भवन्ति चात्र श्लोकाः ।

[Here follow seven benedictory and imprecatory verses]

- 32 करणिकठक्कुरश्रीश्रीधरेण [लिखित] [H*]

No 25 — VEMALURPADU PLATES OF AMMARAJA II

By E. HULTZSCH, PH D, HALLE (SAALE)

For ink-impressions of these copper-plates I am indebted to Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri, who acquired the plates for the Madras Museum in 1910² from a Muhammadan resident of

¹ [The plate gives *adyēha* —Ed.]

² [See *Ep. Rep.* for 1910, p 10, para 10, and p 15, App A, No 4 —Ed.]

Vēmalūrpāḍu, a village close to the Phirangipuram Railway Station in the Guntur District He describes them as follows —

“ Five plates with raised rims The first and the last have writing on their inner sides only The plates measure $9\frac{1}{2}$ " by $4\frac{1}{2}$ " They are held together by a circular copper ring which measures $5\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter and 2" in thickness The ends of the ring are fixed into the bottom of a seal whose base is fashioned into a lotus of eight petals The seal, which is circular, measures $3\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter and bears, within a countersunk surface, the figure of a running boar facing the proper left, with a *chauri* in front of it Below the boar is the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvan[ām]h[u]śa* in old Telugu characters, and below it a lotus flower of eight petals spread out, with the sun and an *ankuśa* to the right, and the crescent of the moon to the left The ring had not yet been cut when the plates were received from the Collector of Guntur The plates and seal together weigh 410 tolas ”

The writing on the plates is in a state of good preservation, with the exception of portions of plate iv, b The alphabet is Telugu, and the language is Sanskrit prose, interspersed with $19\frac{1}{2}$ Sanskrit verses The description of the boundaries of two fields in lines 59-63 is in a mixture of Sanskrit and Telugu ¹ The writer seems to have possessed a very superficial knowledge of the former language As the notes on the text will show, he has committed an inordinate number of mistakes and omissions in copying the historical introduction from the records of his office I shall not waste space and time by lengthy remarks on the orthography of this document The *upadhīmānīya* is represented by the Telugu symbol *r* in line 8, and by *p* at the beginning of line 67 The Sanskrit word *rāshṭra* is spelt *raltra* and *rāltra* in line 48

The inscription on the plates records a grant of land by the Eastern Chālukya king Ammarāja II, and opens with a historical account of his ancestors which is nearly identical with the one given in the Mahīyapūṇḍī grant As I have already discussed this genealogical portion elsewhere,² I need note here only the corrupt verse 1 (line 11), according to which it remains doubtful whether the reign of Vijayāditya II, surnamed Narēndramrigarāja, was believed to have lasted either 48 or only 40 years ³

Verses 9-15 seem to have been composed by a Brāhmaṇa named Bhattagunda (l. 73) and do not reflect much credit on this panegyrist as a grammarian and poet Verse 9 states that Amma II was the son of Bhīma (II), the grandson (in reality, the great-grandson) of Bhīma (I), and the great-grandson (in reality, the grandson of the grandson) of Vikramāṅka The same verse alludes to the attack made by Vallabha, i.e. the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II,⁴ on Bhīma I It implies that Bhīma I bore the surname *Ritasiddhi*,⁵ and that Vikramāṅka (i.e. Vikramāditya I) had received the dignity of heir-apparent, but did not ascend the throne ⁶ Verse 13 informs us that Amma II was eight years old when he was anointed to the dignity of heir-apparent, and that he was twelve years old at the time of his coronation From other grants the exact date of the last is known to have been Friday, 5th December, A.D. 945, in the twelfth year of his age ⁷

The regnal year of Amma II in which the grant recorded in the Vēmalūrpāḍu plates was made, is not specified in them On the day of a winter-solstice (*uttarāyana*, l. 56), the

¹ Mr Kṛṣṇa Sastri has very kindly deciphered from the original copper plate, and rendered into English, a few Telugu words of this passage which I had been unable to read and explain

² Above, Vol IX, p. 48 f

³ Cf. Fleet's remarks in *Ind. Ant.* Vol XX, p. 100 f

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 102, and above, Vol IX, p. 84 f

⁵ See below, p. 233, note 15

⁶ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XX, p. 103

⁷ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XX, p. 271, above, Vol IX, p. 55 f, and p. 134 i

king gave an *agrahāra* (ll 45 and 57) or *mūnya* (l 71) to a Brāhmana named Musiya (ll 39 and 51) or Musiyanaśarman (l 56), whose father seems to have enjoyed the complimentary title of *Mahārāja* (l 39 ff), whose grandfather's name was Guṇḍamayya (l 41 f), and who belonged to the Bhūradvāja-gotra (ll 42 and 56). The king did this at the request of Durgarāja, the great-grandson of Pā[ṇḍa]rāṅga (l 43 f). Durgarāja seems to have been the royal superintendent of the district (*rāja-vishay-ādhyakṣha*, l 53) or feudatory chief of the province¹ of Karma-rāshtra (l 48) and to have communicated the king's decision to the inhabitants of this district and to the donee himself, who is addressed in the second person (*tvam*) in lines 39 and 51. Durgarāja may be meant also by 'the famous chief of the camp' who was the executor (*ājñapti*) of this grant (l 72). From the king's own words, which are quoted in line 44 f., we may conclude that the donee, Musiya, was Durgarāja's minister (*mantrin*). Both Durgarāja and his great-grandfather, the general Pāṇḍarāṅga, are well known from other inscriptions.²

The object of the grant were two fields which had been cut off from the two villages of Anmananguru (ll 52 and 59) and Anḍeki (l 54) in the district of Karma-rāshtra (l 48). This district must have corresponded to portions of the Ongole Taluk of the Nellore District. For, it included the village of Chendalūr in this taluk³ and the two villages of Dharmapuram and Kalvakuru in the Addanki Division of the Ongole Taluk.⁴ Anḍeki (l 54) is perhaps an old form of the name of Addanki itself. In the absence of local maps I am unable to trace the four villages which formed the boundaries of the subjoined grant (ll 57-59). The two villages of Kārañchēdu (l 55) and Vaṅḡiparu (l 73) where the recipient and the composer of the grant resided, respectively, are mentioned in a grant of Narēndramrigarāja in the slightly different forms of Kārañchēdu and Vangiparu.⁵ On sheet 3 of the Madras Presidency Map published by the Madras Survey in 1892, I find 'Karanchēdu,' 10 miles west by south of Bāpatla, and Vangiparu may be the same as Vangipuram in the Bāpatla Taluk,⁶ which borders on the Addanki Division. On the same map I notice 'Nūtulapād,' about 15 miles west of Bāpatla. This is perhaps identical with the village of Nutulaparu in Karma-rāshtra.⁷

TEXT.⁸

First Plate

- 1 ° स्वस्ति [॥*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तुयमानमाणव्यसगोत्र[॥*]णां¹⁰ हारी-
- 2 तिपुत्रणा¹¹ कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धराज्यानां मातृगणपरिपालितान[॥*]¹²
- 3 स्वामिमहासेनपादानुदयतानां¹³ भगवन्मारायणप्रसादसमासाधित-¹⁴
- 4 वरवराहलाचनेक्षणक्षयशीकृतारातिमण्डलानां¹⁵ अश्वमे-
- 5 ध[॥*]वभृथज्ञानपवित्रीकृतवपुषां¹⁶ (i) चालुक्यानां कुलमलंकृतो¹⁷ (i) सत्या-

¹ See below, p 234, note 4

² See above, Vol IX, p 49 f

³ Above, Vol. VIII, pp 234 and 238

⁴ Above, Vol IX, p 50. In Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, plate 34, D, b, Addanki is entered on the left bank of the Gundlakamma river

⁵ *Ind Ant*, Vol XX, p 418

⁶ Mr R Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol I, p. 85

⁷ *Ind Ant*, Vol XX, p 105

⁸ From ink-impressions supplied by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, B A

⁹ A flower is engraved at the beginning of this line

¹⁰ Read °नामव्य°.

¹¹ Read °पुत्रणां

¹² Read सादग°

¹³ Read °नुदयतानां.

¹⁴ Read °साधित°.

¹⁵ Read °लाहने°, °श्रीकृता°, °नामव्य°

¹⁶ Read °दीहता°.

¹⁷ Read °लकरिषो.

6 अथयवर्षमेन्द्रस्याः¹ (i) भ्राता कुम्भविष्णुवर्षणाष्टादश² वर्ष[१*]णि (ii) वेङ्गीस-
7 गडल[म*]प[१*]लयत् । तद[१*]जो जयसिंहस्त्रयस्त्रिंशतत्³ । तदनुजेन्द्र-
राजनन्दनो

Second Plate, First Side

8 विष्णुवर्षनो नव । तत्सूनुम्मंगियुवरा[ज]×पंचविंशति । न्त्युत्रा⁴
जयसिंहस्त्रयो-
9 दश । तदवरजः[१*] कौकिलिष्यस्त्र[१*]सान् । तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णु-
वर्षनस्तमुञ्चात् सप्तविंशत[म्]⁵
10 वर्ष[१*]णि⁶ [१*] तत्पुत्रो⁷ विजयादित्यभट्ट[१*]रकोष्टादश । तत्पुतो विष्णुवर्षन-
प्यत्तिशतम्⁸ । नरेन्द्र-
11 मृगराजाख्यो मृगराजपाराक्रमः⁹ । विजयादित्यभूप[१*]लः¹⁰ स¹¹ चत्वारिंश-
दव्यष्टक¹² ॥ [१*]
12 तत्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुवर्षनो¹³ ध्वर्षवर्ष¹⁴ । तत्पुत्राः¹⁴ पराचाक्ररामापरानाम-
13 धेयः । हत्वा भूरिगोदंबराष्ट्रनृपतिं¹⁵ मगिम्माहासंगरे¹⁶ गंगानाश्रीतगंग-¹⁷
14 कुटशिखराभिर्जित्य सङ्गा[१*]लाधीशं संरितमुग्रवत्सभयुतं यो भाययित्वा¹⁸ च-
15 तुष्टत्वारिंशतः । मद्दकांश्च¹⁹ विजयात्या²⁰ ररत्न चिति । [२*] तदनुजस्य
लम्भयौवराज्य[स्य]
16 विक्रमादित्यास्य²¹ सुतसालुक्यभिमस्त्रिंशतं²² । तस्याद्यनो विजयादित्यः
पयमास[१न् १*]

Second Plate; Second Side

17 तदयसूतुरम्भराजसप्तवर्ष[१*]णि । तत्सूनुमाक्रमस्य बाल²³ च[१*]लुक्यभीम[पि]-
18 दव्ययुद्धमस्य नन्दनस्तात्तनृपे²⁴ मासमेक्षं । नानासामन्तवर्गैरधिकबल-²⁵

¹ Read °न्द्रस्य.

⁴ Read तत्सूनुर्मागि°, °विशतिम् । तत्पुत्रो.

⁷ The initial त is entered below the line

⁹ Read °पराक्रम

¹⁰ The syllable त्य is entered below the line

¹² Pada 4 of this verse is corrupt; cf another corrupt version of it above, Vol IX, p 51, text line 13.

¹⁴ द्रव्ययुद्ध seems to have been engraved on an erasure and may be meant for either °दृष्टक° or °दृष्टकान्.

¹³ Read °वर्षनो°.

¹⁵ Read °नीडम्°.

¹⁷ Read °नाश्रीतगङ्गकूट°

¹⁹ Read °रिशतसन्द°.

²¹ Read °दित्यस्य.

²³ Read बाल

²⁵ Read °वर्गैर°.

² Read °वर्षनोष्टा°.

³ Read °ष्टतम्.

⁵ Read °त्रिंशतं

⁶ Read वर्षाणि.

⁸ Read °प्यट्त्रिंशतम्

¹¹ This स is entered below the line

¹⁴ Read तत्पुत्र पराचाक्ररामापरानाम°.

¹⁶ Read मगि°.

¹⁸ Read रुक्मि°

²⁰ Read °यादित्यो.

²² Read क्षमीस°.

²⁴ Read °नृपो.

- 19 युतेर्मत्तमातंगसैर्हत्वा¹ तं ताल्लराजं विपमरणमुखे म[१*]दमत्युग्रतेजाः [१*] .
 20 एकाब्द² सम्यग्भोनिधिवलयहृतामन्वरत्नहरिवि³ (I) त्रीमान्चालुक्यभीमक्षि-⁴
 21 तिपतितनयो विक्रमादित्यभूषः । [३*] पद्यादहमहमिकया विक्रम[१]-
 22 दित्यास्तमने⁵ कर्त्तुं⁶ इव प्रजावधानपरा⁷ दायादराजपुत्रा राज्याभि-
 23 लाषिणो युद्धमक्षराजम[१*]र्त्तुं डलकण्ठिकावीजयादित्यप्रभृतयो⁸ यिया-
 24 हिभूतास्तासन्⁹ [१*] विग्रहेणैव पाच¹⁰ वर्ष[१*]णि ग[तानि १*]¹¹ ततः ।
 योवधिद्राजमार्त्तगुन्ते¹²
 25 पा येन रणे क्षतौ [१*] कण्ठिकाविजयादित्य[यु*]दमक्षो¹³ विदेशागौ¹⁴ ।
 [४*] अस्ये¹⁵ मान्य[म]-

Third Plate, First Side.

- 26 ह्रीभृतोपि बहवो दुष्टप्रहृताहताः¹⁶ (I) देशोपद्रवकारिणः प्रकटिता. कालाल-
 27 य¹⁷ प्रापिता. [१*] दोर्हण्डेरितमण्डलाग्रलतया यस्योग्रसंग्रामकानाञ्चा¹⁸ त-
 28 त्परभृन्पैत्र्य¹⁹ शिरसो मालेव सन्धार्यते ॥ [५*] नादग्वा²⁰ विनिवर्त्तते²¹
 रिपुकुलं क्षोपा-
 29 गिरा मूलतः शुभ्र यस्य यशो न लोकमखिल²² सन्तिष्ठते न भ्रमत् [१*]
 द्रव्य[१]-
 30 भीधरराशिरप्यनुदिनं सन्तप्यमाने भयं दारिद्र्योग्रतरातपेन जन-
 31 सस्ये²³ न नो वर्षति [॥ ६*] स चालुक्याभिमानसा²⁴ (I) विजयादित्य-
 नन्दनः[१*] द्वादश[१]-
 32 ध्यात्समास्तस्यक्²⁵ राजभीमो धरातलं । [७*] तस्य महेन्द्रमूर्त्तेरुमासामा²⁶

¹ Read °गसैर्हत्वा

² Read एकाब्द

³ Read सम्यग्भो, °हरिवि

⁴ Read त्रीमान्चालु°

⁵ Above, Vol IX, p 52, text line 23, this was needlessly corrected into °स्तमने

⁶ Read राक्षसा

⁷ Read प्रजावधान°

⁸ Cancel the syllable ल after राजमार्त्तं Read °काविज°

⁹ Read विग्रहीभूता आसन्

¹⁰ Read पच

¹¹ The letters enclosed in brackets are supplied from the Mahiyapūṇḍī grant

¹² Read योवधीद्रा°, °नेषा.

¹³ Read °मक्षौ

¹⁴ Read विदेशागौ

¹⁵ The Mahiyapūṇḍī grant reads अस्ये.

¹⁶ Read °हृताहता

¹⁷ Read

¹⁸ Read perhaps °सकस्याञ्चा

¹⁹ Read °रभृ°

²⁰ Read नादग्वा

²¹ Read °वर्षति

²² Read °खिल

²³ Read क्षमसास्ये

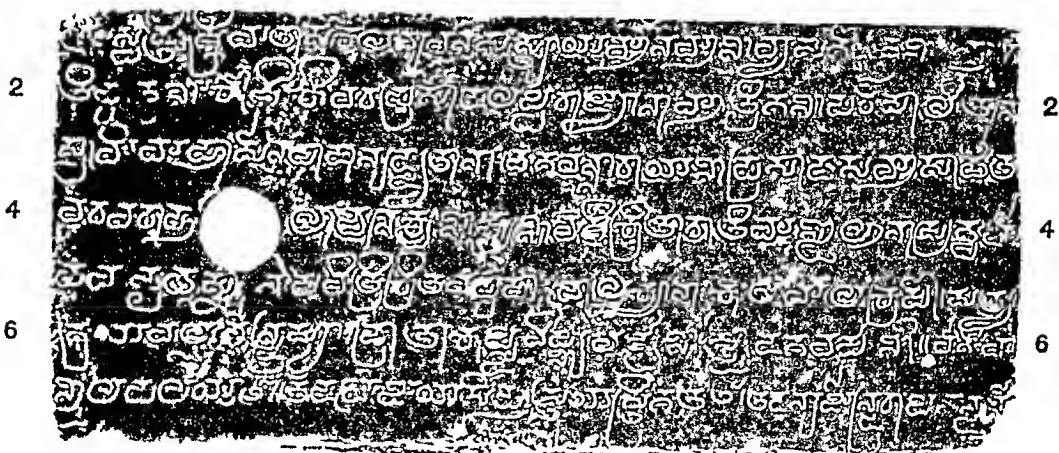
²⁴ Read चालुक्यभीम°.

²⁵ Unless अस्यात् is intended for an imperfect of अस्यात् it might be corrected into अश्यात्, the imperfect of अश् Read °स्ययाज°

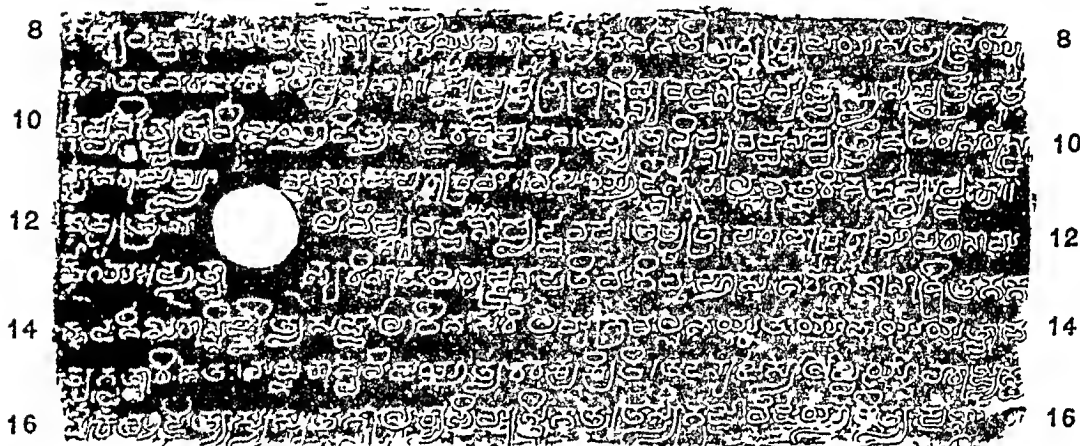
²⁶ Read °रुमासामा°.

"Vemalurpadu Plates of Ammaraja II".

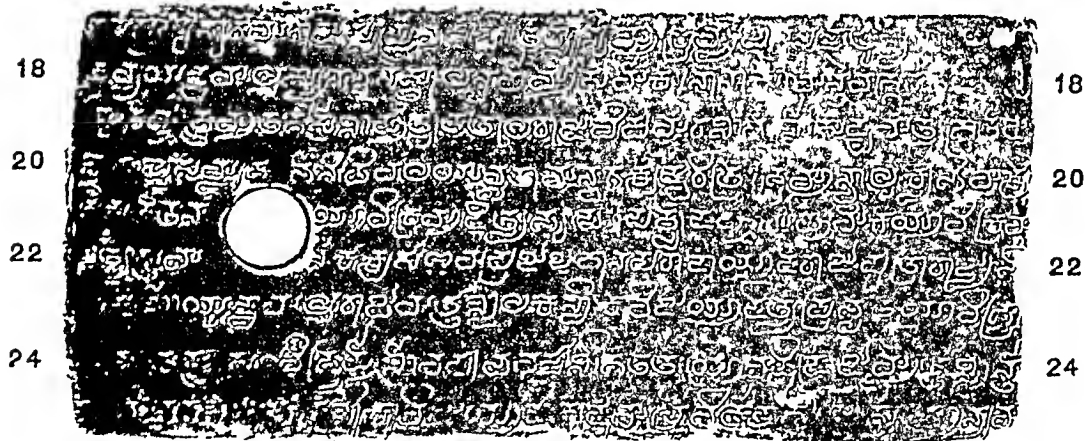
i.



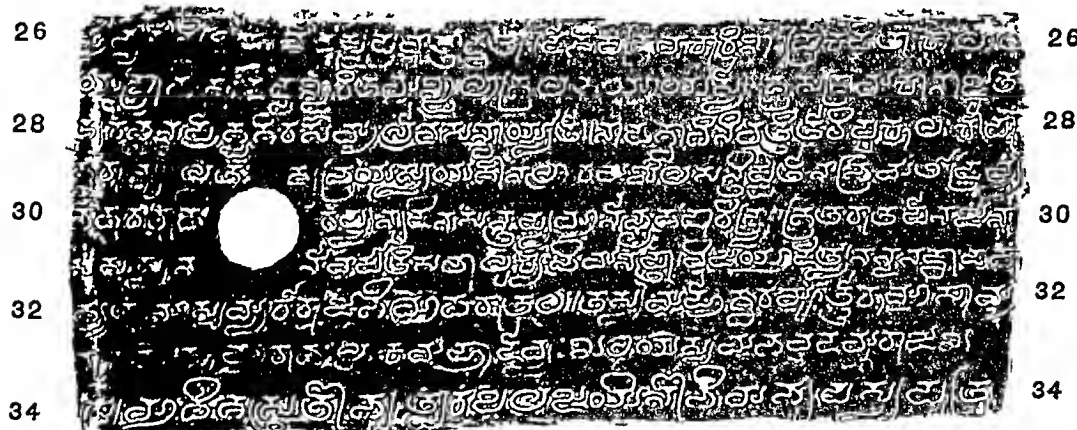
ii a



ii b.



iii a



36 36
38 38
40 40
42 42

20a

44 44
46 46
48 48
50 50
52 52
54 54

20b

56 56
58 58
60 60
62 62
64 64

21.

66 66
68 68
70 70
72 72
74 74

- 33 नाकतेः कुमारभः [1*] लोकमहादेव्य[1*]: खलु यस्मभभवदम्भराजाख¹ [॥ ८*]
 34 अमाधीशस्ततोभुत्परवलजयिनो² भिमभूपस्य³ पुत्र-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 35 ऋत्वान्ते वक्षमेन प्रहृतमपि पुनः पट्टम[1*]द[1*]य धर्त्तव्य⁴
 36 य[1]य[1]तर्त्तसिद्धेर्विनयपरभृहत्भोमराजस्य⁵ पौत्रो यव्व⁶
 37 श्रीराज्यकण्ठाभरणविलसतो विक्रमांकस्य नप्त[1*] ॥ [८*] परस्वसन्त्य-
 38 क्तमनोविशुद्धः पराप्रियान्सुक्तवचोविशुद्धः [1*] परोपकरि⁷
 39 द्विजसत्तमस्त्वमिति विशुद्धो सुसियाभिधानः [॥ १०*] श्रीमन्मह[1*]-
 40 र[1*]जपदोत्तमस्य शिष्टेष्टवन्दुप्रियदर्शनस्य⁸ [1*] देवाद्यृण[1*]-
 41 नि प्रतिमंचतोऽं पुत्रोभयवत्कुलनन्दनस्य [॥ ११*] गुण्डमय्याभिधा-
 42 नस्य पट्टमकारिणस्त्वदा [1*] पौत्रो भारद्वाजस्य⁹ गोत्रेणामितते[ज]-
 43 स[ः ॥ १२*] स्वामिनातुलयोद्धतस्य¹⁰ पारांगस्य¹¹ नप्त[1*] दुग्गराजेन¹² विज्ञा-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 44 पितोम्भ[र]जः¹³ तस्मो प्रसन्नचित्तः स्व[1*]मिहिताय प्रीतीपुर्व्वन्तव¹⁴ म-
 45 न्निषेयहारन्दास्य[1*]मोति प्रतिवचनसुक्तव[1*]न् ॥ स यव्वराज्याष्टमेभि-¹⁵
 पित्तो द्वि-
 46 यत्क[स]व्वत्सरपट्टवद्धः [1*] महाह्वेषु प्रसभन्निहत्य रिपुननेकान्निवभ[1]-¹⁶
 47 ति नित्यं [॥ १३*] सोयं समधिगतपंचमह[1*]शब्दपरमब्रह्मण्यपरमभट्टार-
 48 कपरमम[1*]हेत्यरो मातापितृभक्तः[1*] (॥) कर्मर७३द्रवासिनो¹⁷ रा७३द्रकूटप्रसु-¹⁸
 49 खान्कुटुंबिनस्सर्व्व[1*]नेव समाहुयेत्यमाज्ञापयति¹⁹ [॥*] विदितम-
 50 स्तु वः । इष्टेश्वरप्रस[1*]दस्य²⁰ सर्व्वजिषदयावतः²¹ [1*] नित्यधर्म्मादृथक[1*]मस्य²²

¹ Read °जाख .

² Read अमाधीशस्ततोभूत्°.

³ Read भोम°

⁴ Read धर्त्तुः । न्या-.

⁵ Read °रभृहत्भोम°

⁶ Read यौव- The metre seems to have induced the author to use the impossible form यौवश्रीराज्य instead of श्रीयौवराज्य

⁷ Read °पकारो

⁸ Read perhaps शिष्टेष्टवन्दु°

⁹ The metre of Pāda 3 is faulty

¹⁰ Read perhaps °योद्धतस्य

¹¹ Read पाङ्गरांगस्य and cf above, Vol V, p. 125, text line 35

¹² Read दुग्गरा°

¹³ Read °राजस्तस्यै.

¹⁴ Read प्रीतिपूर्व्व°

¹⁵ Read यौवराज्येष्ट°

¹⁶ Read रिपून्°

¹⁷ Read °राष्ट्र°

¹⁸ Read राष्ट्र°

¹⁹ Read समाहुये°.

²⁰ Read perhaps इष्टेश्व°.

²¹ Read सर्व्वजोव°.

²² Read धर्म्मादृथक°.

- 51 किमती¹ सुसियस्य ते । [१४*] अमराजाभिधानात्मी² मादचन्द्रावुभो³
 सृतो [१*] तवेकीभू-⁴
 52 य कि चित्रं प्रजानां हितकारिणौ ॥ [१५*] अगमणगुरुन[१*]मग्र[१*]मे
 दक्षिणदिग्भागे
 53 राजविषयाध्यक्षसत्कारपूर्वकं दशकारिकोद्रवबीजावापक्षेत्रमादाय⁵
 54 अगडेकिनामग्रामे उत्तरदिग्भागे पूर्ववद्दशखारिकोद्रवबीजावापक्षेत्र-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 55 माद[१*]य येतस्मिन्ग्रामे⁶ अम्यन्तरीकृत्य कारंचेडुस्तव्यय⁷ क्रोविकुलाय
 56 भारद्वाजगोत्राय सुसियनशर्मणे सर्वपरिहृ[१*]रीकृत्य उत्तरायननिमि[त्ते]⁸
 57 तुमियवेणियपूगिडनामग्र[१*]मादिकद्वयमग्रहृ[१*]र⁹ प्र[१*]दात् ॥ अस्याव-
 58 धयः पूर्वतः¹⁰ मेदल्कोण्ड दक्षिणतः गट्टिपुण्डो¹¹ पश्चिमतः ऐंकोण्डन[१*]-
 मग्र[१*][म']
 59 उत्तरनः¹² अ[रुमण]गुरुनामग्र[१*]म. । क्षेत्रसिमानि¹³ पूर्वतः सु[य्य]लिकुट्टन
 60 शमी¹⁴ अ[१]द्वेयतः¹⁵ गुण्ट दक्षिणतः¹⁶ गुण्टेष्टिअ¹⁷ कळिंति [वे]वुल¹⁸ गोनु [ना]-
 61 रितित¹⁹ वेच दक्षिणमुन परवुल पश्चिमतः एटिय कळिंति च[टललु]
 62 व[१*]यव्यतः [कुण्ट] उत्तरंउरतः²⁰ चलिगुण्ट दक्षिणतः²¹ सुय्यलिकुट्टन वेस-²²
 63 ळायु ॥ अस्योपरि न केनचित्बाधा²³ कर्त्तव्या [१*] यः करोति स
 पंचमहापात-
 64 कोर्युत्को²⁴ भवति [१*] [यः] प[१*]लयति स पुण्यो भवति ॥ तय[१*]
 चोक्तं रामभद्र[ण]²⁵ [१*]
 65 स[१*]म[१*]न्योन्यशर्म[से]तु[र्दृ]पा[णं]²⁶ क]लकल पालनीयो भवन्भिः²⁷ [१*]
 सर्वा-

¹ Read perhaps श्रीमती

⁴ Read तवे

⁷ Read वेडुस्तव्यय

⁸ A doubtful symbol is entered below the यि वेणियं.

¹¹ Read पुगिड

¹⁴ Read शमी

¹⁷ Read एटिय

¹⁹ Read नैचलत

²² I owe the reading of this word to Mr Krishna Sastri

²³ Read चिदाधा

²⁵ Read मुद्रपाया काले काले.

² Read नाल्या

⁵ Read दशखारि.

⁸ Read मयनि

¹³ Read उत्तरत

¹⁵ Read आग्नेयत

¹⁸ Mr Krishna Sastri corrects this into वेमुल

²⁰ Read उत्तरत

²⁶ Read पातक्युक्ती

²⁷ Read भवन्भिः.

³ Read उभौ सृतो

⁶ Read एत

¹⁰ Read पूर्वत

¹³ Read सीमानि पूर्वतः

¹⁶ Read दक्षिणत.

²¹ Read ऐशानत.

²⁴ Read मद्रेष

Fifth Plate

- 66 नेताम्भ[१*]विनाः^१ पार्त्विदेन्द्र[१]म्भूयोभु[यो]^२ या]चते रामभद्रः ॥ [१६*]
 महश्चज[१]-
 67 पराम[हीप]तिवश्चजाश्च^३ पापादपेतमन[सो] भुवि [भा]विभूपाः [१*] ये
 68 प[१*]लयन्ति मम धार्मिमिमं^४ समस्तन्तेप[१*]मयं विरचितोजलिरेष सु-^५
 69 र्भि ॥ [१७*] बहुभिर्व्वसुध[१*] दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपलता^६ [१*] यस्ययस्य
 यदा भूमिस्त-
 70 स्यतस्य तदा फलं [॥ १८*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तावा^७ यो हरेत वसुधरां [१*] षष्टि-
 71 वर्षसहस्रनि^८ विष्टाया जायते क्रिमिः । [१९*] मान्यं विंशतिखारीको-
 72 द्रवयोजावापचेत् [१*] आज्ञप्तिरस्य धर्मस्य कटकेशो यशोनिधिः ॥ [२०*]
 73 वगिप८९वस्तुर्व्यनात्रेयगोत्रेण^९ भट्टगुण्डेन विरचित काव्य[म् १*]
 74 तस्मै भागद्वयन्दत्त ॥ घनवट्टवो[रो]जेन लिखितः^{१०} ॥ सिवमस्तु^{११} ॥^{१२}

TRANSLATION

[As far as line 33, the text is identical with that of the Mahiyapūṇḍī grant, lines 3-34, as translated above, Vol IX, p 55]

(Verse 8) Ammarāja (II) who was born to him by Lōkamahādēvī, just as Kumāra to Mahāśvara by Umā,¹¹

(V 9) From her (viz Lōkamahādēvī) was born the lord Amma (II), the son of prince Bhīma (II) who vanquished the armies of enemies, the grandson of the modest great king Bhīma (I)¹⁴ who seized and wore again at the top (?) of (his) parasol the diadem although it had been struck at by Vallabha, (and) who duly attained success by righteousness,¹⁵ the great-grandson¹⁶ of Vikramāṅka¹⁷ who was resplendent with the neck ornament of the glorious dignity of heir-apparent (*gaurāja*)

(V 10) 'Thou whose name is Musiya, the best of the twice-born (Brāhmanas), (art) pure in three (respects) For, (thou art) pure in thoughts which are removed from the property of others, pure in words which are devoid of unkindness to others, (and pure in deeds, being) a benefactor of others'

¹ Read °माविन

⁴ Read धर्म°

⁷ Read °दत्ता वा

¹⁰ Read लिखित

¹² A flower is engraved at the end of this line

¹³ This verse is identical with verse 9 of the Mahiyapūṇḍī grant

¹⁴ By mistake the panegyrist has omitted one generation (Vijayāditya IV) For, Amma II was not the grandson, but the great grandson, of Bhīma I

¹⁵ Or, 'who duly attained (the surname) Ritasiddhi'

¹⁶ For this meaning of *naplā* see above, Vol IV, p 320, note 2, and Vol IX, p 319, note 1

¹⁷ In reality Amma II was not the great grandson, but the grandson of the grandson of Vikramāditya I Cf note 14, above

(V 11 f) He (*viz* Musiya) was the son of him who was the best of (those bearing) the glorious title of *Mahārāja*, whose sight pleased wise men, friends, and relatives, who fully discharged the debts to the gods, etc.,¹ (and) who graced a noble family, (and he was) the grandson of him whose name was *Guṇḍamayya*, who always fulfilled the six duties (of a Brāhmana),² who was a *Bhāradvāja* by *gōtra*, (and) whose dignity was boundless

(Ll 43-45) Having been requested by (Musiya's) lord *Durgarāja*, the great-grandson³ of *Pā[nda]rāṅga* whose fighting-power had been unequalled,—*Ammarāja* (II), whose heart was pleased with this devoted servant (*viz* Musiya), replied — 'I shall gladly grant an *agrahāra* to your minister'

(V 13) This (king), who had been anointed to the dignity of heir apparent at (the age of) eight years (and) crowned at (the age of) twice six years, is always resplendent, having forcibly slain many enemies in great battles

(Ll 47-49) He who has attained the five great sounds,⁴ who is deeply attached to Brāhmanas, the supreme lord, the fervent worshipper of *Mahāśvara*, who is devoted to (his) mother and father, having assembled all the ryots, headed by the *Rāshtrakūtas*, inhabiting (the province of) *Karma-rāshtra*, commands (them) as follows —

(Ll 49-57) 'Be it known to you (that), having greeted the royal superintendent of the district (*rāja-vishay ādhyakṣa*), having cut off a field requiring as seed ten *khāris*⁵ of *lōdrava*⁶ on the southern side of the village named *Anmapanguru*, having cut off likewise a field requiring as seed ten *khāris* of *lōdrava* on the northern side of the village named *Anḍeki*, having joined (these two fields) to this village, he has given,⁷ at the occasion of the winter-solstice (*uttarāyana*), the two villages named *Tumiyaveniyapūṇḍi*,⁸ etc., (as) an *agrahāra*, having provided (them) with all immunities, to *Musiyanasārman* who resided at *Kāramchēd[u]*,⁹ belonged to the family of *Krōvi* (and) to the *Bhāradvāja-gōtra*'

(V 14)¹⁰ 'To thee, the glorious *Musiya* who desires the favour of (his) lord,¹¹ who shows compassion to all beings, (and) who is always eager for virtue and politics, (he has made this grant)'¹²

(V 15) The meanings of the two words *amma*¹³ and *rājan* are declared to be 'mother' and 'moon' (respectively) Is it wonderful (that) these two are beneficial to the subjects (of a king) if they have become united (in the name *Ammarāja*)?

¹ See *Tattvīriya Saṁhitā*, VI, 3, 10, 5 — जायमानो वै ब्राह्मणस्त्रिभर्षं वै जायते ब्रह्मचर्येण पित्रो यज्ञेन दवेभ्यः प्रजायति ।

² These six duties are enumerated by *Manu* (I, 88, X, 75) and in the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, I, 10, 18, 2 — ब्रह्म वै स्व महिमानं ब्राह्मणेष्वद्वैतध्वयनाध्यापनयजनयाजनदानप्रतिग्रहयुक्तं वेदानां गुणं

³ The pedigree of *Pāṇḍar[ā]nga* in the *Mahiyapūṇḍi* grant (above, Vol IX, p 56) shows that *naptā* has to be taken, here too, in the sense of 'a great-grandson' Cf above, p 233, note 16

⁴ This title, which is restricted to feudatory chiefs, suggests that *Durgarāja*, and not his sovereign *Amma* II, is meant here Cf Fleet's remarks, above, Vol XII, p 255 and note 2

⁵ See above, Vol XIII, p 121, note 1

⁶ See above, Vol V, p 121, note 14

⁷ The subject of this sentence is probably king *Amma* II

⁸ Is this the new name that was bestowed on the two fields? Perhaps the first field had originally borne the name of *Tumiyapūṇḍi*, and the second one that of *Veniyapūṇḍi*

⁹ This village is mentioned three times, and its name is spelled *Kāramchēdu* (with dental *d*) in every case, in a grant of *Narēndramṣṭgarāja*, see *Ind Ant*, Vol XX, p 418

¹⁰ This verse and the next one are inserted after the words 'be it known to you' in line 50

¹¹ i.e. of *Durgarāja* whose minister he was, see line 44 f

¹² Supply *prādāt* from line 57

¹³ This is one of the Dravidian words meaning 'mother'

(Ll 57-59) The boundaries of this (*agrahāra* are) —To the east *Mēdalkoṇḍa*, to the south *Gattipūṇḍi*, to the west the village named *Lēmḱonda*, to the north the village named *Aṇmananguru*

(Ll 59-63) The limits of the fields (are) —To the east a *śamī*¹ (tree) at the meeting point of three boundaries,² to the south-east a pond (*gunṭa*), to the south a *gōṇu* (tree) with margosa trees on the bank of the *Gupṭōḡu* (river), to the south-west the salt marshes³ on the southern side of a lake, to the west on the bank of the river, to the north-west a pond, to the north the *Chahgunṭa* (pond), to the north east a white stone at the meeting-point of three boundaries

(L 63 f) Nobody should cause obstruction to him (*viz* the donee) He who does (it) will be guilty of the five great sins He who protects (the gift) will gain merit And *Rāma-bhadra* has spoken thus

[Ll 65-71 contain four of the customary verses (16-19)]

(L 71 f) The grant (*mānya*) is a field requiring as seed twenty *khāṛis* of *kōḍrava*⁴

(V 20)⁵ The executor (*ājñapti*) of this charity (was) the famous chief of the camp⁶

(L 73 f) The poetry was made by *Bhaṭṭagunḍa* who resided at *Vangiparu*⁷ (and) belonged to the *Ātrīya gōṭra* To him two shares (of the grant) were given Written by *Ghana-vaṭṭa-Bī[rō]ja*⁸ Let there be prosperity⁹

No 26 —SANJAN PLATES OF AMOGHAVARSHA I SAKA SAMVAT 793

By PROFESSOR D R BHANDARKAR, M A, PH D, CALCUTTA

The copper-plates, which are being edited here for the first time,⁹ were originally lying with my brother, the late Professor Shridhar Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, Elphinstone College, Bombay They were originally discovered, so I was told by him, at *Sanjān* in the *Thūpā* District, Bombay Presidency, and were forwarded to him for decipherment by a Parsi friend of his, whose name I do not know

At my suggestion, however, Professor S R Bhandarkar published a note on two verses from this grant to show the contemporaneity of the *Rāshtrakūṭa* king *Gōvinda III*, the *Pratihāra* ruler *Nāgabhata*, the *Kanauj* sovereign *Chakrāyudha*, and the *Gauda* king *Dharmapāla*¹⁰ These plates constitute the first genuine record of the *Rāshtrakūṭa* king *Amōghavarsha*, hitherto known. It is true that many inscriptions of his time have come to light, but none of them seems to have directly emanated from him. The best known of these is the *Konnūr* stone inscription of Śaka 782 which, however, is not an original record of the

¹ *Prosopis spiciqera*

² For *muyyalakūṭu* see above, Vol IV, p 96, note 4

³ [The word *paruvulu* has been taken to be the plural of *para*=a salt marsh—H K S]

⁴ Here the two fields specified in lines 52-55 are added up

⁵ This is only a half verse

⁶ The word *yaśōnidhi* is perhaps a general epithet, and not a proper name The *kaṭalēśa* probably was *Durgarāja* himself Cf above, Vol IX, p 50

⁷ A village named *Vangiparru* is mentioned four times in a grant of *Narēndramrigarāja*, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XX, p 418

⁸ i.e., *Virōpādhyāya* of *Ghana-vaṭṭa* For *ōja* see above, Vol VIII, p. 140, note 8, and Brown's *Telugu English Dictionary*, s.v. *ōju*

⁹ Here I wish to thank my pupils Messrs *Rakhohari Chatterjee* and *Chintaharan Chakravarti*, to whom a good deal of credit is due for this work

¹⁰ *J B B R A S*, Vol XXII, p 116 and ff.

ruler but professes to be a mere copy of a copper-plate charter of his, prepared about the middle of the 12th century A D

The plates are three in number, each about $18\frac{1}{2}$ " long and $10\frac{1}{2}$ " broad. The edges of them all are fashioned slightly thicker, so as to serve as rims for the protection of writing. The record is inscribed on the inner side of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second. The plates are strung together by a stout elliptical ring of about $4\frac{1}{2}$ " and $3\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and of about $\frac{3}{4}$ " in thickness, passing through holes on one side of each plate. The ring was intact when the plates were examined. The ends of the ring are soldered into a roughly square seal, which measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in height and breadth, and bears, in relief, on a counter sunk surface, as the principal figure, an image of Garuda, on a lotus seat facing full front, with his prominent beak-nose and holding a snake in each hand. Two discs are seen above the ears of Garuda, but it is difficult to say what they represent. On Garuda's proper right, there is a representation of Ganapati in the upper corner, and lower down an indistinct *chauri* and a lamp. On his left, near the top is some goddess, standing in front of an animal (perhaps a lion) and holding a ladle in her right hand; below her is a *chauri*, and, near the bottom, a *Śaṣṭika*.¹ Beneath the central figure are in relief the letters *Śrīmad-Amoghavarashadēvasya*.

The engraving is clear and on the whole well-executed, but the record is full of inaccuracies due chiefly to the incorrect draft written by the scribe on the plates. The characters agree fully with those of other Rāshtrakūṭa records of the period. The language is Sanskrit throughout. Excepting the introductory "Om Svasti," the inscription is in verse down to line 57 (Third Plate). As regards metrology attention may be drawn to verses 23 and 39. The metre of these is *Mattēbhavikrīḍita*, which is not found in classical literature.² It is not noticed in the *Sūtras* of Pingala, *Vṛttaratnākara* or *Chhandōmañjarī*, but is described in the *Chhandōmañjarī-pariśiṣṭa* as *sa-bha-rān-mau ya-la-gās=trayōdaśa-yatir=Mattēbhavikrīḍitam*. As regards orthography I might say that (1) *v* is almost invariably written for *b*, (2) a consonant is invariably doubled after *r*, in the case of *y, n, t, m, dh, n, p, k*, and also *v* when not followed by *y* (cf. *nirvāpēśham* in l 7), but not always in the case of *g* and *ṅ* (cf. *Karahāda-vinirggata* in l 60 and *yaśōrjṇana* in l 20, but *vi-shaya-vinirgata* in l 61 and *'r-ōrjṇa* in l 8), (3) *Visarga* when followed by *ś, sh* or *s* is, as a rule, changed to that letter, (4) *gh* for *h* is found in one instance only (cf. *Ayōdhyasīnghāsana* in l 8, Pl. I), (5) final *n* is sometimes replaced by *m* (cf. *śa-bhṛityām jhatiti* in l 13, and *tām bhūbhṛito* in l 15) and *m* by *n* (in *gāḍhan-gajaiḥ*, l 21, very rare), (6) *upadhmaniya* is frequently though not invariably used (cf. *bhēdaḥ=paśūnām=iva*, l 40, but not in *turagairh pīṭaṇ=cha*, l 21), (7) the vowel *ri* and the syllable *ri* are sometimes interchanged (thus in *kīrttis=trilōkyān*, l 33, and *trin-āgra-lagna*, l 71), (8) *tiś*, as a rule, doubled when followed by *r*, and lastly (9) in prose portions *Visarga* is retained in some instances where it should be replaced by *o* (cf. *paśchimatah Nandagrāmah* in l 65, Pl. III), and in some places where it should be elided (cf. *Dakṣhinatah Uppalaḥ*, etc., in l 65).

The first thing that strikes one about the contents of this grant is that some of its verses are identical with those in the Konnūr Inscription of Amoghavarsha published by the late Prof. Kielhorn.³ Thus verses 2-15 of the latter are identical with stanzas 2-3, 6, 8, 10-12, 27, 29, 36, 45, and 50-53 of the former with slight variations in some cases. With reference to the Konnūr Inscription, Prof. Kielhorn expresses the opinion about the middle

¹ The figures on the seal are on the whole similar to those of the Cambay plates (Above, Vol VII, pp 26-7)

² [For the use of this metre in Kanarese inscriptions as well as literature see, for instance, above, p 197, v 4, p 205, v 1, p 207, v 3, etc., Vol XVIII, p 172, v 1, or *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol IV, part II, p 384, Inscription No 76, of Nāgamaṅgala Taluq and Ādipampa's *Ādipurāṇa*, quoted in *Karnāṭaka Kāvīcharitē*, Vol I, pp. 28-27, or Nāgavarman's *Kāryāvalōkanam*, p 10, v. 59, or Āṇḍayya's *Kabbigara Kāvam* (Karnāṭaka Kāvīyamañjarī Series No 2), p 5, v 19—Ed.]

³ *Ep Ind.*, Vol VI, pp. 29 and ff.

of his paper that "the genealogy was concocted some time after the date which is recorded in this inscription, and has not been copied from a genuine copper-plate charter of Amoghavarsha I." The same view he sets forth more clearly at the end of that paper "Stating distinctly what I have indicated above," says he, "I consider it possible that lines 1-59 of this inscription really were based on a copper plate charter, at the same time, I feel certain that, if such was the case, the transcribers have taken so great liberties with the original as to deprive this 'copy' of the value of an authentic document." The present plates, however, enable us to decide how far Kielhorn's opinion is correct. A comparison of lines 1-14 of the Konnūr Inscription with the genealogical portion of these plates leaves no doubt as to the lines 1-59 of the former being copied on stone from a genuine charter of Amoghavarsha I, as the concluding part of it informs us. But what about the glaring blunders in the genealogy which Kielhorn has detected in the Konnūr Inscription? How did they arise? In the first place, in our plates also the father of Gōvinda I is called Prichchabakarāja, as the same verse occurs in both the records. Prichchabhakarāja may be a new name not known from previous Rāshtrakūta grants, but that does not mean that it is a fabrication. And, as a matter of fact, it may be another name of Indrarāja who is mentioned as the father of Gōvinda I in the fragmentary Ellorā Daśāvatāra cave temple inscription¹. Again, Kielhorn says that the Konnūr Inscription makes Prabhūtavarsha (Gōvinda II) a son of his younger brother Dhūravarsha, and consequently Prabhūtavarsha (Gōvinda III) not a nephew but a son of the former. This discrepancy, flagrant though it appears, can be easily explained away by the mention of the fact that *Dhūravarsha sutas* of the inscription is a misreading of the transcribers for the correct wording *Dhāravarshas-tatas*, such as that supplied by our grant. Then, again Kielhorn tells us that in the Konnūr epigraph Karkarāja I is called Karkara, an apparently later form of the name. Here, also, the transcribers must have read *Karkhara prabhuh* wrongly in place of *Karkharāt prabhuh* as appears in our grant. And it can scarcely be disputed that Karkharāt is precisely the same word as Karkharāja. This name occurs in v 4 of the Konnūr record, which, however, begins with *Imdr-āvanīpāla sutēna dhārinī* instead of *dhanus-samutsārītabhūbhṛtā mahī* as in our plates. This discrepancy alone is of a serious character as it makes Indra not a son but father of Karkharāja. It is, however, possible to get over this difficulty by taking *Imdr-āvanīpāla-sutēna* as a *bahuvrīhi* compound. In this connection we have to bear in mind the fact that of all the verses common to the Konnūr Inscription and our charter, this is the only stanza where one whole line is entirely different. Was it deliberately composed and inserted or is it an example of sheer carelessness? If the introductory portion of the former is compared to that of the latter, it will be seen that the former, as it were of set purpose, wants to bring the genealogical account into the narrowest possible compass. This is quite clear from the fact that verses 12 and 27 of our charter, which are the same as verses 8 and 9 of the Konnūr Inscription, are connected with each other in the latter record by the two words *tasya sutaḥ*. It is not impossible that the transcribers are responsible for this abridgement as their main object must be to give in full only those details that relate to the grant proper and curtail them rigorously in all other respects. And it is not inconceivable that in their zeal to epitomize the genealogy they may have coined the line *Imdr āvanīpāla sutēna dhārinī*, which if we take it to be a *bahuvrīhi* compound, can be made to yield the sense that Indra was the son of Karkharāja, and can thus make one verse serve the purpose of two.

The charter is one of the Rāshtrakūta prince Amoghavarsha described in ll 57-58 as the *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhrāja-Paramēśvara-Prithvivallabha* the prosperous Vallabhana-rēndradēva, who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhrāja-Paramēśvara*,

¹ *Arch Surv West Ind*, Vol V, p 87

the prosperous Jagattungadēva It records that in the Śaka year 793 when Amōghavarsha was staying at Mānyakhēta, his capital, he granted to four Brāhmins the village of Jharivallikā from the Twenty-four-village Group adjacent to Samjāna for the purpose of maintaining the *baḥi*, *charu*, *vaśīśadēva*, *agnihōtra* and *atvāhitarpana* sacrifices. The donees are all Brāhmins of the Bahvricha-śākhā. Two of them, namely, (1) Naraśimha-Dīkshita, son of Gōla-Shadangavid and grandson of Sāvīkūvāra, and (2) Rāśhāditya-Kramavid, son of Gōvinda-Bhatta and grandson of Bhatta, were of the Bharadvāja-gōtra. The third, Trivikrama-Shadangavid, son of Vishnu-Bhatta, grandson of Dāvadi-Gaḥiyasahāsa, belonged to the Vaddamulha-gōtra, and the fourth and last, Kīśava-Gaḥiyasahāsa, son of Gōvāditya Bhatta and grandson of Hari-Bhatta, was of the Vatsa-gōtra. They all hailed from the same district, namely, Karabala. They were probably the Karhādā Brāhmins.

Having thus disposed of the formal part of the grant, we shall now see what historical information can be gleaned from the introductory metrical portion, which sets forth the genealogy. After the introductory Ōm, it opens with the well-known invocatory verse with which most of the Rāshtrakūta records begin. The next verse is in praise of Vira-Nārāyana, by whom it is here to be understood not only the god Nārāyana, the originator of the Rāshtrakūta family, but also Amōghavarsha, the Rāshtrakūta king, the donor of the grant, who bore that epithet. In verse 3 we are told that in the line of the Yadus there was a king Gōvinda, son of Prichchhaka-rāja. This Gōvinda is, of course, Gōvinda I of the Rāshtrakūta dynasty of Mānyakhēta. He was succeeded by Karkka, on whom nothing but conventional praise is bestowed in vv 4-6. Verse 7 says that after him came Indrarāja, who married the daughter of a Chālukya king at Khētaka by the Rākshasa form of marriage. This clearly shows that the Rāshtrakūtas, in the time of Indrarāja, came first into hostile contact with the Chālukyas not of the Dehkan but of Gujarāt, for the seat of this Chālukya power is mentioned as Khētaka, the same as Kairā in North Gujarāt. These Chālukyas must, therefore, be the Gujarāt branch of the main dynasty ruling at Bādāmi. In this connection is worth noting the Āntrōli-Chhārōli (in Surat) copper-plate grant of Karkka, dated Śaka 679 = A D 757.¹ This record mentions—(1) a Rāshtrakūta prince named Karkka, (2) his son, Dhruva, (3) his son, Gōvinda, and (4) his son, Karkka II, with whose name are coupled the titles *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* and *Paramabhāttāraka*. One feels exceedingly tempted to say that the third and fourth of these princes are identical with their namesakes who preceded Indrarāja, father of Dantidurga. One is, however, confronted with the difficulty that whereas under this supposition we have the date Śaka 679 for Karkka, we have Śaka 675 for his grandson, Dantidurga, supplied by his Sāmangadh charter. This difficulty, however, is not insuperable, because there are reasons to doubt the genuineness of this last record. That the portion of it relating to the details of the village granted has been tampered with was pointed out long ago by Dr Fleet when he edited the inscription.² And the authenticity of the record as a whole has recently been called in question by Dr V S Sukthankar on palæographic grounds.³ Thus the date furnished by the Sāmangadh grant is not above doubt, and the identification just pointed out may hold good. We may thus take it that before the time of Dantidurga his predecessors were occupying South Gujarāt.

Verse 8 tells us that Indrarāja was succeeded by Dantidurga, of whom the next verse says that when in Ujjain the various Kshatriyas performed the ceremony, namely, the Great Gift of Hiranyagarbha, he made the Gurjara and other lords his door-keepers (*pratihāra*). The verse evidently means in the first place that Dantidurga either performed himself or took a

¹ F Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, No 54.

² *Ind Ant.*, Vol. XI, p 110

³ *Above*, Vol XIV, p 121, n. 5, and p 122

prominent part in this Hiranyagarbha ceremony in Ujjain. And this receives confirmation from a stanza occurring in the Dasāvātāra cave temple inscription at Ellorā¹. This inscription gives Mahārāja-Sarva as another name apparently for Dantidurga, and claims that in that very Ujjain, in order to enjoy a diversion with other princes, he instituted a *mahā-dāna* worthy of kings, and poured all kinds of wealth and precious stones on the supplicants. There can, therefore, be no doubt that Dantidurga had gone to Ujjain and performed the Hiranyagarbha ceremony. Secondly, verse 9 of our grant also implies that at Ujjain was then ruling a Gurjara dynasty called Pratihāra. There can be little doubt that this must be the Pratihāra dynasty, that became supreme after seizing the throne of Mahōdaya. We know for certain from epigraphic records that their capital became Mahōdaya or Kanauj from the time of Bhōja I onwards. But we did not know with certitude where they were actually ruling before they became rulers of Kanauj. And it was a mere surmise when some scholars thought that it was Bhilmāl or Bhimmāl in South Rājputānā². Our grant, however, enables us now to say definitely that their original seat of power was Ujjain. It also enables us to interpret properly the third line of the stanza so often quoted from the Jain *Harivamśa* of Jinasēna. We can have no doubt now as to the correctness of Dr Fleet's translation,³ which makes Vatsarāja king of Avantī. This Vatsarāja, of course, is the Vatsarāja of the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty, and the Jain *Harivamśa* may be regarded as strengthening the inference that the Pratihāras were established at Ujjain and not Bhilmāl before they transferred their capital to Kanauj. Dantidurga was succeeded by Śubhatunga Vallabha (v 10), that is, Kṛṣṇa I, who is represented to have seized the Chālukya sovereignty. He was followed by Prabhūtavarsha, that is, Gōvinda II, and the latter by Dhārāvarsha, that is, Dhruva (v 12). Verse 13 contains no historical information, but the verse following says that Dhruva snatched away the royal parasols of the king of Gauda as he was fleeing between the Ganges and the Jumna. This Gauda king, who would be a contemporary of Dhruva, is either Dharmapāla or his father Gōpāla, of the Pāla dynasty. From the inscriptions of this family, however, Gōpāla does not seem to have been in any way a powerful prince, and we must, therefore, suppose that Dharmapāla was the Gauda prince defeated by Dhruva. But the curious thing about this victory is that he was defeated not in his own country but outside. Does this not show that the Gauda prince had gone outside his dominions, perhaps, to help the king of Kanauj? This agrees with the fact, mentioned in the Baroda plates, that Dhruva seized the territory between the Ganges and the Jumna and thus added the emblems of the two rivers to his imperial insignia⁴. This territory certainly coincides with the Kanauj kingdom, and what appears to have happened is that when, after defeating Vatsarāja, Dhruva was pressing his victories northwards, the Gauda king must have made common cause with the Kanauj sovereign, but that, when the Rāshtrakūta prince inflicted a crushing defeat on the latter, he began to pursue the former and encountered him before he was able to reach his dominions. Verse 15 says that Dhruva's fame, which had already spread as far as the extremities of the earth, now extended to the heavens, implying that he died. The next verse furnishes Nirupama as an epithet of Dhruva, and tells us that, as soon as his son Gōvinda III was crowned king, he re-instituted some of the feudatories in their own principalities, and, apparently against the wishes of his councillors, in particular, released the Ganga prince, who, as we know from the records, was imprisoned by his father. This move

¹ *Arch Surv West Ind*, Vol V, p 88

² *Jour R As Soc*, 1909, p 57, Smith's *Early His Ind*, p 378

³ Above, Vol VI, pp 195-6. Verse 9 of this charter of Amoghavarsha was communicated to Dr R C Majumdar for being utilised in his paper entitled the *Gurjara Pratihāras* published in the *Jour Dept Letters* (Cal Univ), Vol X (p 25 and ff)

⁴ Dr Majumdar was the first to show that this verse of the Baroda Plates (*Ind Ant*, Vol XII, p 159) was to be taken as referring to Dhruva, and not to Gōvinda III as had been done by Dr Fleet (*Jour Dept Letters*, Vol X, p 35, n. 2)

was apparently dictated by the disaffection among the vassal kings who had transferred their allegiance from him to another overlord (v 17) This is evidently a reference to his contending, immediately after his accession, against a confederacy of twelve kings led by Stambha, who can be no other than his elder brother Ranāvalōka-Kambhadēva¹ This opposition, however, he quickly put down But the Ganga, whom he had released, refused to pay the fine imposed on him and had to be put in fetters again (v 18)

Verses 19-20 contain nothing but conventional praise of Gōvinda III, but the second of these supplies for him a new epithet **Tribhuvanadhavala**, not known from previous records From v 21 begins the description of his expedition of conquest in the north He appears first to have encountered and defeated **Nāgabhatta** and **Chandragupta** Who the second of these princes was it is not difficult to say The only prince of that name who can be a contemporary of Gōvinda III is Chandragupta of the Kōśala country ruling at Śrīpura or Sirpur in the Central Provinces² The name of the family to which he belonged was Pāṇḍava, but there can be no doubt that it was one of the paramount dynasties of the eighth and ninth centuries. As regards Nāgabhatta, the other prince vanquished by Gōvinda III, there can be no question that he pertained to the Imperial Pratihāra family and was the son of Vatsarāja, king of Avanti, referred to above His victorious march in the north, as verse 23 tells us, continued till his horses drank and elephants plunged themselves into the spring waters of the Himālayas And it was here that two more princes, **Dharma** and **Chakrāyudha**, seem to have offered him their submission This verse winds up by saying that he thus resembled the Himālayas in *kīrti* or fame, and, therefore, came to be known as **Kīrtinārāyana**, which, we know, was another epithet of Gōvinda III Of the two kings who submitted to him as he approached the Himālayas, Dharma has been recognised to be Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty, and Chakrāyudha to be the prince of the same name who obtained the sovereignty of Kanauj through Dharmapāla³

From the Himālayas Gōvinda III returned to the Narmadā, and, turning to the east, he went along the bank of the river, conquering the **Mālava**, **Kōśala**, **Kalinga**, **Vanga**, **Dāhala** and **Īdraka** countries (v 24), and in this connection we are informed of another title that he bore, namely, **Vikrama** Making his enemies submissive, he followed the other part of the river and established himself in a capital at the foot of the Vindhya (v 25) From verse 26 it appears that he was then in the kingdom of a small ruler, called **Mahārāja Śarva**, and in the same verse we are further told that while he was encamped there, a son was born to him who was known as **Mahārāja Śarvan** and about whom, verses 27-8 tell us that the astrologers predicted a happy and brilliant future Evidently there is a pun here on the terms **Mahārāja** and **Śarvan** In one case they are taken as two separate words referring to a **Mahārāja** called Śarvan, no doubt, the Chief in whose principality Gōvinda III was temporarily settled on the banks of the Narmadā and at the foot of the Vindhya, and, in the other case, the two terms are to be taken together so as to make **Mahārāja Śarvan** as the royal title by which we know Amoghavarsha, son of Gōvinda III, was known⁴ What verse 26 intends us to understand is that as Gōvinda III was turning to the west of the Narmadā and was temporarily established in the petty kingdom of his feudatory Śarvan, Amoghavarsha was born Similar information is contained in two other copper-plate grants of this king which tell us that after receiving the submission of the Mālava king, he marched to the Vindhya, where a prince named **Mārāśarva** conciliated him with his choicest herlooms, and that he spent the rainy season at a place called **Śrībhavana**⁵ **Mārāśarva**

¹ Fleet's *Dyn Kan Distr* (Bomb Gazet, Vol I, pt II), p 395 Above, Vol VI, p 195

² Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No 617 Above, Vol XI, p 185 and ff.

³ *J B B R A S*, Vol XXII, pp 118 9

⁴ Above, Vol VI, p 174

⁵ *Ibid*, p 250

is evidently the same as Mahārāja Śarvan, and Śrībhavana must be the capital of the principality of this ruler where Gōvinda III was encamped for the rainy season and where his son Amōghavarsha was born

Verse 29 makes mention of the two titles which were borne by Gōvinda III, namely, *Pra-bhūtavarsha* and *Jagattuṅga*, and the two verses following inform us that from this encampment in the Vindhya he afterwards set out to attack and humble the Dravida kings. Who these Dravida kings were is made clear in verse 32, and it appears that in this expedition to the south he vanquished the Kēraja, Pāndya, Chaulika (Chōla) and Pallava. With these are also coupled in the same verse the rulers of Kalinga and Magadha and the Gurjara to show that he was rightfully styled *Vikrama*. Then we are told that, presumably in this excursion, he chained and put to death certain Ganga princes who had become disaffected (v 33). They apparently do not include the Ganga ruler referred to in verse 18 above, and probably belonged to more than one Gaṅga family. Which these were exactly it is difficult to say. One of these was certainly the Western Ganga dynasty ruling over the Gangavāḍi province, and the other is probably what is called the Ganga-Pallava family.¹ The second half of verse 33 informs us that he made his camp-ground free of dust through the lords of *mandalas* by compensating them if they were friendly and by subjecting them to forced labour if they were otherwise, such as the Vēṅgī ruler was. This fact is also mentioned in the Rādhapur charter of that king. Where this camp is to be located is not certain, but it seems to be Hēlāpura of the next verse,—a place from where he is represented to have enforced the obedience of the king of Lankā (Ceylon) and his minister. As a result of this obedience he seems to have received two statues apparently of Rāvaṇa,² its most ancient and traditional ruler, which he, however, transferred to Kāñchī, and put up as two columns of fame before the temple of Śiva. Where can this Hēlāpura be located? According to the Rādhapur grant³ he was then encamped either on or near the Tungabhadra. Can this Hēlāpura be thus Vēlāpura or Bēlūr⁴ in the Hassan District of the Mysore State?

Verses 35-36 speak of the death of Gōvinda III and the accession of his son, Amōghavarsha, to sovereignty. The subsequent four verses inform us that just when Amōghavarsha came to the throne, some of his feudatories, ministers and even relatives became disaffected and raised the standard of revolt. But it was through the help of one Ārya Pātālamalla that he succeeded in quelling the rebellion (v 41). Nothing is known about this Pātālamalla from other records. One Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa inscription,⁵ no doubt, speaks of one Pātālamalla, elder brother of Vajjaladēva, a contemporary of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra IV. But this Pātālamalla would be a little too posterior to Amōghavarsha I in time. Then follow five verses, which are purely laudatory. And from verse 47 it appears that to ward off some public calamity the king who is here called *Vīra-Nārāyaṇa* cut off his left finger and dedicated it to the goddess, Mahālakṣmī. What this public calamity was it is impossible to tell, but Mahālakṣmī appears to be the same as that of Kolhāpur, which is described in one unpublished inscription as the *ādya pīṭha*, or original seat of that goddess.⁶ The same goddess,

¹ Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 60

² Fleet takes it to be Mānyakhṣṭa which about this time became the capital of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty (*Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, pp. 396 and 402-3). But this has no foundation. The Karhad, Deoli and Kardā grants, again, say that the city of Mānyakhṣṭa was constructed (not merely completed), not by Gōvinda III, but by his son and successor, Amōghavarsha I. See above, Vol. IV, p. 287, *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 193, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 268.

³ [Or perhaps of the king who reigned at the time and some other potentate connected with him. See Amir-Khusro's *Chronicle* quoted in Mr. K. V. S. Iyer's *Historic Sketches of Ancient Deccan*, p. 300—Ed.]

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, p. 250

⁵ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 491.

⁶ Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, No. 136

⁷ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 540, note

again, was the family deity of at least one branch of the Śilāhāra race. It is possible that Amōghavarsha made a gift of his finger as *baḷi* to Mahālakṣmī of Kolhāpur to avert some calamity which threatened his kingdom. Verse 48 compares him to a Gupta king in point of generosity and decides in favour of the former. The Gupta prince was no doubt traditionally handed down as a donor, but he had stigmatized his career by killing his own brother, seizing the latter's kingdom and queen, and wresting heavy sums from her. Amōghavarsha, on the other hand, panted neither for kingdom nor for self, and freely gave them away several times. The latter point reminds us of the *Praśnōttararatnamālikā*, the Dīgambara Jaina copies of which inform us that the work was composed by Amōghavarsha "after he had abdicated the throne in consequence of the growth of the ascetic spirit in him"¹. And it is quite possible that the figure of a royal ascetic found in a natural cavern² at Bādāmi may represent this Amōghavarsha. But this was nothing more than a surmise, as the other copies of the work omitted all mention of the Rāshtrakūta sovereign. But our plates now clearly show that Amōghavarsha abdicated his throne, not once but more than once, before Śaka 793 (= A D 871), the date of the charter, when, however, he was carrying on his kingly duties. This shows that a king could in ancient times temporarily resign his sovereignty and enjoy the life of a hermit or ascetic. But who was the Gupta prince who was noted for his liberality up till the 9th century and who sinks into insignificance by comparison with Amōghavarsha³? The *Gāthā-saptasatī* of Hāla who is ascribed to the beginning of the sixth century⁴ and the *Vāsaradattā* of Subandhu who has been placed in the same century but at its close, for the first time speak of a king called Vikramāditya renowned for his generosity. And it has been suspected that this Vikramāditya is either Chandragupta II or Skandagupta, both of the Imperial Gupta dynasty⁵. Of the former, there is no record to lead us even to surmise that he ousted his brother and usurped the throne. In the case of Skandagupta, however, the Bhūtarī Pillar Inscription says that when his father (Kumāragupta I) died, the sovereignty of the family was tottering but that he put down his enemies and thereafter went to see his mother just as Kṛishṇa did Dēvakī. The reference to Kṛishṇa and Dēvakī indicates that this was a family feud and that his enemies in the present case were his kinsmen⁶. We also further know that Skandagupta had a brother named Ghatōtkachagupta who was in charge of the Eran district when Kumāragupta I was alive⁷. A seal of Ghatōtkachagupta was also found in Basārḥ (ancient Varāṇṣī), which was the seat of the Yuvarāja during the Gupta rule. It appears probable that there was a fratricidal war between Ghatōtkachagupta and Skandagupta in which the former was killed and the throne seized by the latter. It may not, therefore, be unreasonable to hold that Skandagupta-Vikramāditya was the Gupta king alluded to in our charter for comparison to Amōghavarsha.

The village granted, as we have seen, is *Jharivallikā* which is said to be situated in the Twenty-four-village Group of *Samjāna*. The boundaries of the village are specified as follows—To the east is the river *Kalluvī*, which falls into the sea, to the south, the village of *Uppalahatthaka*, to the west, *Nandagrāma*, and to the north, the village of *Dhannavallikā*. All these localities can be identified and are to be found in the northern part of the Thānā District of the Bombay Presidency. *Samjāna* is, of course, *Saṁjān*, the original refuge

¹ R. G. Bhandarkar's *Early Hist. Dek. (Bomb. Gazet, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 201)*.

² *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv., Ind., West Circle*, for 1909-10, p. 42.

³ [This ascription is problematical for the age of Hāla or of the *Saptasatī* is still an open question. See Sir George Grierson's note on Prakrit in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (XI ed.), Vol. XXII, p. 253, Dr. Sten Konow's *Essay on Rājashēkhara* in his edition of the *Karpūramāṅgarī*, p. 193, Mr. A. C. Woolner's *Introduction to Prakrit*, p. 73, and Keith's *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 74. So the proposed identification of the Vikramāditya of this anthology would require further demonstration.—Ed.]

⁴ *Bhandarkar Com., Vol. p. 189*.

⁵ [His Bhūtarī Inscription would show that they were rather the Savage Huns.—Ed.]

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, 1920, pp. 114-5. [In this connection we should not lose sight of the fact pointed out by Mr. Garde (*loc. cit.*) that the word expressing relationship of Ghatōtkachagupta with Kumāragupta I is now not forthcoming in the document referred to.—Ed.]

of the Parsis and the place from where these plates come Jharivallikā is Zarohi, Kalluvī is the Kālū, also called Dārotā, which, no doubt, flows gradually westwards from this place till it falls into the sea. Uppalahatthaka is Uplāt, Nandagrāma, Nandagaon, and Dhannavallikā, Dhānoli. All these places are traceable in Bombay Survey Sheets, Nos 133E and 134.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 ओ² [॥*] स वीव्याद्देवसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलंकृतं³ ॥[१*] अनन्तभोगस्थितिरत्र पातु वः प्रतापशीलप्रभवोदयाचलः [१*]
- 2 'शुराद्रकूटोच्छ्रितवंशपूर्वजः स वीरनारायण एव यो विशुः⁵ ॥[१२*] तदीय-वीर्यायतयादवान्धये क्रमेण वार्द्धाविष रत्नसंचयः [१*] वभूय⁶ गोविन्द-महोपतिर्भुवः⁷
- 3 प्रसाधनो⁸ पृच्छकराजनः⁹ ॥[३*] वभार¹⁰ यः कौस्तुभरत्नविस्फुरद्गमस्त्रिविस्ती-र्णसुरस्थलं ततः [१*] प्रभातभानुप्रभवप्रभाततं हिरण्य मेरुविवा-मितस्तटं ॥[४*] मनांसि
- 4 यत्रासमयानि¹¹ सन्ततं वधांसि यत्कीर्तिर्विकीर्तनान्यपि । शिरांसि यत्पादन-तानि वैरिणां यथांसि यत्तेजसि नेश्वरन्यतः ॥[५*] धनुस्सुतसारितभू-भृता मही प्रसारिता
- 5 येन पृथुप्रभाविना । महौजसा वैरितमो निराकृतं प्रतापशीलेन स कर्कराट् प्रभुः ॥[६*] इन्द्रराजस्ततोऽगृह्णात्¹² यथाबुधवृषात्मजां [१*] राजसेन विवाहेन रणे खे-
- 6 टकमण्डपे¹³ ॥[७*] ततोभवदन्तिघटाभिर्मर्दनो हिमाचलादास्थितसेतुसीमतः [१*] खलीकृतोद्धृतमहोपमण्डलः कुलाग्रणीर्यो भुवि दन्तिदुर्गराट्¹⁴ ॥[८*] हिरण्य-
- 7 गर्भं राजन्यैरुज्जयन्यां¹⁵ यदासितं [१*] प्रतिहारीकृत येन गुर्जरेशादिराजकम्¹⁶ ॥[९*] स्वयवरीभूतरणांगणे ततस्त्र निर्व्यपेक्षं श्रुतुंगवज्रभः [१*] चकार चतुःकुलश्री-

¹ From the original plates² Expressed by a symbol³ Read सुराट्⁰⁴ Read वभूय⁵ Read प्रसाधनः.⁶ Read वभार⁷ Read °गृह्णाया⁰⁸ Read °यिन्यां.⁹ Metro Anushtubh¹⁰ Metro of this and of the following four verses Vamāsthavilā¹¹ Read °महोपतिर्भुवः¹² Read °राजगन्ध¹³ Read यचास⁰.¹⁴ Metro : Anushtubh¹⁵ Metro Vamāsthavilā.¹⁶ Metro : Anushtubh

- 8 यं¹ ²वलादिलोलपालिध्वजमालभारिणां³ ॥[१०*] 'अयोध्यसिंघासनचामरोर्जित-
स्त्रितातपत्रोप्रतिपक्षराज्यभाक् [1*] अकालवर्षो हतभूपराजको वभूव' राज-⁶
- 9 रिपिरशेषपुण्यकृत् ॥[११*] ततः प्रभूतवर्षोभूद्वारावर्षस्ततश्शरैर्द्वारावर्षायित'
येन संग्रामभुवि भूभुजा⁸ ॥[१२*] युद्धेषु यस्य करवालनिकृत्तशत्रुसूधार्द्र-
वोष्णरुचिरासवपान-
- 10 मतः⁹ । आकण्ठपूर्णजठरः परितुप्तमृत्युरुद्धारयन्निव स काङ्क्षलधीरनादः¹⁰ ॥[१३*]
गङ्गायमुनयोर्मध्ये राज्ञो गौडस्य नश्यतः [1*] लक्ष्मीलीलारविन्दानि श्वेत-
च्छत्ताणि यो हरेत्¹¹ ॥[१४*]
- 11 व्याप्ता विश्वम्भरान्तं शशिकरधवला यस्य कीर्त्ति¹² समन्तात् प्रेम्बेच्छंकासि-
सुक्ताफलशतशफरानेकफेनोर्मिरूपैः¹³ । पारावारान्यतीरोत्तरणमविरलं कुर्वतीव
प्रयाता स्व-
- 12 र्ग¹⁴ गोवर्णहारद्विरदसुरसरि¹⁵र्द्धात्तराष्ट्रच्छलेन¹⁶ ॥[१५*] प्राप्तो राज्याभिषेक
निरुपमतनयो य¹⁷ स्वसामन्तवर्गात्स्वेषा¹⁸ स्वेषां पदेषु प्रकटमनुनयै¹⁹
स्थापयिष्यान्श-
- 13 पाम्²⁰ । पित्रा यूय²¹ समाना इति गिरमरणीन्मन्त्रिवर्ग²² त्रिवर्गोद्युक्तः
कृत्येषु दक्षः क्षितिमवति यदोन्मील्यन्वद्वगंग²³ ॥[१६*] दुष्टांस्तावत्स्वभृत्या²⁴
भटिति विघ-
- 14 टिता²⁵ स्थापितान्येषपाशां²⁶ युद्धे युद्धा स वध्वा²⁷ विषमतरमहोच्चानिवोग्रास-
मयां²⁸ [1*] सुक्ता सार्द्रान्तरात्मा विकृतिपरिणतौ वाडवाग्निं समुद्रः
क्षोभो नाभूद्विपक्षान-
- 15 पि पुनरिव तां²⁹ भूभुतो यो वभार³⁰ ॥[१७*] उपगतविकृतिः कृतघ्नगंगो
यदुदितदण्डपलायनोनुवन्वाद्यपगतपदशृङ्खलः³¹ खलो यस्मिन्गलवन्धगलः³²

¹ Read °य्यि² Read वला°, and °भारिणो.³ Metre of this and of the following verse : Vamāsthavila.⁴ Read °सिंघासन°⁵ Read वभूव⁶ Read राजर्षि°.⁷ Read °शरैः । धारा°.⁸ Metre Anushtubh⁹ Read °पानमत्त. [The original reads मत्तः—Ed.]¹⁰ Metre . Vasantatilaka.¹¹ Read °हरत्, Metre Anushtubh.¹² Read कीर्त्ति¹³ Read °च्छत्तालि° and °रूपै.¹⁴ Read स्वर्ग¹⁵ Read °सरिद्धात°.¹⁶ Metre of this and of the following two verses Sragdharā¹⁷ Read य¹⁸ Read °वर्गांस्वेषां¹⁹ Read °नयै²⁰ Read स्थापयिष्यन्नशेषान्. ²¹ Read रयं²² Read °वर्गो²³ Read °द्वगंग°²⁴ Read °स्वभृत्याम्.²⁵ Read विघटितान्²⁶ Read °पाशान्²⁷ Read वध्वा°.²⁸ The letter र is engraved below the line Read °नसमयान्²⁹ Read तान्³⁰ Read वभार³¹ Read °वन्धान् [1] व्यपगत°. [The original correctly reads °द्व्यपगत°—Ed.]³² Read °वन्ध°.

- 16 कृतस्त्र येन¹ ॥[१८*] श्रीमान्धाता विधातु² प्रतिनिधिरपरो³ राद्रकूटान्वयश्री-
सारासारासरस्यप्रविततनगरग्रामरामाभिरामासुर्वीमुव्यश्वराणां⁴ मकु-
17 टमकरिकाश्लिष्टपादारविन्दः पारावारोरुवारिस्फुटरवरशनां पातुसमुद्यतो⁵ यः⁶ ॥
[१९*] नक्जलधरवीरध्वानगभीरभेरीरववधिरितविश्वाशान्तरा-⁷
18 लो रिपुणां⁸ [1*] पटुरवपददक्काकाहलोत्तालतूर्यचिभुवनधवलस्योद्योगकालस्य
कालः⁹ ॥[२०*] भूशृङ्गमूर्ध्नि¹⁰ सुनीतपादविशरः¹¹ पुण्योदयस्तेजसा क्रान्ताश्री-
19 षदिगन्तरप्रतिपदं प्राप्तप्रतापोन्नतिः [1*] भूयो¹² योप्यनुरन्तामण्डलयुतः¹³ पद्माकरानन्दितो
मार्त्तण्ड¹⁴ स्वयमुतरायणगत¹⁵ स्तेजोनिधिर्दुस्सहः¹⁶ ॥[२१*] स
नाग-
20 भटचन्द¹⁷ गुप्तनृपयोर्यशैर्य¹⁸ रणेस्वहार्यमपहार्य¹⁹ धैर्यं विकलानथोन्मूलयत्²⁰ [1*]
यशोर्जनपरो नृपान्स्वभुवि शालिसस्थानिव(1) पुनपुनरतिष्ठि-²¹
21 पत्स्वपद एव चान्यानपि²² ॥[२२*] हिमवत्पर्वतनिर्झराम्बु²³ तुरगैः धीतयच²⁴
गङ्गजे-²⁵

Second Plate , First Side.

- 22 ह्वनितं मज्जनतूर्यकैर्दिगुणितं भूयोपि तत्कन्दरे [1*] स्वयमेवोपनतो च
यस्य महतस्तौ धर्मचक्रायुधौ (1) हिमवान्कीर्त्तिसरूपतामुपगतस्त-
23 कीर्त्तिनारायणः²⁶ ॥[२३*] तत²⁷ प्रतिनिवृत्य²⁸ तत्प्रकृतवृत्त्यकर्ममत्स्यः²⁹ प्रताप-
मिव नर्मदातटमनुप्रयातपुनः [1*] सकोशलकालिङ्गवेगिङ्गलौकिक[1]-³⁰
24 न्मालवां³¹ विलभ्य निजसेवकै³² स्वयमवभूजद्विक्रमः³³ ॥[२४*] प्रत्याहत्तः प्राति-
रान्यं विधेयं कृत्वा रेवासुत्तर³⁴ विन्ध्यपादे [1*] दुर्वन्धर्माङ्गीर्त्तनैः
पुण्य[ह]न्दैरध्यष्टात्तान्मो-³⁵

¹ Metre . Pushpitāgrā,

⁴ Read °भिरामाम् । चर्वी°.

⁶ Metre Sragdharā

⁹ Metre Mālinī

¹¹ Read विसरः

¹⁴ Read °सुत्तरा°

¹⁶ Read °चन्द्र° . [The original has चन्द्र.—Ed]

¹⁸ Read रणेस्वहार्य°

²⁰ Read °रतिष्ठि° . [The original reads °हि° correctly —Ed]

²² Read °निर्झराम्बु.

²⁵ Metre Mathebhavakridita

²⁹ Read °वय° . [The Āndhra kingdom of Vēṅṅ (or Vēṅṅ) might be meant here See V 23 below.—Ed]

³⁰ Read °न्मालवान्

³² Metre Prithvī

³⁵ Read °रध्यष्टात्तां स्त्री°.

² Read विधातु .

⁷ Read °वधिरित°.

¹² Read °प्यनुरन्ता°

¹⁵ Metre Śārdūlavakridita

¹⁹ Read धैर्यविकलानथोन्मूलयत्

²¹ Read °सुत्तरा°.

²³ Read पीतय

²⁶ Read तत

²⁸ Read °सुत्तरा°.

³¹ Read °सेवकै.

³³ Read °सुत्तरा°.

³ Read °सारां सारा°

⁵ Read पातुसमुद्यु°.

⁸ Read रिपुणां.

¹⁰ Read °मूर्ध्नि°.

¹³ Read मार्त्तण्ड

¹⁷ Read यंशैर्य°.

²¹ Metre Prithvī

²⁴ Read वासं गणै°.

²⁷ Read °प्रहसि°.

²⁹ Read °वय

³² Read °सपुनगधि°.

- 25 चितां ¹राजधानी² ॥[२५*] मण्डलेशमहाराजसर्वस्व³ यदभूद्भुवः । 'महाराज-
सर्वस्वामी भावी तस्य सुतोजनि⁴ ॥[२६*] यज्जन्मकाले देवज्ञैरादिष्ट(ष्टं)
विषहो भुवं [1*] भोक्तेति हि-
- 26 'भवत्सुतुपर्यान्तास्तुधिमेखलां [॥२७*] योद्धारोमोघवर्षेण 'वद्वा ये व युधि
द्विषः [1*] मुक्ता ये विक्रतास्तेषां भस्मतशृङ्खलोद्धृतिः ॥[२८*] ततः-
प्रभूतवर्षस्यन्तसंपूर्णम्-
- 27 नीरथः [1*] जगतुंगस्व⁵ मेरुर्वा भूभृतासुपरि स्थितः ॥[२९*] उद[ति]ष्ठद-
वष्टस्म भक्तुं द्रविलभूभृतां [1*] स जागरणचिन्तास्यमन्त्रणभ्रान्तचेतसां ॥
[३०*] प्रस्थानेन हि के-
- 28 बल प्रचलति स्वच्छादिताच्छादिता धात्री विक्रमसाधनेस्वकलुपं विद्वेषिणां
द्वेषिणां [1*] लक्ष्मीरप्युरसौ लतेव पवनप्रायासिता यासिता धूलिर्नैव दिशे-
- 29 गमद्विपुयशस्वस्तानकं तानकं⁶ ॥[३१*] तस्यत्केरलपाण्ड्यचौलिकन्टपक्षपक्षवं
पक्षवं प्रन्तानि गमयन्कलिंगमगधप्रायासको यासकः [1*] गर्जद्गुर्जरमौश्री-¹⁰
- 30 शौर्यविलयो ¹¹लंकारयन्नुद्योगस्तदनिन्द्यशासनमतस्त्रादिक्रमो विक्रमः ॥[३२*]
निकृतिविक्रतगंगाशृङ्खलोवहनिष्ठा¹² मृतिमयुरनुकूला ¹³मण्डलेशा स्वभू-
- 31 त्या [1*] ¹⁴विरजसमहितेनुर्यस्य वाञ्छालिभूमिं ¹⁵परिहृति विष्टया वेंगिनाथा-
दयोपि¹⁶ ॥[३३*] राजासात्यवराविव स्वहितकार्यालस्यनष्टौ हठादण्डेनैव नि-
- 32 यस्य सूकवधिरावानीय¹⁷ हेलापुत्रे [1*] ¹⁸लंकातच्छिल तपभुप्रतिकृती का(ण्ची)-
[ञ्ची]मुपेतौ¹⁹ ततः कीर्त्तिस्तभ्रनिभौ²⁰ शिवायतनके वेनेह ²¹संस्थापितौ²²
॥[३४*]या-
- 33 स्या²³ कीर्त्तिस्तृलोक्यान्निजभुवनभरं²⁴ भर्तुमासीत्तमर्थः पुत्रस्यास्माकमेकस्सफलमिति
कृतं जन्म²⁵ धर्मैरनेकैः [1*] किं कर्तुं²⁶ स्वैयमस्मिन्निति²⁷ विम-

¹ Read राजधानी² Read महाराजशब्दः.³ Read 'रहेतुपर्यान्तास्तुधि'.⁴ Metref o this and of the following verse - Sārdūlavikrīḍita⁵ Read लंकारयन्कारयन्नुद्योगे⁶ Read 'ममिति'.⁷ Read 'वधिरा'⁸ Read 'निन्दे'⁹ Read व्याप्ता¹⁰ Read कर्तुं¹¹ Metre Sālūnī¹² Metre of this and of the following four verses Anushtubh.¹³ Read वद्वा ये व¹⁴ Read 'व्यखलावह'.¹⁵ Read परिहृतिमयु.¹⁶ Read लंकात किल.¹⁷ Read संस्थापिते¹⁸ Read 'स्त्रिलोको निज'.¹⁹ Read स्वैयं²⁰ Read मण्डलेशो महाराज. शब्दः स्त्री.²¹ Read जगत्तुयं.²² Read 'मौलि'.²³ Read मण्डलेशा स्वभत्या.²⁴ Metre Mālīnī²⁵ Read 'मुपेते'.²⁶ Metre Sārdūlavikrīḍita²⁷ Read जन्म.

- 34 लयश्चपुण्यशोपानमार्ग¹ स्वर्गप्रोत्तुंगसौध² प्रति रदनुपमः³ कीर्त्तिमे(मे)वानु-
यात्तः(तः)⁴ ॥[३५*] वन्धूनां⁵ वन्धुराणां⁶ सुचितनिजकुले पूर्वजानां प्रजानां⁷ जात-
35 नां वल्लभानां भुवनभरितसत्कीर्त्तिमूर्त्तिस्थितां⁸ [1*] चातु कीर्त्तिं⁹ सलोका
कलिकलुषमथो हंतुमंतो रिपूणां श्रीमान्नि¹⁰हासनस्थो¹¹ बुधनुतचरितोमोघव-
36 र्षं प्रशस्ति¹² ॥[३६*] चातु¹³ नम्रान्विजेतुं रणशिरसि¹⁴ परान्प्राथकेभ्य¹⁵ प्र(त)दातुं
निर्वीर्यं¹⁶ रुढिसत्यं धरणिपरिवृढो नेदृशोन्यः¹⁷ [1*] इत्थं प्रोत्थाय सार्थं
पृथुरवपद-
37 दृक्कादिमन्द्रप्रघोषो¹⁸ यसोन्द्रस्थेव नित्यं ध्वनति कलिमलध्वन्सिनो¹⁹ मन्दिराग्रे ॥
[३७*] दृष्ट्वा तन्नवराज्यमूर्त्ति[त]दृढदर्भप्रभावं²⁰ नृप भूय²¹ षोडशराज्य-
38 वत्कृतयुग²² प्रारम्भ²³ इत्याकुलः [1*] नश्यन्नन्तरनुप्रविश्य विषमो मायाम-
योसौ कलिः²⁴ सामन्तान्सचिवस्त्वान्धवजनान्क्षोभयत्स्वीकृताम्²⁵ ॥[३८*]
39 शठमत्तं²⁶ प्रविधाय²⁷ त्कूटशपथैरीशस्वतंत्ता²⁸ स्वयं विनिहत्योचितयुक्तकारिपुरुषा-
न्सर्वं स्वयग्राहिणः [1*] परयोषिदुहिता²⁹ स्वसेति न पु-
40 नर्भेद³⁰ पशूनामिव प्रभुरेव कलिकालमित्यवसित³¹ सद्गुणमुष्टतः³² ॥[३९*]
विततमहिमधाम्नि व्योम्नि सहस्रं धाम्नामितवर्षति महतीन्दीर्घमण्ड-
41 लं ताराकाश³³ [1*] उदयमहिमभाजो भ्राजितास्तप्रतापे विरतवति विजिह्वा-
स्योर्जितास्तावदेव(ः)³⁴ ॥[४०*] गुरुबुधमनुयातस्सार्थपातालमम्ना³⁵
42 दुदयगिरिमहिम्नो रश्मार्त्तण्डदेवः । पुनरुदयमुपेत्योद्धततेजस्विचक्रं³⁶ प्रतिहत-
मथ कृत्वा लोकमेक³⁷ पुनाति ॥[४१*] राजात्मा मन एव तस्य
43 सचिवस्सामन्तचक्रं पुनस्तनीत्येन्द्रियवर्ग³⁸ एष विधिवद्वागादयस्सेवकाः [1*]
देहस्थानमधिष्ठित³⁹ स्वविषयं भोक्तुं⁴⁰ स्वतन्त्रः क्षमस्त-

¹ Read °सोपान°⁴ Metro of this and of the following two verses Sragdharā⁶ Read वन्धुराणां°⁸ Read °मूर्त्तिस्थितानाम्¹¹ Read बुध°¹⁴ Read °प्राथकेभ्य°¹⁷ Read क्षीसिनी²⁰ Read °युगप्रारम्भ°²² Metro Sārdūlavikrīḍita²⁵ Read °स्वतन्त्र°²⁸ Read °मुष्टत°³⁰ Read ताराकाश³³ Read °बुध°³⁵ Read °मेकः³⁸ Read भोक्तुं² Read सौध³ Read यद°⁵ Read वन्धूना⁷ [The original reads °जानाम्प्रजानां —Fā°]⁹ Read कीर्त्ति°¹² Read °वर्षं प्रशस्ति¹⁵ Supply समर्थ°¹⁸ Read °दृष्ट्वा²¹ Read °सचिवान्स्त्वान्धव° and °स्वीकृतान्²⁴ Read °कूट°²⁷ Read °मन्त्र²⁹ Read °पिदुहि°³² Metro Mattēbhavikrīḍita³⁴ Read °स्वीर्य°³⁶ Read °सन्नीत्येन्द्रिय°³⁹ Read °क्षमस्त-¹⁰ Read °निहा°¹³ Read चातु¹⁶ Read यस्ये°¹⁹ Read भूय²³ Read °काष्ठ इत्य°²⁶ Read °सौहृद°²⁹ Read °स्वीर्य°³¹ Read °क्षमस्त-³⁴ Read °स्वीर्य°³⁶ Read °क्षमस्त-³⁹ Read °क्षमस्त-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 44 स्मन्भोक्तारि¹ सन्निपातविवशे सर्वेपि नश्यन्ति ते² ॥[४२*] दोपानीपधवह-
नाननिलवत्शुक्लेनान्यग्नित्व³ ध्वान्तं भातुवदात्मपूर्वज-
45 समान्नायागतान्द्रोहकान⁴ [1*] संतापान्विनिहत्य⁵ यः कलिमलं धान्यादि-
सम्प्रान्ततः (1) कीर्त्या चन्द्रिक एव⁶ चन्द्रधवलच्छत्रत्रिया
46 भ्राजितः ॥[४३*] 'यण्डाभिहतोत्तरोरिव फलं सुक्ताफलं मण्डलात् (1) यात⁷
शूकरयूथवह्नहनतस्तन्मन्दिरं हास्तिकं । यत्कोपोय-
47 द्वाग्निदग्धतनवः प्राप्ता विभूतिं पने⁸ (1) तत्पादोपनतप्रसादतनवः प्राप्ते¹⁰
विभूतिस्पर¹¹ ॥[४४*] यस्याज्ञां परचक्रि¹² सजमिवाजस शि-
48 रोभिर्वह्न्यादिगदन्तिघटावलीमुखपटः कीर्त्तिप्रतानस्ततः¹³ । (1) यत्रस्य¹⁴ स्वकर-
प्रतापमहिमा कस्यापि दूरस्थितः (1) तेजक्रान्तसमस्तभूभृदि¹⁵
49 न एवासौ न कस्योपरि ॥[४५*] यद्वारे¹⁶ परमण्डलाधिपतयो दौवारिकै-
र्वारिकैरास्यानावसरं प्रतीक्ष्य वहिरप्यध्यासिता¹⁷ यासिता । गाणिकं
वरत्नमौ¹⁸
50 क्तिकाचितं तद्वास्तिकं हास्तिकं (1) नादास्याम¹⁹ यदीति²⁰ यत्र निजकं
पश्यन्ति नश्यन्ति च ॥[४६*] सप्यं पातुमसौ²¹ ददौ²² निजतनुं जीमूत-
केतोस्तुतः (1) श्येनायाय शिविः²³ क-
51 पोतपरिरक्षार्थं दधीचोर्त्थिने । तेष्यैकैकमतर्प्ययन्तिकल महालक्ष्म्यै स्वावामांगुलि²⁴
लोकोपद्रवशान्तये स्म दिशति श्रीवीरनारायणः ॥[४७*] हत्वा भ्रातर-
52 मेव राज्यमहरद्देवीं च दीनस्ततो लक्ष कोटिमलेखयन्किल²⁵ कलौ दाता
स गुप्तान्वयः [1*] येनात्याजि तनु²⁶ स्वराज्यमसक्तदाद्यार्थकै²⁷ का
कथा (1) ह्यो-
53 प्रस्योन्नतिराद्रकूटतिलको²⁸ दातेति कीर्त्यावपि²⁹ ॥[४८*] ³⁰स्वभुजभुजसनिधिंशो-
ग्रदद्राग्रदष्टप्रवल(वल)रिपुसमूहेमोघवर्षे मधीशे³¹ ।(1) न दध-

¹ Read °स्मन्भोक्तारि² Metre of this and of the following six verses Sārdūlavikrīḍita.³ Read °शुक्ले° [Note the shape of त् here and in lines 46, 56, 73 and 74 below.—Ed.]⁴ Read °द्रोहकान्⁵ Read संतापादिनि°.⁶ Read चन्द्रिकयेव.⁷ Read यण्डाभिहतात्तरो⁸ Read °पाने⁹ Read परे¹⁰ Read प्राप्ता [The original correctly reads प्राप्ता—Ed.]¹¹ Read °परि¹² Read °चक्रिणः.¹³ Read °स्थितः.¹⁴ Read यत्रस्यः¹⁵ Read तेज क्रान्त°¹⁶ Read यद्वारे¹⁷ Read बहि°.¹⁸ Read वरत्नव°¹⁹ Read नादास्यामो ; but this spoils the metre²⁰ Read यदीति.²¹ Read °मसौ [The original has °सौ—Ed.]²² Read ददौ²³ Read शिविः.²⁴ Read स्वावामा°.²⁵ Read °लेखयन्किल.²⁶ Read तनुः.²⁷ Read °दाद्या°.²⁸ Read °कोटमलेख and कूट²⁹ Read कीर्त्यावपि.³⁰ Read °स्वभुजगि° and °प्रवल°.³¹ Read मधीशे.

1

2
4
6
8
10
2
4
8
8
0

Sanjan Plate 1: A rectangular plate with a grid of 10 rows and 2 columns. The text is in Sanskrit, written in a highly stylized, cursive script. The plate is heavily damaged, with significant portions of the surface missing, particularly along the right edge and in the lower half. The text is arranged in a regular, repeating pattern, likely representing a calendar or a list of events.

22 a

Sanjan Plate 2: A rectangular plate with a grid of 10 rows and 2 columns. The text is in Sanskrit, written in a highly stylized, cursive script. The plate is heavily damaged, with significant portions of the surface missing, particularly along the right edge and in the lower half. The text is arranged in a regular, repeating pattern, likely representing a calendar or a list of events.

222

SEAL OF THE SANJAN PLATES OF AMOGHĀVARSHA I



- 54 ति पदमीतिव्याधिदुष्कालकाले¹ (i) हिमशिशिरवसन्तशीष्मवर्षाशरत्² ।
[18८*] चतुस्सुद्रपर्यान्तः³ समुद्र⁴ यत्प्रसाधितं [1*] भग्ना समस्तभूपास्तुद्रा
ग-
- 55 रुडमुद्रया⁵ ॥ [५०*] राजन्द्रास्ते⁶ वन्दनीस्तु⁷ पूर्वे⁸ येषाम्बर्मा⁹ X
⁹ पालानीयोस्मदादैः¹⁰ [1*] ध्वस्ता दुष्टा वर्त्तमानास्सधर्म¹¹ प्रात्थ्या ये
ते भविनः¹² 13 पार्थिवेन्द्राः¹⁴ [॥५१*] भुक्त¹⁵ कै-
- 56 प्रिचक्रमेणापरेभ्यो¹⁶ दत्तं चान्यैस्त्यक्तमेवापरैर्यत् [1*] 17 कस्यानित्ये तत्र
राज्य¹⁸ महद्भिः कीर्त्या¹⁹ धर्मः केवलं पालनीयं²⁰ [॥५२*] तेनेदमनिलवि-
द्युचञ्चलमवलो-²¹
- 57 क्य जीवितमसारं । (i) चित्तिदानपरमपुण्यं प्रवर्त्तितो 22 ब्रह्मदायोयं²³ [॥५३*]
स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीजगत्तुंगदेवपादानुध्यातपर-²⁴
- 58 मभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीमदमोघवर्षश्रीवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवः कु-
शलो सर्वानिव यथासम्बन्धमानकान्नाट्टपतिविषयपति-²⁵
- 59 ग्रामकूटयुक्तनियुक्ताधिकारिकमहत्तरादी²⁶ समादिशत्यस्तु (ii) वस्त्रविदित यथा
मान्यखेटराजधान्यातस्थितेन²⁷ मया मातापित्रोरात्मनः(क)श्चैहिकामु-
- 60 त्रिकपुण्ययशोभिहृष्ये ॥ ॐ ॥ करहृडविनिर्गतभरद्वाग्निरवेष्ट्यानां आगिरस-
पाहृष्यत्यानां²⁸ भारद्वाजाजसत्रञ्चचारिणे²⁹ साविकूवारक-
- 61 भट्टतपोत्राय³⁰ । गोलसङ्गमिपुत्राय³¹ । नरसिंहदीक्षितः³² । पुनरपि 33 तस्मै
विषयविनिर्गता³⁴ । तस्मै³⁵ गोत्रे च भट्टतपोत्राय । गोविन्दभट्ट-
- 62 पुत्राय । रच्छादित्यक्रमभट्टः³⁶ । तस्मिन् देवे³⁷ । वड्डमुखसत्रञ्चचारिणे³⁸ दावडि-
गह्वियसहासपौत्राय । विष्णुभट्ट(i)पुत्राय । 39 त्रिविक्रम-

¹ Read °काला°.

⁴ Read स्वमुद्र

⁷ Read वन्दनीया°

¹⁰ Read °दादै°.

¹³ Read °पार्थि°

¹⁵ Read भुक्त

¹⁸ Read राज्ये

²¹ Read °विद्युचञ्चल°

²⁴ Read °जगत्तुंग°.

²⁷ Read धान्यस्थितेन

³⁰ Read °क्रमविजु°.

³³ Read °तद्विषय°.

³⁶ Read °क्रमविदे

³⁹ Read वि°.

² Metro Mālinī

⁵ Metro - Anushṭubh

⁶ Read शेषा धर्म°

¹¹ Read °स्वधर्म°.

¹⁴ Metro of this and of the following verse

¹⁶ Read °विहिक्र°

¹⁹ Read कीर्त्ये.

²² Read ब्रह्म°

²⁵ Read °सम्बन्ध°.

²⁸ Read भरद्वाग्निरवेष्ट्यागिरसपाहृष्यत्यानां

³¹ Read °पङ्कगविजु°

³⁴ Read °विनिर्गताय.

³⁷ Read तस्मिन्देवे

⁸ Read पर्यान्त°.

⁹ Read राजेन्द्रा°

¹² Read पालनी°.

¹⁵ Read भावि°.

¹⁷ Read कास्या°

²⁰ Read °नीय

²³ Metro Āryā-

²⁶ Read महत्तरादीन्

²⁹ Read °दाजगोत्रसत्रञ्च°.

³² Read नरसिंहदीक्षिताय

³⁵ Read तस्मिन्

³⁸ Read °ब्रह्म°.

63 षडंगमिः¹ । पुनरपि तस्मि देवे² वच्छगोत्रसन्नचारिणे³ । हरिभट्टपौत्राय ।
गोवादित्यभट्टपुत्राय । केसवगहियसाहासः⁴ ।

Third Plate

- 64 चतुकाःनां⁵ बहुचसखानां⁶ । पव चतुकाः ब्राह्मणानां⁷ ग्रामो दत्तः मंजाण-
समीपवर्तिनः चतुविंशतिग्राममध्ये⁸ । हरियल्लिकानामग्रामः तस्य चाघाट-
65 नानिः⁹ पूर्वतः कल्लुवी समुद्रगामिनी नदी । ¹⁰दक्षिणतः उप्पलहल्लक¹¹
भट्टग्रामः । पश्चिमतः नन्दग्रामः । उत्तरतः धम्मवल्लिकाग्रामः । अयं
ग्रामस्य सज्जाने
66 पत्तने शुकन शुण्णयामिग्राम सहजमालाकुलं भोक्ताव्यं¹² । एवमय चतुराघाट-
नोपलक्षितः सोदगस्सपरिकरः सदण्डदसपराधः¹³ समूतापात्तप्रत्ययः¹⁴ सोत्प-
67 द्यमानविष्टिकः सधान्यहिरण्वादेयः अचाटभट्टप्रवेशः सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्त-
प्रक्षेपणीया¹⁵ आचन्द्रार्काण्वचितिसरित्पर्व्वतममकालिनः¹⁶ पुत्रपौत्रान्वय-
क्रमो-
68 पभोग्यः ¹⁷पूर्व्वप्रत्यन्नद्वेदायरक्षितोभ्यन्तरसिद्धाय¹⁸ भूमिच्छिद्रन्याएन¹⁹
शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु सप्तसु नववृत्तयत्यधिकेषु²⁰ नन्दनसवत्सरा-
न्तर्गतपुष्य-
69 सास उत्तरायणमहापर्व्वणि ²¹वलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रतिथिशं(सं)तर्प्यणात्²²
अद्योदकादिसर्गेण प्रतिपादितः अतोऽस्योचितया ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या²³ भुजतो
भोज-
70 यतः ह्यपतः कर्षयतः प्रविशतो वा न कैश्चिच्छ्यापि²⁴ परिपन्थना कार्या
तथागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्त्रद्वंशैरन्यैर्व्वी सामान्य भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युल्लोला-
71 न्यनित्यैश्चर्याणि त्रिणाग्रलग्नजलविन्दुचंचल²⁵ च जीवितमाकलय्य स्वदायनिर्व्वि-
शेषीयमस्तदायानुमन्तव्यः²⁶ प्रतिपालयितव्यश्च ॥ यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपट-

¹ Read °नविदे

⁴ Read केसव° and °साहासाय°

⁷ Read एवचतुक्कसत्रा°

¹⁰ From here the rules of *samdh* have not been strictly observed

¹¹ Read °हल्लकी

¹³ Read °दशपराध

¹⁴ Read °सौय

¹⁵ Read °मन्तरसिद्धा

¹⁶ Read नवत्युत्त° चधिकेषु [or rather तिनवत्य° or त्रयोनवत्य° —Ed]

²² Read शाल्य

²⁵ Read तपाप° and °विन्दु°

² Read तस्मिन्देशे

⁵ Read °कानां,

⁸ Read °वर्तिचतुर्विंशति.

¹² Read °पातप्रत्यय°

¹⁴ Read °काकौन .

¹⁵ Read °न्यायेन

¹⁸ Read °न्यायेन

²⁰ Read °न्यायेन

²¹ Read °न्यायेन

²³ Read °न्यायेन

²⁶ Read अहायो°

³ Read वरस° and °ब्रह्म°.

⁶ Read बहुचसा°.

⁹ Read °नानि

¹² The sense of this line is not clear

[The original reads समूतापात्त° —Ed]

¹⁷ Read °प्रदत्तब्रह्म°

¹⁹ Read °न्यायेन

²¹ Read वलि° and °होत्रतिथि

²⁴ Read कैश्चिदेषापि.

- 72 लावतमतिराच्छिद्यमानकं¹ चानुमीदेत स पंचभिर्महापातकैस्सोपपातकैश्च²
सयुक्त³ स्यादित्युक्त⁴ च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टि⁵ वर्षसहस्रा-
73 णि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेता(त्ता) चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके
वसेत् [11*] विन्ध्याटवोष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*] कृष्णसर्पा हि
जायन्ते भूमिदानं हरन्ति
74 येत्⁶ [11*] अग्नेरपत्य⁷ प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः [1*]
लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्धि दत्त यः काण्वनं⁸ गा च महीं च दद्यात्
[11*] बहुभिर्वसुधा⁹ भुक्ता
75 राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं
[11*] स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ता वा यद्वाद्रक्ष नराधिप [1*] महीं महिमतां¹⁰
श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयोनुपालनं¹¹ [11*]
76 इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोला¹² श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च [1*] अति-
विमलमनीभिरात्मनीर्न¹³ हि ¹⁴पुरुषपरिकीर्तयो विद्याः¹⁶ [11*]
लिखितं चैत¹⁰ धर्माधि-
77 करणसेनभोगिकेन¹⁷ बालभकायस्थयंशजातेन । श्रीमदमोघवर्षदेवकमलानुजीविना¹⁸
गुणध्वलेन वत्सराजसूनुना ॥ महत्सको
78 गोगूराणक¹⁰ राजास्वमुखादेशेन²⁰ दूतकमिति²¹ ॥ मंगल महश्री²² ॥ ॐ ॥

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) May He (Vishnu) whose navel-lotus was adopted by Brahman as his abode, and Hara, too, whose head is adorned by the beautiful digit of the moon, protect you !

(V 2) May that Vira-Nārāyaṇa himself protect you here, who is all-pervading, who rests on the hood of (the serpent) Ananta, who is the rising mountain of valour, character, and greatness, and who is the progenitor of the lofty line of the good Rāshtrakūtas. May that Vira-Nārāyaṇa (Amoghavarsha) himself protect you here, who is powerful, who lives in endless enjoyments, who is the rising mountain of valour, character, and greatness, and the ancestor of whose lofty line was the good Rāshtrakūta

(V 3) In the line of Yadus, long extending through his prowess, in course of time, came to be, like a heap of jewels in the sea, prince Gōvinda, ornament of the earth, and son of Prichchhakarāja.

¹ Read °मतिराच्छिद्यादाच्छिद्य.

⁴ Read स्यादिति । चत्त.

⁷ Read रपत्य

¹⁰ Read महीमतां

¹³ Read °रात्मनीनेन°

¹⁴ Read पुरुषपर° [Note the cross mark above ५ The letter प is engraved below the line —Ed.]

¹⁵ Read विलोम्या .

¹⁶ Read °देवकमला°

²¹ Read दूतक इति

² Read °पातकैश्च°.

⁵ Read षष्टि

⁸ Read काण्वन.

¹¹ Read °च्छेयो°

¹⁸ Read चैतद्

¹⁹ Read °राणकी

²² Read मङ्गल महश्री.

³ Read °संयुक्त°.

⁶ Read ये.

⁹ Read बहु°

¹² Read °दलाम्बुविन्दु°

¹⁷ Read धर्माधिकरश्मिक

¹⁸ Read °राजस°

(Vs 4-6) Then came lord **Karkarāt**, who bore an expansive chest with the rays of the Kaustubha jewel throbbing like Mēru which bears golden slope spread all over with lustre emitting from the morning sun, full of fear for whom were constantly the minds of the enemies, proclaimers of whose fame were (their) words, bent at whose feet were (their) heads, and lost in whose lustre was (their) glory, by whom possessing the power of Prithu the *mahī* (the dominions, the earth) was widened, the *bhūbhṛts* (the kings, the mountains) were pushed back by the bow, and by whom of great *ōjas* (might, splendour) and of *pratāpa* (valour, scorching heat) was dispelled the darkness, namely, the enemies

(V 7) Then (came) **Indrarāja**, who in the (marriage) hall, namely, **Khātaka**, seized in battle the daughter of the **Chalukya** king by the *rākshasa* (form of) marriage

(V 8) Then flourished on the earth king **Dantidurga**, the chief of his family, who smote hosts of elephants and humbled the circle of proud kings from the Himālayas down to the limit of the Sētū

(V 9) By whom kings such as the **Gurjara** lord and others were made door-keepers when in **Ujjayinī** the (Great Gift called) *Hiranya-garbha* was completed by the Kshatriyas ¹

(V 10) Then in the battle field which proved a (place) of choice marriage, **Śubhatunga-Vallabha** listlessly and forcibly wrested away the Fortune of the **Chalukya** family, bearing the garland, namely, the waving *Pālidhvajas* ²

(V 11) Though elevated by means of incontestable throne and *chowries*, possessed of a white umbrella and enjoying a kingdom without any rival, **Akālavarsha**, who destroyed kings and chieftains, was a royal sage, a doer of unending holy acts

(V 12) Then **Prabhūtarsha** became (king), and thereafter **Dhārāvarsha**, by which king was rained down, as it were, a shower with arrows on the battle field

(V 13) That (low) deep sound of whose drum is, as it were, the satiated Death belching out, (who is) intoxicated with potations of tasteful liquor, namely, the slightly warm blood from the enemies' heads cut off by his sword in battles and (who is) (now) with stomach filled to the throat

(V 14) Who seized the white umbrellas, the sporting lotuses of the **Lakshmī** (Goddess of Sovereignty), of the **Gauda** king, as he was fleeing between the Ganges and the Jumna.

(V 15) Whose fame, white as the rays of the moon, having pervaded to the end of the earth on all sides, (and) having as it were uninterruptedly crossed to the other shore of the ocean in the shape of numbers of moving conches, hundreds of pearls, *śaphara* fish, and waves with manifold foam, reached heaven under the semblance of the necklaces and elephants of the gods, the heavenly river, and the *dhārtarāśhtra* (swan)

(V. 16) The son of **Nirupama**, devoted to *tri-varga* and diligent in duties, as soon as he was crowned, being desirous of openly re-instating all classes of his feudatories, with courtesies, in their respective positions, and intent upon releasing the imprisoned **Ganga** addressed the words. "Ye are (unto me) like (my) father," to the assemblage of councillors, while they were protecting the earth

(V 17) Quickly fighting in battle and capturing all his wicked vassals like great bulls, extremely uncontrollable and fierce, that had snapped (his noose) but had those of other lords cast over them, and releasing them when their spirit of defection ended, he, with his heart softened, harboured them as the ocean does the submarine fire. It was no perturbation to him. He again supported the kings (*bhūbhṛts*) that were his enemies (*vipakshas*) just as the ocean does the mountains (*bhūbhṛts*) deprived of their wings (*vipakshas*).

¹ For a description of the *Mahādāna* called *Hiranya-garbha*, see the *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa*, *Uttara-parvan*, chap 176

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 104.

(V 18) By whom when the ungrateful Ganga was disaffected in consequence of fleeing away from the fine ordered by him, that villain, who had been freed from fetters on the feet, had (now) fetters put round his neck

(V 19) Who was the illustrious Māndhātṛi, another viceroy of the Creator, in as much as he with his lotus like feet touched by the *maḥara* shaped crowns of the lords of the earth, exerted himself to protect the earth, which had as the essence of (her) royalty the line of the Rāshtra-kūtas, which was charming in consequence of beautiful women, and towns and villages that were delightful, extensive and possessed of gardens, and which had for (her) girdle the ocean resounding clearly with (its) expansive waters

(V 20) Who, deafening the intervals between all the quarters with the noise of the deep-sounding drums, the sound of which was as loud as that of a new cloud, and with (his) *dhakkās*, *kāhalas*, and the loud *tūryas* sounding shrill, is death to the busy time of the enemies of Tribhuvana-dhavalā

(V 21) Who, moreover, being an unbearable store of lustre, was the Sun himself gone into the Uttar āyana (the north, the northern part of the elliptic), bringing his *pāda* (feet, rays) to stretch on the *mūrdhans* (heads, tops) of *bhūbhṛts* (kings, mountains), being of auspicious rise covering the intervals between all the quarters with his lustre, getting at every step increase of *pratāpa* (valour, heat), having an *anurakta* (devoted, red) *mandala* (feudatories, disc) and being *padmākara-ānandita* (gladdened by the hand of the goddess of sovereignty, gladdening the assemblage of lotuses)

(V 22) Carrying away in battles the fair and unshakable fame of kings Nāgabhata and Chandragupta, he, intent upon the acquisition of fame, uprooted, like *śālī* eorn, other kings, in their own dominions, who had become destitute of all fortitude, and afterwards re-instated them in their own places

(V 23) The water of the springs of the Himālaya mountains was drunk by whose horses and plunged into by whose elephants, the thunder was redoubled in (its) caverns by the *tūrya* musical instruments of (whose) ablutions, (and) to whom, the great one, those (kings) Dharma and Chakrāyudha surrendered of themselves. He thus bore resemblance to the fame of Himālaya, and was consequently Kīrti-Nārāyana

(V 24) Who returned from there, (thinking) that it was now the work of the ministerial servants, and following again the bank of the Narmadā as if (following his own) prowess, and acquiring the Mālava country along with the Kōsala, the Kalinga, the Vanga,¹ the Dāhala, and the Ōdraka, that Vikrama himself made his servants enjoy them

(V 25) Making (his) enemies submissive, he returned to the remaining (part of the) Rāvā, and established himself in a capital befitting (him), at the foot of the Vindhya, performing pious deeds by constructing temples, which are stores of spiritual merit

(V 26) While the Mahārāja Śarva, lord of a small kingdom, was his own, a son was born to him who was to be Mahārāja-Śarva, lord of the earth

(V 27) At the time of whose birth it was foretold by astrologers that "being irresistible he would enjoy the earth bounded by the Himālayas and the Sētū, and girdled by the ocean,

(V 28) "Of the warriors, (his) enemies, those that were bound down in battle by Amoghavarsha would be released, but, if disaffected, there would be release from fetters only by being reduced to ashes"

(V 29). Then he was Prabhūtarsha, as he satisfied the desires of those that were his own. He was Jgaattunga, being at the head of *bhūbhṛts* (kings), just as Mēru is jagattunga (lofty on earth) being at the head of *bhūbhṛts* (mountains).

¹ [I would put Vēgi (or Vēngi) instead See f n 29 on p. 245 above - Ed]

(V 30) He (then) stood up to destroy the haughtiness of the Dravīḍa kings, who were sleepless, anxious, and with minds distracted through deliberations

(V 31) By whose mere setting out, the clear undivided earth shakes, being shakily covered by the instruments of his valour Lakṣmī too moves away, displeased, from the breasts of the enemies who hate him intensely, like a creeper pulled out by the wind It is not the dust that has flown away to the quarters, but the loom that extended the fame of his enemies

(V 32) He terrified the Kēraḷa, Pāṇḍya and Chaulīka kings, caused the sprouting Pallava to wither, was the afflictor who caused the Kāṇḍya and the Magadha to sit and fast themselves to death,¹ was destruction to the valour of the head of the thundering Gurjjaras (and thus) behaved (like Rāma), enemy of Lankā,² (and as he) got its unimpeachable orders carried out assiduously, he was Vikrama of laudable valour

(V 33) The Gangas, who became disaffected through baseness, were bound down with fetters and met with death The lords of mandalas, who were friendly, made his camp ground along with the enclosure,³ free of dust by wage, but the lord of Vēṅga and others by unpaid labour

(V 34) By whom having forcibly by (his chastising) rod controlled, like dumb and deaf persons, the king and the prime-minister, ruined through laziness in working for their good, (and) having brought to Hēlāpura from Lankā two statues of its lord, these, having afterwards proceeded to Kāñchī, were established there in the temple of Śiva like two columns of fame

(V 35) “(My) fame has occupied the three worlds, and my unique son is able to bear the burden of his world,”—so (thinking) he made his life fruitful through various religious acts “For doing what should I stay in this (world)?”—so saying Anupama followed (his) fame, while going to the lofty palace, namely, heaven, to which spotless fame and holy merit formed the steps

(V 36) In order to protect the fame (along with the subjects) of the ancestors in his worthy family, and of his pleasing relatives, who were the Vallabhas of the peoples, and who were now living in the form of (their) good fame which filled up the world, and in order (thus) to destroy the sinfulness of Kali, there rules the prosperous Amoghavarsha, sitting on the lion-throne, the exterminator of enemies, whose deeds are praised by the wise

(V 37) In front of the palace of whom, the destroyer of the impurity of Kali, (as in front of that) of Indra, sounds incessantly the deep rumbling sound of loud-sounding *ḍhakka* and other (instruments), soaring high with the import “there is no other lord of the earth like this one, able to protect the humble, to conquer enemies at the front of the battle, to make gifts to supplicants, and maintain the truthfulness of custom”

(V 38) Seeing that new kingdom which consisted of sixteen principalities but (seeing also) the king, the might of whose righteousness was profuse and ennobling, the crooked, deceitful Kali, distressed that it was the beginning of the Kṛta Age, fleeing and penetrating into the interior, distracted the feudatories, the ministers, and his relatives, who were made his own

(V 39). Giving deceitful counsel through false oaths, they were independent of (their) lord. Of their own accord killing the appointed officers who were worthy, all seized for themselves, ‘Another’s wife is a daughter or sister,’—such distinction there was none, as among the beasts The Kali Age becoming thus supreme, good behaviour became extinct through sinful living

(V. 40) When, withdrawing (his) expanse of lustre from the sky, the great (sun) sets, the disc of the moon and the stars shine out, attaining to the glory of a rise When a *sa-pratāpa*

¹ The word *prāyāṇaka* I take in the sense of *prāyāṇika* *Pṛāya* signifies ‘seeking death by fasting, fasting, sitting down and abstaining from food with some object in view (generally with words like *ās upaviś* etc.)’—Apte’s Sanskrit-English Dictionary

² *Lankāraṇatī* I take in the sense of *Lankā-āravad-ācharatī*, behaves himself like (Rāma), the enemy of Lankā

³ For the words *vāhyatī* and *paritṛitī* see Above, Vol VI, p 250 and n. 5

(possessed of heat, possessed of valour) (temporarily) ceases to be, for that length of time only do the *vijñāmas* (the dismal ones, the crooked ones) rise

(V 11) Following *guru* and *budha* (the two planets of those names, elders and wise men), the lord, the sun of the Rattas, taking, again, his rise through the greatness of the rising mountain, namely, Ārya Pātālamalla, and overpowering the unruly circle of *tījasvins* (luminaries, men of fiery spirit), again, purifies the world alone

(V 12) The soul is the king, the mind is his minister, the group of senses is again that circle of feudatories according to the political science, and speech, &c, are the servants conforming to the prescribed rules. Presiding over his place, namely, the body, he (the soul) is able to enjoy, independently, his own *ishaya* (kingdom, worldly objects). When that enjoyer is subject to *amnipāta* (a kind of fever, collision), they all perish

(V 43) Who, having, with rage, destroyed the sedition mongers that were so by regular succession from their own ancestors as does a medicine diseases, wind clouds, fire dry fuel, and the sun darkness, (and) having (thus) destroyed by fame as by moon-light the darkness of Kali from both the beginning and extremity of the earth, he shone by the beauty of the royal parasol, white like the moon

(V 44) From the *mandala* (feudatories) struck by whose *danda* (chastising rod) pearls came to his palace like fruit from a tree (struck by a stick), (and) to his palace came a host of elephants, like a herd of boars, from the forest, with *mandala* (temples) struck by *danda* (stick). With the bodies consumed by the fierce fire of whose anger the enemies were reduced to ashes, (as) others, with bodies favoured on account of their falling at his feet, attained to prosperity

(V 45) Whose order the alien kings incessantly place on their head as a chaplet. Whose expanse of fame is the white veil on the row of the temples of the elephants of the quarters. Far off from whom stands the greatness of the *pratāpa* (valour, heat) of his *haras* (hands, rays), though it is in him? Overpowering all the *bhūbhūts* (kings, mountains) with his *tījas* (prowess, heat) over whom is he not a very *ena* (king, Sun)?

(V 46) At whose gate the lords of the hostile territories are put to trouble by relays of door-keepers, being made to sit outside, while waiting for the proper time of (his) assembly-hall, and where, when they perceive that they will not obtain back their own bevy of courtezans and group of elephants, covered with choice gems and pearls, which have gone into his possession, they droop down

(V 47) That son of Jimūtakṛtṭa gave away his own body in order to protect a serpent, Śibi, again, to a hawk to save a dove, (and) Dadhīcha to (his) supplicator. But they, we are told, gratified each a single individual, (whereas) the illustrious Vira-Nārāyaṇa presented his left finger to Mahā-Lakṣmī for the pacification of a calamity to the (whole) people

(V 48) That donor, in the Kali Age, who was of the Gupta lineage, having killed (his) brother, we are told, seized (his) kingdom and queen, (and) thereafter the wretch caused her to write down one lac, one crore (in the document). But he, who gave away more than once his own kingdom, insignificant (to him), (saying) 'of what account are the external objects', was bashful even when the fame (had spread) that the ornament of the exalted Rāshtrakūṭas was the (real) donor

(V 49). While Amoghavarsha, whose cluster of powerful enemies are bitten by the fangs of the terrible jaw of the snake, namely, the sword in his hand, is the ruler of the earth, no (adverse) times characterised by calamities to husbandry, plagues and famines can set their foot in the Hīmanta, Śīra, Vasanta, Grīshma, Varshā and Śarat seasons

succession of sons, grandsons, etc., to endure for the same time with the sun, the moon, the sea, the earth, the river and the mountains, to the exclusion of previously given grants to Brāhmanas and gods, and according to the custom of cultivable and uncultivable land¹ for the purpose of internal adjudication² was bestowed to day on the great festive occasion of the Uttarāyana in the month of Pausa falling in the (current) Nandana-Cyclic year, seven centuries of years increased by ninety-three having elapsed since the time of Śaka king, for the sake of *balī*, *charu*, *raśvadīva*, *agnihōtra* and *atithisantarpana*, by pouring water and so forth (from the hand) No hindrance should in the slightest degree be caused by any one to one enjoying (this village), allowing (others) to enjoy (it), cultivating it, causing (it) to be cultivated, or occupying (it) in accordance with the manner of a gift to a Brāhmana Likewise, this, my gift (to Brāhmanas) should be assented to and supported, just as if it were their own gift, by the good kings of the future, whether my descendants or others, bearing in mind that the fruit of a gift is common (both to the grantor and to the preserver), and considering that ephemeral wealth is as fickle as the flashes of lightning and life as unsteady as the drops of water clinging to the ends of grass And he who, with his intellect, enclosed by the cover, namely, darkness of ignorance, will assent to (the actions of) one ready to confiscate (this grant of land), will be invested with the (guilt of the) five great sins and minor sins (For), it is also said by the divine Vjāsa, the arranger of the Vedas—[Vv 54-59 are the benedictory and imprecatory verses with which a charter usually ends] This has been written by the judge and *Sēnabhōgika*, Guṇadhavala, son of Vatsarāja, who is born in the Kāyastha family of Vālabha and serves the lotus (feet) of the prosperous Amoghavarshadēva The Mahattaka Gōgū-Rāṇaka was the *Dātaka* through the king's own verbal order

No 27 —KOPPARAM PLATES OF PULAKESIN II

By E HULTZSCH, PH D, HALLE (SAALE)

ruk impressions of these copper-plates were sent to me by Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri, who had received them from the late Mr K V Lakshmana Rao, M A, Telugu Encyclopædia Office, Egmore, Madras The plates had been found near Kopparam in the Narasaraopet Taluk of the Guntūr District For a description of them, and for remarks on their alphabet and language, see Mr Lakshmana Rao's valuable article in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol IV, p 43 ff¹ I now re edit the inscription because I believe that I am able to improve a few of his readings and renderings The composer of the text knew so little Sanskrit that in some places it is difficult to divine what he really wanted to express

The inscription records a grant made by the Mahārāja Satyāśraya Pulakēsi-Prithivī-vallabha⁴ (line 6 f), the "dear grandson" (l 5) of the Mahārāja Kirtivarman-Prithivī-vallabha of the Chalukya family (l 4) As stated by Mr Lakshmana Rao (*loc cit*, p 43), *prīya-pautra* must be a stupid error for *prīya putra*, "the dear son" For we know from trustworthy documents that Pulakēsin II was not the grandson, but the son of Kirtivarman I.

The donee was a Brāhmana of the Śāndilyāyana-gotra and the Āpastamba sūtra, who resided at Mūgamūr (l 10) The grant consisted of a field of eight hundred (*nivartanas* of land) in the village of Irbuli in (the district of) Karma-rāshṭra (l 11) The field lay to the south of

¹ For the expression *bhūmi chchhidra nyūyēna*, see *Ind Ant*, 1922, pp 77-9

² *Siddhi* = "decision, adjudication, determination (of a lawsuit)" —Monier Williams' *Sanskrit English Dictionary*

³ See also *Madras Epigraphical Report*, for 1923, App A, No 14

⁴ In this compound the shortening of the final *i* of *prithivī* is permitted by Pāṇini, VI, 3, 63, cf compounds like *Hārīti-putra* (line 1 of this inscription), *Kalidasa*, etc

Koṇḍav[e]rupūr and to the north of Virpara (l 12) For Karma rāhita, see above, Vol. XV, p 250 Mr Lakshmana Rao (*loc cit*, p 49) identifies Koṇḍav[e]rupūr with Koṇḍavīḍu, and Virpara with Vippara, both in the Narasaraopet Tāluk of the Guptūr District, and Mūgamūr with Mūngamūr in the Kandukūr Tāluk of the Nellore District

In line 10 we are introduced to a great warrior named Prithivīduvarāja whom Mr Lakshmana Rao (*loc cit*, p 46 f) identifies with Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indrayarman of the Goa plates of Śaka 532¹ I venture to propose another identification If we connect the participle *sa[m*]pradatta* (l 8) with *ājñaptiḥ* (l 14) and with its Prākrit form *ānatti*² (l 10), we are driven to consider the words *-rājyasya Prithivīduvarājam-ānatti* (l 9 f) a mistake—which would not be without parallels in this incorrect text—for *-rājyasya Prithivīduvarājay-ājñaptiḥ* Now, *duvarāja* is a Dravidian *tadbhāsa* of *yucarāja*³ If we contrast the title Prithivīduvarāja, "the heir-apparent of the earth," with Prithivīvallabha, "the husband of the earth," which was the title of Kīrtivarman I and Pulakēśin II, and as it is stated in line 9 f that Prithivīduvarāja had "secured the kingdom to the lineage of his son," it seems that Prithivīduvarāja can be safely identified with Viṣṇuvardhana I, the younger brother of Pulakēśin II and the founder of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty It follows further that Viṣṇuvardhana I continued to be dependent on Pulakēśin II in the twenty-first year of the latter's reign (text line 13) From the Sātāra plates we already knew that he held the office of *Yucarāja* in the eighth year (of Pulakēśin II)⁴ In a grant of A D 632, which was the 18th year of his own reign,⁵ and in the Timmapuram plates,⁶ Viṣṇuvardhana I already bears the title of *Mahārāja*

The words *Vallabha-sama[śh]-ārdatti* (l 8) may have to be corrected into *Vallabhī samakāḥ ārdattitē*, "Vallabha (i.e. Pulakēśin II) being present in person" The mysterious words *marita Kali-kulanām* *sia bāhunā* (l 8 f) may be compared with *Kaliyuga bhala nirmathanai[h*] charitaiḥ* in the Sātāra plates of Viṣṇuvardhana I,⁷ and may be corrected accordingly into *mathā Kali-bhālānām* *sia bāhunā*, "by his arm (which was) a churning-stick of the wicked (people) of the Kali (age)" The compound at the beginning of line 9, which Mr Lakshmana Rao (*loc cit*, p 53) refers to Prithivīduvarāja himself, has to be connected likewise with *sia-bāhunā*, and has to be corrected into *nishkṛṣṭa-māṇḍalāgra-sanāthēna*, "wielding the drawn sword"

Line 13 contains the date of the grant **the year twenty-one of the reign (of Pulakēśin II), the month of Kārttika, the great ninth (tithi), a Thursday.** For authoritative remarks on this date I refer the reader to the **Postscript** on pages 260-61 below, which has been kindly contributed by Mr R. Sewell

TEXT⁸

First Plate

- 1 Svasti [[*]] Śrīmatām sakala-bhu[va*]na-samstūyamāna⁹-Mānavya-sagōtrānā[m*]
Hārītiputrānā[m*] sapta-lōka-mātrībhi[h*] Sapta-Mā-

¹ *J Bo Br R A S*, Vol. X, p 363 f

² See e.g. above, Vol. VIII, p 146, note 8, and Vol. XVIII, p 7.

³ See above, Vol. IV, p. 180, note 5

⁴ *Ind Ant*, Vol. XX, p 16

⁵ *Ind Ant*, Vol. XIX, p 304.

⁶ Above, Vol. IX, p 317.

⁷ *Ind Ant*, Vol. XIX, p 309, text line 5 f.

⁸ From ink-impressions supplied by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, B A

⁹ The *ā* of *stū* is corrected by the engraver from *u*.

1

2
4

2 4

III

6 8

6 8

nb

10 12

10 12

III

14 16

14 16

- 2 tribhi[h*] [sa]myag=abhivarddhātānā[m*] Kārtikēya-paripālan-ādhigata-kalyāna-
paramparānā[m*] bhagavan-Nārāyana prasā-
3 da sās(sa)māsāda(dī)ta-varāha-lāñchhan ūkshapa-kshana-vaśīkrit-āsēsha - mahābhritām=anēk-
āśvamēdh-āvabhrita(tha) snā-
4 na-pavitrikrita-vapushā[n*] Chalukyānā[m*] kulam=abhyalamkarishnō[h*] prathita-
kirttē[h*]¹ śrī-Kirttivarṃma-Prithivivallabha-ma[hārā-]

Second Plate , First Side

- 5 jasya priya-pau(pu)tra[h*] pranat ānēka mahāpatī-makuta-tata-vilagna-manī makarīkā-
ghrishta-pād-āravinda dvaya-
6 sya pratigat āratī chakra-vidhva[m*]sana vivī(dhī) viśāradasya dēva dvīja guru-vriddh-
āpachāya(yī)na[h*] pit=aiva² śūra[h*] Sa-
7 tyāśraya=pratihat-ājñā[h*]³ śrī-Pulakēśī-Pri(Prī)thivivallabha-mahārāja(jō)
yathāruha⁴ sanmā(mmā)nayatī [||*] Vīditi(ta)-
8 m=astu Vallabha(bhō) sama[ksh] āvastī(sthī)tē vidhivī(va)t=sa[m*]pradattā marṇta⁵
Kali-kulanām=⁶anēka-samgrāma sāhasa-dakshēna

Second Plate , Second Side

- 9 mikri(shkri)shta-maṇḍalāgrā(gra) sanāthēna sva bāhunā vipaksha-mandala[m*] nirītya
sva sut ānvayē pratishtā(shthā)pita-rā-
10 jyasya Pri(Prī)thividu(yu)varājam=ānatti⁷ [I*] Mūgamūr-vv[ā*]stavayā[ya]⁸
Chhā(Śā)ndilyāyana-gōtrasya Āpasta[mba]-
11 sūtrasya viprasya ⁹Vēdaśarmmana[h*] Karmma-rāshtrē Irbuli-grāmē ashta śatam¹⁰
kshētram datam(ttam) Balāka-ba(pa)lva-
12 lā[t*] pūrvvata[h*] Karmmakāra-tatākā[t*] paśchimata[h*] Kondav[e]¹¹rupā[r]-
pathā[d=*] dakshinata[h*] Virparu pathā¹² uttarata[h*]¹³

Third Plate

- 13 pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-sa[m*]vatsarē ōkavi[m*]śatī¹³ Kārttika-māsē
mahā[ā-navamyāñ]¹⁴ Bṛi[ha*]spatī-vārē pra-
14 śastē muhūrttī=syā dattī(ttē)r=ājñaptī[h*]¹⁵ Bhūmī-dānāt¹⁶ tpa(pa)ran=dā[na*]n=na
bhūta[m*] na bha[vi*]shyati [I*] tasy=aiva haran[āt=pā]-
15 pan=na bhūta[m*] na bhavishyati [|| I*] Bahubhīr=vvasudhā dattā bahubhīś=ch=
ānupālītā [I*] yasya-yasya yadā bhūmī[s=*]tasya-

¹ An s is also affixed to the tt of ttē² Read Satyāśrayō=pratihat ājñāh³ Read Kali kulanām=⁴ Read pit=ēva The va is entered below the line⁵ Read yathāruha⁶ Read mathā⁷ Read ⁹rājasy-ājñaptih⁸ Either read viśtavayasya, or replace the four genitives following it by datives⁹ [The name seems to be Aila The symbol for ē in l 13 below would suggest that the first letter is ai and the second letter seems to be ā.—Ed]¹⁰ The ta of -śatam is entered below the line Two crosses (lālapada) above the line mark the place where it has to be inserted Mr Lakshmana Rao (loc cit, p 44 f) mistook them for numerical symbols [The original seems to read śatī.—Ed]¹¹ [The letter looks more like che.—Ed.]¹² Read -pathād=uttaratah¹³ Read ekavīśatī¹⁴ The tops of the bracketed letters are broken away, but the reading is certain¹⁵ There is a vacant space after this word

16 tasya tadā phala[m || 2*] [Sva-da]t[t]ā[m*] para-dat[t]ā[m*] vā yatnād-raksha
Yudhishtira [*] mahī[m*] mahi(hi)bhuja[m*] śrīsh[tha dānū]te¹

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 6) Hail! The dear grandson (*read* son) of the glorious Kīrtivarma-Prithivī-vallabha-Mahārāja who adorned the family of the glorious Chalukyas, etc., whose fame was (widely) spread, whose pair of lotus feet was rubbed by the *makara* ornaments² of jewels attached to the slopes of the diadems of many prostrate princes, who was proficient in achieving the destruction of the circle of opposing enemies, (and) who honoured the gods, the twice-born, the *Gurus*, and the aged,

(L 6 f) the glorious Pulakēśi-Prithivīvallabha-Mahārāja (who), like (his) father, (is) a hero, the abode of truth (Satyāśraya)³ whose commands are unopposed, suitably honours (the officials of this district and informs them as follows)

(Ll 7-10) "Be it known (to you that), Vallabha being present in person, the execution (of the present grant) was formally bestowed on Prithivīduvarāja (i.e. Prithivīyavarāja) who, having defeated the circle of enemies by his arm (which was) a churning-stick of the wicked people) of the Kali (age), which was skilled in daring (deeds) in many battles, (and) which was wielding the drawn sword, has secured the kingdom to the lineage of his son"

(Ll 10 12) "To the Brāhmaṇa 'Vēdaśarman who resides at Mūgamūr, belongs to the Sāṇḍilyāyana-gōtra, (and) follows the Āpastamba-sūtra, a field of eight hundred (*nivartanas*) in the village of Irbuli in (the district of) Karma-rāshtra has been given (This field lies) to the east of the Balāka-palvala (pond), to the west of the Karmakāra-tatāka (tank), to the south of the road to Kondav[e]rupūr,⁵ (and) to the north of the road to Virparu"

(L 13 f) "In the year twenty-one of the reign of increasing victory, in the month of Kārttika, on the great ninth (*tithi*), on a Thursday, at an auspicious moment, the execution of this grant (was bestowed on Prithivīyavarāja)"⁶

[Ll 14-16 contain three of the customary verses]

POSTSCRIPT

BY ROBERT SEWELL, I C S (RETIRED)

At Dr Hultzsch's request I have examined the date of the Chalukya inscription published on pp 43 to 54 of Part I, Vol VI of the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* which is stated to belong to "the year twenty-one of increasing victory" of a Chalukya sovereign who is perhaps identical with Pulakēśin II

The details of the given date are "Thursday the *mahānavamī* day in the month Kārttika" It is not stated whether this 9th day was in the light or dark fortnight, but in the absence of this information it is reasonable to assume that the 9th day of the month was meant, or more accurately the day on which at sunrise the 9th śukla *tithi* of Kārttika was current. If the inscription belongs to the reign of Pulakēśin II it must have been composed about A D 629 or 630, or thereabouts

¹ Read *dānāḥ=chhrēyō=nupā'anam* ||³

² According to Cowell and Thomas (Translation of the *Harshacharita*, p 266), "the word *maṭarikā* appears to denote a *makara* shaped forehead ornament"

³ This was the favourite surname of Pulakēśin II. See Fleet's *Dyn of the Kan Districts*, sec ed, p 351.

⁴ [See footnote 9 on the preceding page.—Ed.]

⁵ [See footnote 11 on the preceding page.—Ed.]

⁶ The bracketed words are supplied from lines 8 and 10

Calculation for a date of that period must be made either by the mean-system computation of the *First Ārya-Siddhānta*, or of the *Brahma Siddhānta*, which latter was compiled in A D 628

By either of these the 9th śukla *tithi* of Kārttika fell in A D 628 on a Wednesday In A D. 629 it fell on Sunday by the *First Ārya-Siddhānta* and on Monday by the *Brahma-Siddhānta* In A D 630 it fell on Saturday by both authorities But in A D 631 it fell on Thursday, by both these *Siddhāntas*, and that Thursday corresponded to October 10 A D 631. This last satisfies the requirements of the case if, in the practice of those days, the 9th śukla *tithi* of Kārttika marked a *mahānavamī* day I regret that I am unable to give an opinion on this point The modern *mahānavamī* day is, I understand, the day corresponding to the 9th śukla *tithi* in the month Āśvina

If the day in question was actually Thursday October 10 A D 631, it makes the king's accession to have taken place on or after October 11 A D 610, seeing that it belongs to his 21st regnal year

As regards this date it must be noted that Fleet (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p 23) stated that Pulakēśin II's accession must have taken place "early in Śaka 532 (A D 610-1)", that R G Bhandarkar fixed it as in Śaka 533, i.e. A D 610 or 611, according as the Śaka year was treated as current or expired (*Early History of the Dehkan*, p 38), and that Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil (*Ancient History of the Deccan*, p 111) gives it as in A D 609 Fleet's fixture slightly conflicts with the date October 11 A D 610, since the year Śaka 532 began on March 19 in that year

R SEWELL¹

No. 28 — THE SO-CALLED TAKHT-I-BAHI INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 103

By STEN KONOW

The stone on which this inscription is incised measures 17" by 14½", and it is now in the Lahore Museum There is some uncertainty about its provenance Cunningham originally stated² that it had been discovered by Dr Bellew at Shāhbāzgarh Similarly Mr Hargreaves

writes in a letter dated Simla $\frac{4\text{th}}{10\text{th}}$ December 1913 "In connection with the Gandhāra sculptures I had occasion to look up references to the very well-known and frequently quoted Takht-i Bāhi inscription, and to my surprise find that there is no absolute certainty it emanates from Takht-i Bāhi at all, it may very well come from Shāhbāzgarh"

Later on Cunningham speaks about the record as hailing from Takht-i-Bāhi, without mentioning his previous note on the subject, and since that time the epigraph has always been spoken of as the 'Takht-i-Bāhi' inscription

Both places are situated in the same neighbourhood, Shāhbāzgarh 6½ miles east and Takht-i Bāhi about 8 miles north west of Mardān in Yūsufzai

According to the Editor of *Trübner's Record*, June 1873, Dr Bellew had left the stone at Hoti Mardān "in Dr Johnson's compound Several years afterwards, in 1870, he authorised

¹ Readers will learn with sincere regret that this veteran scholar, to whom Indian History and Chronology are so heavily indebted, died in London on the 30th December 1925 in the eighty-first year of his age -- E H

² *Trübner's Record*, June 1873, reprinted *Ind Ant*, Vol. II, 1873, p 242

Dr Leitner to take away anything he might have left at Hoti Maidān. Dr Leitner, after personal inspection, got the stone carried down to Lahore by bullock-cart, and there got the inscription both lithographed and photographed. The discovery of the stone therefore belongs to Dr Bellew, that of the inscription to Dr Leitner."

A rubbing of the inscription was forwarded by Dr Leitner to Professor Dowson, who gave a notice of it in *Trübner's Record* of June 1871. A second notice was published by Cunningham in the same *Record*, June 1873,¹ and a fuller account, with an excellent plate by Dowson,² who read the date portion and, in a second note,³ gave a new reproduction of the same. Then follow editions by Cunningham,⁴ Senart⁵ and Boyer.⁶ I now edit the epigraph from excellent estampages which I owe to the kindness of Professor Vogel, who had them prepared for me when he was Superintendent of the Panjāb Circle of the Archaeological Survey.

The inscription consists of six lines, and the average height of the letters is $1\frac{1}{4}$ '. In the first line there is an apparent gap after the seventh letter, but nothing has been omitted; the intervening space having been purposely left without any writing on account of the roughness of the stone. Similarly there is a vacant space in the middle of l. 5.

Cunningham remarks that "as the stone has been used for many years, perhaps for centuries, for the grinding of spices, all the middle part of the inscription has suffered and become indistinct, and some portions have been obliterated altogether." In such circumstances it is intelligible that the reading and interpretation is in some places beset with considerable difficulties.

The alphabet is Kharōṣṭhī of the Śaka variety. The letter *ya* has the relatively broad angle which we also find in the Pāṇi inscription of Sam 111, and the Mount Banj inscription of Sam 102. The continuation of the vertical of *sa* up towards the upper curvature, which is seen in both these records, is apparently not met with. We find the same occasional lengthening of the right top of *ma* as in Mount Banj. *Ba* has the older curvilinear and not the later angular shape. The curvature of the upper end of *da* towards the right is very insignificant. There is no dental *na*, and the cerebral *na* has the rounded top which we find in the Mount Banj and Kaldarra epigraphs and also in the Pātika plate. The shape of individual letters is not, however, quite consistent, and more especially the letter *ya* has several somewhat different forms, so that it is not quite certain whether it should not, in *puyae* ll. 5 and 6, be read as *puae*. Note also the curious flourish after the last letter of the inscription, which is certainly *e*. It is perhaps due to damage to the stone during the years when it was used for grinding spices.

With regard to individual letters we may note the *akṣara* following after the break in l. 1, which I follow Professor Franke⁷ and M. Boyer in transliterating *f*. M. Senart⁸ transcribed it as *bh* and Professor Luders⁹ as *vh*. I use *f* because this writing has the advantage of greater simplicity, and because the Latin form of the name in which the letter occurs has familiarized us with the *f*. But it is not my intention to convey the impression that the actual sound was necessarily the voiceless spirant *f*. *Gudufara*, the name in question, is not Indian but Persian, derived from an old *Vindafarna* "the winner of glory." The last part of the compound is derived from the Aīyan base *svar*, and *si* is usually represented by *uv* in Ancient

¹ Reprinted *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, 1873, p. 242.

² *J. R. A. S.*, New Series, Vol. VII, 1875, pp. 376 ff., with plate.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, 1877, pp. 144 ff.

⁴ *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. V, 1875, pp. 58 ff., with plate XVI, No. 3.

⁵ *Journ. Asiat.*, VIII, xv, 1890, pp. 114 ff., with plate.

⁶ *Ibid.*, X, iii, 1904, pp. 457 ff.

⁷ *Pāli und Sanskrit*, Straßburg, 1902, p. 111.

⁸ *Journ. Anat.*, IX, xii, 1893, p. 206.

⁹ *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, pp. 655 ff.

Persian, *z* e, the result was probably a voiced sound. The Kharōṣṭhī sign itself seems to be derived from *z* and not from *p*, by adding an upward stroke to the right. A similar stroke is found in the Kharōṣṭhī documents discovered in Chinese Turkistan, where we sometimes find the letter which is usually transliterated *st* provided with a perpendicular, rising from the right end of the cross bar. Cf. plate XCII in Sir Aurel Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, where Messrs. Boyer, Rapson and Senart read the *akshara* as *sth* in *sthishyadī*, l. 9. I am, therefore, inclined to think that *sh*, *z* e, an aspirated voiced spirant, was the sound meant, and it would probably be more correct to transliterate *sh*. I do not think, however, that we can be certain about the pronunciation, and, for practical reasons, I prefer to write *f*.

I may further draw attention to the compound letters *tśa* in *sambatśarae*, l. 2, and *rjh* in *erjhana*, l. 5.

With regard to orthography and phonology we may note the change of intervocalic *j* to *y* in *maharayasa*, l. 1, *puyae*, ll. 5 and 6, the softening of intervocalic *t* to *d* in *madu*, l. 5, *pidu*, l. 6, the change of *v* to *b* after an *anusāra* in *sambatśarae*, l. 2, of *ts* to *tś* in the same word, of *shy* to *ś* in *śa*, l. 2, and of *sr* to *sh* in *śadhādāna*, l. 4. Such changes are, as is well known, of frequent occurrence in Indian Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions.

In spite of all the care that has been bestowed on the reading and interpretation of the epigraph, several points are still far from being finally settled. Dr. Thomas has, therefore, rendered a real service to scholars in preparing the new facsimile plate published together with this article.

The first line can be read with perfect certainty and has never presented any serious difficulty. Dowson read the second *akshara* of the king's name *nu* instead of *du*, but a comparison with *du* in *madu* l. 5, *pidu*, l. 6, conclusively shows that the letter is *du*. The third *akshara* has usually been rendered as *pha*, but I have already given my reasons for transliterating *fa*. We must accordingly read *maharayasa Gudufarasa vasha* 20-4-1-1, (during the reign) of the Mahārāja Gudufara, in the 26 year. *Vasha* is also used in the Kaldarra inscription of the year 113 and the Skārah Dheri epigraph of the year 399, while the Machai record of the year 81 has *vashē*, which is probably intended in the other dates as well. There is not, however, any trace of an *ē-mātrā*. No certain inference can be drawn from the use of *varsha* instead of *samvatsara* in these instances, the word may have been chosen in our record in order to distinguish between the two dates in ll. 1 and 2, or in order to indicate that the year used in the first one began with the rains.

Cunningham and Dowson identified Gudufara with the king Gondophares of Christian tradition, and this identification has been generally accepted and may be considered as certain. The date of l. 1 has, further, always been interpreted to mean that the inscription belongs to the 26th year of the reign of King Gudufara. Epigraphists will, however, agree with me that we are only informed that it was issued during Gudufara's reign, while the year can just as well be referred to some era which may have been introduced by some of Gudufara's predecessors. If we compare the dating of Brāhmī inscriptions of the Kushāna period, we might be inclined to think that the latter was the case. Cf. e.g. No. 149a of Professor Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* *mahārājasya rājātīrāṣṭasya dēvaputrasya śāhēr=Vāṁśhāsya rājya-samvatsarē* 24 and other similar records where *sam* is used instead of *rājya-samvatsarē*. Nobody would here think of the regnal year of the king mentioned in the inscriptions, but unhesitatingly refer the date to the Kanishka era. I shall state below why I think the same to be the case in our epigraph.

Then follows, in l. 2 and the beginning of l. 3, a new date

The first word was read *sañ* by Cunningham, and *samvatsara* by Dowson. Dr. Thomas¹ demurred to Dowson's reading, but did not suggest any alternative. Messrs. Senart and Boyer read *sambadhā* and explained this word as meaning "du comput continu", "in the continuous reckoning". There cannot, however, be any doubt that Dr. Thomas² was right in reading *sambatsara*. The traces of the letters visible in the impressions and the plates make this reading absolutely certain. Moreover, the use of *t* for Sanskrit *ts* in this very word seems to be quite regular in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. Thus we find *samvatṭarayē* in the Taxila copper-plate of the year 78, in the Mount Banj inscription of the year 102 and in the Pāṇa record of the year 111. Similarly *samvatsarē* is the usual form in the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Eastern Turkistan³. In the Sue Vihār plate we have *samvatṭarē*, but the upper part of the compound is misshaped, wherefore Professor Franke⁴ reads *samvachṣare* and Mr. Majumdar⁵ *samvachchharē*. The Hidda epigraph of the year 28 and the Āra inscription of the year 41, finally, have *sambattara*.

The writing *ts* is no doubt meant to render the current pronunciation of the compound *ts*. The usual Prakrit representative of ancient *ts* is *chchh*, which only differs from *ts* in being aspirated. It is probable that the form *ts* is due to the linguistic tendency of the north-western dialect which the Indo-Skythians adopted.

The same compound occurs in the Kharoṣṭhī manuscript of the *Dhammapada*, where M. Senart reads it *ns*, in *ahitsai*, A⁴ 8, *bhamētsu*, B 34, *bhētṣidī* Cvo 3 and *maṭṣana* Cxiii vo 2. The two last words correspond to Sanskrit *bhētsyati* and *matsyānām*, respectively, where *ts* has a similar origin as in *samvatsara*. In *ahitsai* and *bhamētsu* a *t* seems to have been inserted between a nasal and *s* with a consequent change of *s* to *ṣ*. There is nowhere any trace of the aspiration which comes in in the common Prakrit form.

There are indications which seem to show that the absence of aspiration in similar compounds is an old feature of north-western vernaculars. For we find *pacha* for *paścha* in the Shāhbāzgarhī version of the Aśoka inscriptions. On the other hand, *pūcho*, afterwards, in Ancient Khotanī might lead us to the conclusion that we are faced with a phonetic tendency in the home-tongue of the Indo-Skythians.

The change of *v* to *b* in *sambatsara* is perhaps to be explained as a result of the influence of the Indo-Skythian substratum. For not only do we find *b* for *v* after an *anuvāra* in the Kharoṣṭhī manuscript of the *Dhammapada*, where *api* and *va* become *vi* and *va*, respectively, after vowels, but *bi* and *ba*, respectively, after an *anuvāra*⁶. But in ancient Khotanī *b* frequently corresponds to Sanskrit *v*, not only in loanwords such as *bīna*, Sanskrit *vīnā*, but also in indigenous words such as *bissi*, Sanskrit *viśva*. The actual sound was perhaps a bilabial spirant, English *w*.

The word following after *sambatsara* is certainly *tsatimā*. M. Senart read *tsatama*, but the *z*-stroke of the second *ta* is too distinct to be accidental. The form *satimau* also occurs in the Pāṇa inscription, where we read *ṣhada[ṣa*]satimayē*, and, as remarked by M. Boyer, in the Skārah Dheri image inscription, where I follow Dr. Fleet in reading *ṣhunachadusatimā*.

Then follow the numerical symbols 1, 100, and 1 1 1, and *Vēśakhasa masasa dīasē*, as has always been recognized.

Lines 3 ff. were not read by Dowson, and Cunningham only attempted to make out some few words. M. Senart was the first one to give a transliteration and interpretation of the greater portion of these lines, and M. Boyer gave a continuous reading of the whole.

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, New Series, Vol. IX, 1877, p. 10, footnote.

² *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 636.

³ Cf. Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, II, p. 114.

⁴ *Pāli und Sanskrit*, pp. 96 f.

⁵ *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Vol. III, Pt. 1, pp. 469 ff.

⁶ Cf. Konow, *Festschrift Windisch*, p. 91.

The first word in I 3 was read *panchamē* by the two French scholars, who also agreed in reading the ensuing sign or signs as *pa*, which, according to M. Senart, is the sign of the figure 5. I cannot accept this reading and interpretation.

The first *akshara* is much damaged, and there are several strokes which are probably the result of the use to which the stone has been put. There cannot, however, be any doubt, that it is a *pa*. I cannot see any trace of an *anusvāra*, but there are some strokes at the bottom, which may be the remnants of an *u-udāra* or of a post-consonantic *r*. The second letter consists of a vertical, bent towards the left at the top, and a distinct cross bar. If the latter is accidental, we would think of *dha*, and if the curvature at the top is due to accident or oversight, we would have *tha*. I have already in another connexion¹ suggested to read *prathamē*, and I still think that reading the most likely one, though *pradhamē* would also be possible.

What M. Senart read as the symbol for 5 I read as *di 1*. It is, as is well known, the unvariable custom in Kharoṣṭhī to use the symbols for 4 and 1 when the number five is given in figures, and not in words. And it would be very extraordinary to find a notation of the kind suggested by M. Senart.

The ensuing *aksharas* were for the first time read by M. Boyer, and his transliteration *īsa* is certainly correct, though both letters are damaged, and it is possible that *īṣē* is the reading intended. *īsa* and *īṣē* are of frequent occurrence in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions in India and Eastern Turkistan, and the meaning is clear, they render Sanskrit *asmin* and *atra*. M. Boyer thinks that *īsa*, "with *s* instead of *ś* as in Māgadhi," is Sanskrit *īsha*, but that explanation cannot be right, *īsha* being nothing else than the nominative singular, and the change of *s* or *śh* to *ī* not being a feature of the vernacular. *ī* can only be an old *śh* or the representative of an old *shy*. In the Shāhbāzgarhi version of the Aśoka inscriptions we repeatedly find forms such as *arabhiṣanti*, Sanskrit *ārabhiṣhyanti*,² and in the Kharoṣṭhī manuscript of the Dhammapada *s* is frequently the representative of Sanskrit *shy*.³ *īsa* would accordingly be the regular representative of a female oblique form from the base *ī*, and it is possible that the theme *īshya* has developed a stereotype locative adverb *īshyē*. At all events, the base must be the pronoun which we find in *id-am*.

After *īsa* M. Boyer read *chhunam samana*, and M. Senart *padē*. *Ohhunam* would of course suit the context very well, but *samana* could not represent Skr. *śramana*, as M. Boyer thinks, the only possible forms of that word in the dialect being *śamana* and *shamana*.

Now there cannot, I think, be any doubt that the two last *aksharas* of the passage are *pachhē*. The traces of both letters are quite distinct, and *pu* has also been recognized by M. Senart. The new plate will show that *chhē* is also beyond doubt. *Pachhē* can scarcely be anything else than Sanskrit *pākṣhē*, *pakṣhē*, or, perhaps, *pañhyē*, salutary, suitable, auspicious, here used to characterize the day or the moment when the inscription was issued.

There accordingly only remain two *aksharas* between *īsa* and *pachhē*, and so far as I can see the extant traces are more in favour of *dinē* than of *chhunē*, though it is impossible to be quite certain.

I accordingly read the second date as follows: *sumbatśaraē tisatimaē 1 100 1 1 1 Vēsakhasa masasa divasē p[ratha]mē di 1 īsa [dinē] pachhē*, in the hundred and third year—103, on the first day—d 1 of the month Vaisākha, on this *pakṣa*-day, or, on this auspicious day.

The interpretation of the word *pachhē* is difficult. If we were justified in explaining it as corresponding to Sanskrit *pañhyē*, we should be able to prove conclusively that the date of

¹ *J B A W*, 1916, p. 801.

² See Johanson, *Actes du 8 congrès international des orientalistes* II, iii, pp. 129 and 169, where, however, the use of *s* has not been explained.

³ See Konow, *Festschrift Windisch*, p. 98.

the inscription is the first and not the fifth Vaiśākha. That date was auspicious because it was considered to be the Buddha's birthday. Tradition placed that event on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha, and the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription would accordingly show that the months in north-western India were *pūrṇimānta*, just as it can be proved to have been the case when the Kharōshthī epigraphs dated in the Kanishka era were drawn up.

There is, however, one grave objection to this interpretation. In the Aśoka inscriptions and in the Kharōshthī records from Central Asia there are two different *aksharas* which are usually both transliterated *chh*, one with, the other without a cross-bar below the head. The latter one is usually stated to be the only one occurring in later Indian Kharōshthī inscriptions. That statement is not, however, correct. We find the cross-bar form in inscription J on the Mathurā Lion capital, where we must read *palichhina*, Sanskrit *parichchinnā*, instead of Bühler's *palishtēna*. Now an examination of the Kharōshthī manuscript of the *Dhammapada* shows that the cross-bar form represents old *chh* and also *chh* derived from *thy*, while the other form stands for Sanskrit *ksh* and should probably be transliterated *ksh* and not *chh*. It is this form which is used in *pachhē*, and it, therefore, seems necessary to explain this word as Sanskrit *pakshē* or *pākshē*. I would therefore suggest to explain *dinē pachhē* as *dinē pākshē*, on (this) *paksha*-day, and assume that the day is designated in such a way in order to mark it as the first day of a *paksha*, though the *pakshas* are not usually mentioned in Kharōshthī inscriptions.

Then follow five letters which M. Boyer read *bēlasamisa*, while M. Senart could not make out more than the two last ones. M. Boyer adds that the *ē*-stroke of the first letter is, perhaps, only a flaw in the stone, and it seems to me that such is evidently the case. I, therefore, read *balasamisa*, the genitive of *balasami*, which corresponds to Sanskrit *balasāmīn*. The final *sa* is quite distinct, and I, therefore, do not venture to follow Dr. Thomas, who¹ thinks that we ought probably to read *mira* as in l. 4.

M. Boyer saw in *bēlasamisa* the name of the donor. It seems to me that such can scarcely be the case, the donor being mentioned in l. 4,² and I, therefore, think that *balasamisa* should be taken with the opening word of l. 4.

The last four *aksharas* of l. 3 were read *gōyanasa* by the two French scholars, but only M. Boyer tried to translate this word. He took *gōyana* to correspond to Sanskrit *gōyāna*, a carriage drawn by oxen, a cart in general, and drew the final *sa* to l. 4. I think, however, that the extant traces show that Dr. Thomas was right³ in reading *bōyanasa* as in l. 4. I only differ from him in transliterating the nasal as the cerebral *n* in accordance with my remarks, above, Vol. XIV, pp. 181 ff.

Bōyana, which is also used together with the name *Mira* in l. 4, cannot be an Indian word, M. Boyer sees in *Mira Bōyana* the Iranian name *Μισροβουζάνης*, and this explanation is probably right, but it does not help us to understand the word *bōyana* itself. It seems to contain a base *bōy* and a termination *ana*. The latter is no doubt the well-known suffix *āna*, which forms adjectives from nouns (as in Khotanī *balysāni*, belonging to the Buddha (*balysi*)) and in the word *kushāna* from *kushi*) or participles from verbal bases. The base *bōy* can be identified with Iranian *baug*, to save, if we remember that a *y* between vowels has become *y* in *maharaya* and *puya*.

Bōyana can accordingly mean "saving", "saviour", and I take it to be an Iranian translation of the same title *σωτήρ* which has been Indianized on Indian coins as *trātāra*. I think that such is evidently the case, and I take *bōyanasa* as a title of *Balasami*. It follows from this interpretation that the final *sa* cannot be taken together with the first word of l. 4.

¹ J. E. A. S., 1913, p. 636³

² *l.c.*

Here M Senart read *pa . aa*, but M Boyer was certainly right in reading *par[ī]vara*. At first sight one is inclined to read *parāvara*, which might be explained as a compound of *pura* and *āvara*. *Āvara* would have to be taken as identical with *āvaraka*, cell, which occurs in several Brāhmī inscriptions.¹ *Parāvara* might mean "the predominant cell". This explanation cannot however, be upheld. An *āvara* for *āvaraka* does not occur in any other record, and even *āvaraka* itself is never met with in Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions. I think that M Boyer is right in thinking that the apparent cross-bar of the first *r* of *par[ī]vara* is accidental, and that there are traces of an *i* across the left extremity of the upper portion of the *akshara*.

The word *parivāra*, Sanskrit *parivāra*, occurs in many ancient records. M. Boyer took it together with the final *sa* of l 3 and explained *sa-parivāra* as an adjective characterizing *qūyana*, the whole meaning "a cart together with a covering". He is fully aware of the difficulty arising from the nature of the donation, which would hardly justify the engraving of an inscription. He thinks, however, that the object of the epigraph may have been to honour the prince mentioned in l 5 more than to record the gift. Or else, the cart may have been of great value, and the donation accordingly of especial merit. In this connexion, he draws attention to a passage in the *Duṣṭradāna*,² where we read *yānam dānam daditi riddhipādāvipākapatilābhasamartaniyam*, he gives a cart, a gift leading to the acquisition of the result of the state of supernatural power. This explanation is very ingenious, but I fear that it is too ingenious, and if Dr. Thomas' reading *būyanasa* in l 3 is accepted, we shall have to look out for another explanation.

The meaning "covering (of a carriage)" is well attested for the word *parivāra*, but it is never met with in ancient inscriptions. In Brāhmī inscriptions we find *sapariivāra*, e.g., in the Nāsik inscriptions Nos 8 and 9, and in his edition of them M. Senart remarks³ "It is, I think, too precise to translate *sapariivāra* by 'with his family'". If such were his intention, the engraver would rather have used special names of kinship or some generic word, as *jāti*, which occurs elsewhere. *Parivāra* may, together with the family or even excluding it, apply to companions of the donor, fellow-workers or caste-partners. The original meaning of the word seems to be "covering", "surrounding", and it actually has this meaning in some passages in classical literature, but more frequently it must be translated by some word meaning surroundings, train, suite. This meaning does not, however, seem to give any sense in our inscription, and it may perhaps be of interest to examine other instances of its use in Kharōṣṭhī records.

The oldest Kharōṣṭhī inscription where it occurs is the Mathurā Lion capital. We are there informed of the fact that the chief queen of the Mahākṣhatrapa Rajula puts up some relics of the Buddha, together with some of her relatives, the *atēura* and the *hōrakaparivāra*. Here *atēura* corresponds to Sanskrit *antahpura*, the inner court, the female apartment of the palace and those who live in it. The *hōrakas* are the officials who are called *hōramurta* in the Mānikāla inscription, and *hōramurta* is a "Śaka" rendering of Sanskrit *dānapati*.⁴ Now it should be remembered that *parivṛta* is used in the *Satapatha-Brahmana* (2.6.1.20) and elsewhere to denote a place enclosed with walls and used for worship, and *hōrakaparivāra* might accordingly mean "the enclosed hall of the *hōrakas*" and further "the *hōraka*-department", a meaning which would be very appropriate in our passage, where the word is used in connexion with *antahpura* which has a similar sense.

The next time we find the word *parivāra* in a Kharōṣṭhī inscription is in the record under discussion. Then follows the Sue Vihār copper-plate of the year 11, during the reign of Kanishka,

¹ See Lüders, *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, Index of Miscellaneous Terms, sub voce 'apavaraka'.

² ed. Cowell and Neill, p. 482, l. 20.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 77.

⁴ See Lüders, *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, pp. 650 f., *S. B. A. W.*, 1912, pp. 421 f.

read *ya* by M Boyer, has a distinct vertical, rising from the left hand termination, and looks like *ta*. The following *akshara* cannot, I think, be *sa*, but seems to be *dhi*, though it is different from the *dha* in *shadhadana*. With every reserve I would therefore read *saputadhi*. But then the following *akshara* cannot be anything else than *ta*, though it looks more like a *ra*. The upper stroke is sloping upwards and not horizontal as in *ta*. Moreover, there are traces of an upward stroke at the left termination of the letter, which has become somewhat indistinct as a consequence of the following letter having been engraved across it. That last *akshara* is quite misshaped, and it seems necessary to infer that it has not been engraved before the ensuing *akshara*. It seems as if it had originally been overlooked and was subsequently added, after the omission had been detected. There was not then sufficient space for the proper shape of the *akshara*, and its upper part was engraved above the other letters and across the preceding *ta*. We have a similar letter at the very end of the Zeda inscription, where the last word is no doubt *Samghamitrarajasa*. I therefore read the *akshara* as *sa* and the whole compound as *saputadhitasa*.

The remaining portion of l 4 does not present any difficulty, and both M Senart and M. Boyer agree in reading *Mirabōyanasa*. I have no hesitation in accepting this reading, only substituting *na* for their *nu*. *Mira* is, as stated by M Boyer, the Iranian *Mithra*, and it is of interest to note that *tr* has become *r* as in Ancient Khotani.

The first three *aksharas* of l 5 were read *ajshuna* by M Boyer, while M Senart only read the first and third letters. The second *akshara* is certainly a compound, and the upper part is clearly *jh*. The curved line across the lower vertical is the usual sign of a *r* preceding the consonant, and such is evidently its significance in our inscription as well. A compound *jhsh* is in itself very unlikely and has never been met with in any Kharōshthī record, while *rjh* also occurs in the Zeda inscription. The loop below the *akshara* looks like an *u-mātrā* and it would be natural to read *erjhuna*¹. If we bear in mind, however, that the usual way of denoting a *r* forming the first part of a compound in later Kharōshthī inscriptions is to add a loop at the bottom, it is perhaps possible to consider our compound as an intermediate form and to read *erjhana* and, finally, the reading *erjhāna* might also be possible. Cf my remarks to the word *shadhadana*, l 4. At all events, there cannot be any doubt that we have to do with an un-Indian word.

The letter *jh* is seldom used in Indian inscriptions. Where it occurs in Kharōshthī records, it seems to represent a voiced *z*, just as is the case in the Kharōshthī documents from Eastern Turkistan, where *s* is commonly softened between vowels so that we find *dajha* for *dāsa*, *duajha* for *duasa*. The letter is found in the Zeda inscription, where *majhaka*, l 2, is evidently identical with Khotani *malysaki*², in the Mānikīāla inscription, where we must read *Kartiyasa majhī dīasē* 20, with the same softening of *s* between vowels as in the Turkistan documents, and in the Aia inscription, where *Vajhōshka* corresponds to Bāhmi *Vāsishka*. This name is evidently derived from the Iranian base *vāza*, strength, vigour. Similarly *jh* is used for *z* in the coin-legends of Zoilos.

The sound *z* had long ago become obsolete in Indian languages, and considerable difficulty was experienced when it had to be expressed in foreign words. The form *Vāsishka* shows that it was occasionally written as *s*, and later on *j* became the representative of *z*, as, e.g., in the coin-legends of Zeionises. If *Kusuluka*, which occurs in the Taxila copper plate of Patika and on the Mathurā Lion capital, is the same word as *kujula* in the name of the first Kushāna ruler, we here have *s* and *j* in the same word as different attempts at rendering the voiced *s*.

¹ I read the word so *S. B. A. W.*, 1916, p 801.

² Cf my remarks, *Festschrift Hitt*, p 200.

A fourth attempt was made in the records of Ysamotika and his successors, viz., by means of the compound *ys¹*, and this same device became the rule in Ancient Khotani

Erjhana accordingly represents an attempt at rendering the sounds of *arzana* or *erzāna*, and there can be no doubt that in this form we have to see the same word which occurs in Ancient Khotani as *alysānai*, *eysāmnai*, which is used to render Sanskrit *kumāra*. The *l* before the voiced *s* in this word, as also in *malysa²*, is certainly a later development in Khotani, which, on the whole, agrees with Old Iranian in using *r* for *l* throughout

M. Boyer, who read *ejshuna*, saw in this word the name of a prince and thought that this name was an Iranian compound containing *izad* as its first part. But no similar name is known to exist, and in my opinion, my explanation of the word is absolutely certain

If now *erjhana* belongs to the language which I have called Khotani, it would be natural to infer that the individual characterized as *erjhana*, i.e., *kumāra*, belonged to the tribe or tribes who used that form of speech. His name must be contained in the fourth and fifth *aksharas* of 15, which M. Senart read as *kapa*, while M. Boyer, who admitted that the first *akshara* looks like *ka*, suggested to read [*bhu*]pa. There cannot be any question about the nature of the first letter. It is *ka*, and it is so clearly cut that we have no right to correct it. The second *akshara* is certainly *pa*, but underneath there are distinct traces of an *akshara* which I have formerly² suggested to read as *sa* or *sha*. It now seems to me that it must be read as *sha*, there being distinct traces of a vertical below the semi-circle, i.e., of the letter *sha*. I still think that this *kapsha* cannot be anybody else than the Kushāna prince whose name is written in many different ways, *kadphises* and *kadaphes* in Greek letters, and *kasa*, *kaphsa*, *kadapha* in Kharōshthī. With regard to the use of *sh* when the Greek rendering has *s* we may compare Kharōshthī *ayihsha*, Greek *azilises*

We know that the national tongue of the Kushānas was identical with, or closely related to Ancient Khotani,³ and Sir John Marshall's discoveries at Taxila have shown that Kujula Kadphises followed almost immediately after Gudufara as ruler of that place. Sir John writes⁴ "After the death of Gondophernes his empire was split up into smaller principalities, and it was then that Hermaeus and Kadphises I appear to have made their successful invasion of Gandhāra and Taxila." I therefore feel no hesitation in identifying the prince mentioned in our inscription with Kadphises I, since he is characterized by a Khotani title and bears a name which is almost identical with the names used in his coin legends

The remaining portion of the inscription is quite clear. After *Kapsha* follows the genitive termination *sa*, separated from *Kapsha* by a wide gap, and further *puyaē madu pida puyaē*. The curious flourish to the left of the final *ē* is, as stated above, probably accidental

The inscription carries, as we have seen, a double date in the 26th year, during the reign of Gudufara, and in the 103rd year. The latter date has usually been referred to the Vikrama era. Sir John Marshall has tried to show⁵ that that reckoning was instituted by Azes, and Professor Rapson⁶ endorses that view. I am unable to accept it, for several reasons. Sir John's theory is based on his interpretation of the word *ayasa* occurring after the figures denoting the year in the Taxila inscription of the year 136, which he takes to be the genitive

¹ Cf. Lüders, *S. B. A. W.*, 1912, pp. 407 ff. The recent attempt made by Mr. N. B. Divakar, *J. B. E. A. S.*, XXVI, pp. 159 ff., to vindicate the rendering of the compound as *qhs* is a failure. The learned author has failed to recognize that *ys* is the regular sign for voiced *s* in Ancient Khotani

² *S. B. A. W.*, 1916, p. 801 f.

³ Cf. Konow, *Z. D. M. G.* 68, pp. 85 ff.

⁴ *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 979 f.

⁵ *J. A. E. S.*, 1914, pp. 973 ff.

⁶ *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 571 ff.

of the name *Aya*=*Azes*, characterizing the year as belonging to an era established by *Azes*. In my edition of that inscription I have mentioned¹ the reasons which have been urged by various scholars against this interpretation, and so far as I can see they are still as cogent as they were ten years ago. If *ayasa* were the name of a king, the inscription would necessarily fall within his reign. The absence of every title is, however, so extraordinary that it is almost impossible that the word can be the name of a ruler. Professor Rapson, it is true, asks² us to remember "that the inscription belongs to a people that knew not *Azes*. His family had been deposed and deprived of all royal attributes. The throne of Takshasilā had passed from the Śakas and Pahlavas to the Kushānas. *Azes* could scarcely have been furnished with his wonted title, 'Great King of Kings', in this inscription, without prejudice to the house then actually reigning." Are we to believe, then, that the people who did not know *Azes* still used his name in connexion with the era current in the district?

There is another reason which, in my opinion, makes it impossible to ascribe the establishment of the era to *Azes*: that theory makes it necessary to separate one of the Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions, the Taxila plate or Patika, which is dated in the same way as the other epigraphs, from the rest and construct a special era for it. That has also, as is well known, been done by several scholars. Sir John Marshall has, consistently with his interpretation of the Taxila silver scroll, explained the words *maharayasa mahamtasa Mogasa* in the Taxila plate as indicating the ruler who established the era used in the record. Professor Rapson thinks³ that this era "may possibly mark the establishment of the new kingdom in Seistān, after its incorporation into the Parthian empire by Mithradates I c. 150 B.C. If so, the date of the inscription would be c. 72 B.C., a year which may well have fallen in the reign of Maues." He further shows that the theory according to which Mithradates I conquered North-Western India is based on a misunderstanding of a statement of Orosius and goes on to remark "The invasion of India must be ascribed not to the Parthian emperors, but to their former feudatories in eastern Iran, not to the reign of Mithradates I, but to a period after the reign of Mithradates II (i.e., after 88 B.C.), when the power of Parthia had declined and kingdoms once subordinate had become independent." M. Foucher⁴ holds a similar view but seems inclined to refer the date of the Taxila plate to the Parthian era of 218 B.C., supposing the figure for hundred to have been suppressed, so that 78 would stand for 178 and correspond to 70 B.C.

I cannot accept any of these theories. Sir John's not because a proper name in the genitive in connexion with the date in ancient records invariably denotes the ruler in whose reign the inscription was executed, and the other ones because I do not think that we have any indication of the use of foreign eras in India in ancient times, at least not in private documents, and most Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions are of that nature. I quite agree with M. Foucher, who discusses the supposed use of the Seleukidan era in some Kharōṣṭhī epigraphs and, after mentioning the well-known dated coin of Platon, goes on to say⁵ "Just as much as the use of the Greek reckoning seems to us to be on its place on an essentially official and governmental piece like the Platon coin, just as difficult would it seem to us to justify it in the case of a private *ex-voto*, emanating from a simple indigenous donor." Patika can hardly be supposed to have used an old era belonging to the dynasty from which the invaders of India, the ancestors of his own suzerain, had made themselves independent. Even if we were to admit the possibility of omitted hundreds in these dates, what I do not think we are justified to do, the only natural inference from the general state of things in the Indian borderlands in the first

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 286 f.² *l.c.* p. 582³ *l.c.* pp. 563 ff.⁴ *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra* II, p. 468⁵ *l.c.* p. 49ⁿ

century B C., would be that the era used in the Patika plate was instituted in commemoration of the conquest of India by the dynasty to which Moga belonged, or of its emancipation from dependance on the Parthian overlords. In other words, the initial point of the era cannot fall before 88 B C.

The date of the Patika plate can, as is well known, be broadly fixed with reference to the Āmōhīni votive tablet of the year 72, during the reign of the Mahākshatrpa Śōdāsa. Professor Rapson, it is true, gives¹ 42 as the date of that epigraph. He seems to be unaware of the fact that Professor Luders has proved² that the symbol used in the Śōdāsa inscription, something like a St. Andrew's cross, must be read as 70 and not as 40. So far as I can see, no other scholar has accepted Professor Rapson's reading, and so long as he has not shown that Professor Luders' convincing arguments are inconclusive, we can safely adhere to the prevailing opinion.

I agree with most other scholars in referring the date of the Śōdāsa record to the Vikrama era. It accordingly corresponds to 15 A D. In that year Śōdāsa was Mahākshatrpa. In the inscriptions on the Mathurā Lion capital Śūdasa, *i.e.*, Śōdāsa, is mentioned as Kshatrpa, while his father Rajula is characterized as Mahākshatrpa. The Lion capital must accordingly be older than the Āmōhīni tablet, how much older we cannot say. Sir John Marshall has shown³ that Rajula was probably ruling about the beginning of the Christian era, and we can provisionally date the Lion capital between, say, 1 and 10 A D.

In addition to Rajula the inscriptions of the capital also mention another Mahākshatrpa, Kusulaa Padika, who cannot be anybody else than Patika, the son of the Kshatrpa Linka Kusuluka, who issued the Taxila copper-plate. Sir John Marshall therefore suggests⁴ to date the Taxila plate about 17 B C, and I do not think it is possible to refer it to an earlier period. *A priori* I should be more inclined to say between 10 and 1 B C.

According to Sir John's theory we should accordingly have to state that about 17 B C an era, instituted by Moga, was in use in the country about Taxila, while, at the same time, the era of Azes had already been in use for forty years. This simultaneous use of two foreign eras at the same time and in the same neighbourhood during a prolonged period is not very likely, and the state of things becomes still more difficult if we admit, as I think it is necessary to admit, that Moga was still reigning at the time of the Patika plate, *i.e.*, according to Sir John, about 17 B C. In that case it becomes impossible to claim Azes, who is known to have succeeded Moga, as the establisher of the Vikrama era.

The Azes theory will, I think, have to be abandoned. Everything we know from Indian tradition points to the conclusion that the Vikrama era was a national Indian era, and ancient Indian ideas seem to be traceable in the oldest Vikrama-dates⁵. The eras used in Kharōshthi inscriptions, on the other hand, are partly framed after the model of the Macedonian calendar. That is evident from the occasional use of Macedonian month-names and from the habit of reckoning the days of the months through, from full moon to full moon, while the Indian calendar divided the month into two fortnights. It seems, accordingly, necessary to infer that the era or eras used in the Patika plate as well as in the so-called Takht-i-Bāhi inscription are of foreign origin, and if it is granted that Moga was still reigning in the year 78 of that era, and we meet with Gudufara in the year 103, it is difficult to avoid the inference that both

¹ *l.c.* p. 575

² *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 243 ff.

³ *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1912-13*, p. 43.

⁴ *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 985 f.

⁵ *Cf. Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 185 ff.

records should be referred to one and the same era, so that there are, accordingly, 25 years between the Patika plate and the so-called Takht-i-Bāhi inscription, or, in other words, between Moga and Gudufara

Such an interval is about what we would expect, considering the fact that only the king or kings known as Azes and Azilises seem to intervene between them. The reason why this inference has never been drawn is probably that Cunningham's dictum, that the inscription is dated in the 26th year of the reign of Gudufara, has never been challenged. I have already stated above that a comparison of other ancient records necessarily leads us to the conclusion that the Gudufara inscription is dated in the year 26 of some era which may or may not coincide with his individual reign. And if it is admitted that Moga was still reigning about 17 B C or perhaps even later, and that we have absolutely no real reason for referring the Gudufara date to the Vikrama era, we are inevitably led to the conclusion that the year 26 refers to an era established by some of Gudufara's predecessors, and in that case there cannot be the question of any other ruler than Azes. If, therefore, we refer the Patika date and the Gudufara date to the same era, it will be seen that the era which I think commemorates the accession of Azes begins one year before the Patika date. But then his record hails from Taxila, while the so-called Takht-i-Bāhi inscription only informs us of the fact that, 25 years later, the rule of another dynasty had extended its sway as far eastward as Takht-i-Bāhi or Shāhbāzgarhi. The conquest of Taxila did not take place in the first year of the Parthian era.

There is nothing inconsistent in this supposition. The Śaka conquest started from Seistān, reached the Indus country and thence extended over Taxila and Gandhāra. The Parthian dynasty, to which Gudufara belonged, came from the west through the Kābul country. It found a Śaka era in use in the conquered territories, and the use of this era had become so firmly established that a subject of Gudufara, 26 years after the establishment of Parthian rule, thought it necessary to record the date of his epigraph, not only in the Parthian era, but also in the old Śaka reckoning.

Nor can we wonder at the absence of any later reference to the Parthian era. The dynasty founded by Azes was short-lived. After Gudufara's reign it was replaced by the Kushānas, the successors of the Śakas, in the Kābul country and in Taxila, and the second Kushāna ruler, Vima Kadphises, reconquered "India", i.e., the Indus country and probably also Kāthiāwār and Central India, and I still think that that event was commemorated through the institution of the Śaka era, as stated in the *Kālakāchāryakathānaka*¹. In other words, the Śaka era commemorates the final re-establishment of Indo-Skythian rule after the interruption caused by the Parthian conquest, and it is a revival of the Śaka era introduced after the first Śaka conquest of India. In this way it also becomes intelligible why Chinese sources speak of Vima Kadphises' conquest as a re-conquest.

I agree with Messrs Foucher and Rapson that the first Śaka conquest must be subsequent to the demise of Mithradates II in 88 B C. The subsequent weakening of Parthian power made it possible for the Śakas of Seistān to assert their independence, and the strengthening of their power resulting from the immigration of new Śaka hordes led to an expansion of their realm into the Indus country. We do not know who the first Śaka conqueror was. We only know the name of the Śaka ruler or rulers Maues, Moga, and we have seen that Moga was still ruling 25 years before the Gudufara inscription.

It has been customary to speak of several rulers intervening between Moga and Gudufara, one or two bearing the name Azes and one or two called Azilises. Opinions differ as to the nationality of these rulers. Some scholars think that they were Parthians, others that they were Śakas. I have never been able to understand why it should be necessary to assume

¹ Cf my remarks, *S B A W.*, 1916, pp 811 ff., *Ep Ind.*, XIV, pp 293

the existence of more than one ruler Azes-Azilises As pointed out by Dr Thomas,¹ Azes is a short form of Azilises And if we compare the coin legends, we are, I think, led to the conclusion that Azes and Azilises are one and the same person When we find coins with the legends *basileōs basileōn megalou Azou* on the obverse and *maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa* on the reverse, or *basileōs . megalou Azilison* on the obverse and *maharajasa [rajaraja]sa mahatasa Ayasa* on the reverse, the only natural inference from the use of the imperial title on both sides is that we have not to do with more than one ruler

Nor do I think that there can be any doubt about the nationality of this ruler he was a Parthian and not a Śaka king That follows, in my opinion, from the coin-legends showing the names of Spalirises, Spalahora and Spalagadames In the first place we have the coins of Spalirises, the king's brother, with the legends *basileōs adelphou Spalirison* on the obverse and *maharajabhṛata dharmiasa Spalirisasa* on the reverse Then we find Spalirises associated with Azes, with the legends *basileōs megalou Spalirison* on the obverse and *maharajasa mahatakasa Ayasa* on the reverse Here Azes is associated with Spalirises, but he has not yet assumed the imperial title We may infer that he had not yet acquired the power attested by his later legends, and also that he was a Parthian ruler Finally we find Spalirises designated as *basileōn basileōs megalou Spalirison* on the obverse and *maharajasa mahatakasa Spalirisasa* on the reverse In addition to Spalirises we have Spalahora, *alias* Spalyris, and his son Spalagadama, whose names are associated with that of the great King of Kings Vonones There are several coin types and legends *basileōs basileōn megalou Onōnou* on the obverse and *maharajabhṛata dharmiasa Spalahorasa*, or *Spalahoraputrasa dharmiasa Spalagadamasa* on the reverse, *Spalyrios dikaiou adelphou tou basileōs* on the obverse and *Spalahoraputrasa dharmiasa Spalagadamasa* on the reverse

Numismatists seem to agree in the opinion that Spalirises and Spalahora were both brothers of Vonones, and that the former survived Vonones and succeeded him on the throne Vonones, on the other hand, is considered to be different from and older than the king Vonones I of Parthia (8-11 A D)² The name of Spalirises is not, however, anywhere combined with that of Vonones, and I cannot see any obstacle to the assumption that he was an older member of the dynasty, perhaps the father of Azes and the uncle of Vonones, in which case the latter can very well be identical with Vonones I of Parthia

According to my view, the state of things can accordingly be summarized as follows . Some time after the demise of Mithradates II in 88 B C , a Śaka ruler of Seistān made himself independent, invaded the Indus country and established a new era According to the *Kāla-lācchāryakathānaka*³ the Jaina Kālakāchārya applied to the Śaka rulers of Sagakūla⁴ for assistance against King Gardabhilla of Ujjayinī, who had abducted his sister, and the result was that the Śakas made themselves masters in Ujjayinī, where their rule, according to some well-known memorial stanzas,⁵ lasted for four years They were then ousted by Vikramāditya, who established his own era As I have stated elsewhere,⁶ I see no reason for discrediting this tradition The Vikrama era is a national Indian era, established by an Indian ruler to commemorate his victory over the Śakas And in my opinion it is the first secular era of Indian origin The oldest certain instance of its use is the Śodāsa inscription of the year 72, and from the fact that the date portion of this record does not make any mention of the *paksha* but simply mentions the 9th day of the month, we may infer that the calendar was partly arranged according to the principles introduced by the Śakas

¹ *J R A S*, 1906, p 208

² Cf Rapson, *loc* pp 573 f , R B Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore, Vol. I, pp 91 ff, where further references to the literature about the subject are given

³ *Z D M G* 34, pp 247 ff

⁴ [According to the *Prabhāvakacharita* (IV 43-44) it is Śākhidēsa—the country of the Śākhis, otherwise called Śakas—lying on the *Sindhu* in the west —Ed]

⁵ Cf my remarks, *Acta Orientalia*, I, p 33

⁶ *Ep Ind*, XIV, pp 293 f

The best known of the Śaka rulers is Moga, who was still on the throne in the year 78 of the old Śaka era. If it is granted that the establishment of that era must be subsequent to the year 88 B.C., the year 78 cannot be earlier than 10 or 9 B.C. The Patika plate mentioning it is dated on the fifth Panemos. From the use of the Macedonian name we can infer that the year began, as in the Macedonian calendar, with the month Dios, *i.e.*, it was Kārttikādi. The month Panemos corresponds to June. If the beginning of the era coincided with October 88 and the years were current, the earliest possible date for the Patika plate would be June, 10 B.C., and if the years were elapsed, June, 9 B.C. It is not, however, probable that the era was established before one or two years after the demise of Mithradates II. On the other hand, some time was required for Patika, who in the year 78 was not even a Kshatrapa, to acquire the rank of Mahākshatrapa, and further for Śodāsa, who was Kshatrapa when Patika was Mahākshatrapa, to be promoted to Mahākshatrapa, a position which he held in 15 A.D. We can, therefore, with some confidence, state that the last ten years before the beginning of our era must be the period when the Patika plate was engraved.

Now I have tried to show that a new, Parthian, era had been established one year before the date of the Patika plate, by Azes, the first Parthian conqueror of the Kābul country and Western Panjāb, and that the so-called Takht-i-Bāhi inscription is dated in the 26th year of that era. That would take us to the time 16-20 A.D., which would be a very likely date for Gudufara, who is generally assumed to have come on the throne in 19 A.D.

Gudufara is, as I have already mentioned, certainly identical with the King Gondophares who, according to Christian tradition, summoned the apostle Thomas to his court. This tradition is not, however, of much use for chronological purposes. In the first place, the name of the king is not mentioned before the third or fourth century A.D., and, in the second, the whole tradition cannot prove anything more than that the name of the King Gudufara had become known in the Christian east about the time of Christ's death or of the first Christian mission.

We do not know how long Gudufara's rule lasted. We learn from the Panjtār inscription that a Kushāna-Mahārāja (*Gushana maharaya*) had come into power in the year 122, *i.e.*, 19 years after the date of our inscription, and from the Taxila silver scroll that this same Kushāna had assumed the imperial titles *mahārāja rājātirāja dēvaputra* 14 years later, in the year 136. If the so-called Takht-i-Bāhi inscription belongs to one of Gudufara's first years, he cannot, accordingly, have held undisputed sway for more than about twenty years, and we do not know anything which militates against such an assumption.

With regard to the ruler mentioned in the Panjtār and Taxila records opinions differ, but all scholars are agreed that it is the same ruler who is mentioned in both inscriptions. From a consideration of the find-places of the two epigraphs we can infer that he had, between the years 122 and 136, extended his sway eastwards, and the increase of his power consequent on this extension is illustrated in the higher titles used in the Taxila scroll. But both find-places fall within the territory which the Chinese called Kipin,¹ and which, according to them, was conquered by Kadphises I, while "India", which was subdued by Kadphises II, must be located outside of Kipin.

In full agreement with this state of things Sir John Marshall² has shown good reasons for identifying the Kushāna-Mahārāja of these records with Kujula Kadphises, and I am more convinced than ever that he is right, though the prevailing opinion seems to be that Vima Kadphises is the ruler mentioned.

¹ Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 290 ff.

² *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, pp. 977 f.

We know from the *Hou Han-shu*, the annals of the Later Hans, Ch. 118, fol 11^{vo} that the *hi-hou* of Kuei-shuang, K'iu-tsin-k'io, *ie*, Knjūla Kadphises, after conquering four other *hi-hous*, established himself as *wang* (king) and used the dynastic title "King of Kuei-shuang", *ie*, Kushāna King, that he invaded An-si (Parthia), seized the territory of Kao-fu (Kabul), annihilated P'u-ta and Kipin, and that all these territories formed his empire. He became eighty years old, and was succeeded by his son Yen-Kao-chen, *ie*, Vima Kadphises, who "again" conquered India, where he appointed a general to rule as his viceroy.


The *Hou Han-shu* cover the period beginning with 24 A.D. Knjūla Kadphises' consolidation of the Kushāna empire accordingly falls after that date. Before then he can only have been a petty *hi-hou* or a young prince. But afterwards he gradually became king (*wang*) and king of Kuei-shuang.

It will be seen that all these details point to the conclusion that the Kushāna-Mahārāja was Knjūla and not Vima Kadphises. The latter ruler does not seem to have resided in India. He ruled through a viceroy, and in my opinion this viceroy is the Soter Megas, whose "coins are found in extraordinary abundance, and over a wide stretch of country extending from Peshāwar to Mathurā. These facts point to a great power and a long reign, and are much in favour of the supposition that we must look for Soter Megas amongst the most important of the kings and satraps known to us, as it is very improbable that such a great potentate would be nameless and unknown except from these coins. The style of the coins, which are in copper only, and the absence of square forms point to a period about the Kushāna conquest, so that Soter Megas was probably a contemporary of one of the two Kadphises."

"Certain types almost invariably exhibit in the field the Kharōṣṭhi *akshara vi*,"¹ and I agree with Cunningham that this *vi* may possibly be the initial of the king's name, though Mr Whitehead does not accept this view. If it is correct, we would have a clear indication of Vima Kadphises being the suzerain on whose behalf the Soter Megas coins were issued.

Mr Whitehead thinks it possible that these coins were struck by more than one ruler. I think that he is right, and that the Soter Megas coinage covers the period from the accession of Vima Kadphises to the installation of Kanishka. Sir John Marshall is no doubt right in assuming² an interval between the reigns of Kadphises II and Kanishka, but we have no information about the Kushāna rulers who held sway at headquarters after the demise of Vima Kadphises.

Moreover the designation *Kushāna-Mahārāja* is more easily understandable, without the addition of any personal name, in the case of the ruler who first introduced it, than with his successor, and if Vima Kadphises was the king who introduced the later Śaka era, as I think we must infer from a comparison of Chinese tradition and the *Kālakāchāryakathānaka*, he cannot be the Kushāna-Mahārāja of the Panjtār and Taxila records. We can only think of Knjūla Kadphises.

It has been urged against this that the Taxila scroll shows a monogram  which is characteristic of the coins of Vima Kadphises. Sir John Marshall has, however, drawn attention to the fact that the same monogram also occurs on the coins of his predecessor, and I may add that it is likewise met with on coins of Zeionises. Professor Rapson³ objects that the coins in question "bear the name not of Knjūla Kadphises, but of Knjūla Kara Kadphises, who was probably another member of the dynasty. Knjūla Kara Kadphises seems to have succeeded the Satrap Zeionises in the kingdom of Pushkalāvati, and he may have been contemporary with Vima Kadphises."

¹ Cf Whitehead, *l.c.* p 160²

² *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1912-13*, p 82.

³ *l.c.* p 582¹.

Not being myself a numismatist I feel some hesitation in differing from a scholar whose knowledge of Indian coins is probably at the present time unsurpassed. I cannot, however, help thinking that numismatists are too much inclined to construct different rulers at the hand of different coin-types. Just as I have not been able to convince myself of the existence of more than one Azes, in the same way I fail to see that the variety in the titles used by Kujūla Kadphises makes it necessary to assume the existence of more than one ruler of that name. We must not forget that Chinese tradition assigns a long period to his reign.

Kujūla Kara Kadphises cannot have been a petty chief or a subordinate ruler like the Kshatrapa Zeionises. He is designated as *maharaya rajatiraya* and *maharaya rayaraya dēaputra*. Similar titles, viz., *maharaja mahata* and *maharaja rajatiraja* are met with on coins which bear the name of *Kujula Kapha*, and I do not think that it can reasonably be doubted that Kujūla Kadphises and Kujūla Kara Kadphises are one and the same person. Sir John Marshall¹ found at Sirkap a coin showing, on the obverse, the bust of Hermaeus with a corrupt Greek legend, and, on the reverse, a Kharōshthī legend of which we can at least read *jūla kara*. Here Kujūla Kara's name occurs on a coin showing the bust of Hermaeus, and thus his identity with Kadphises becomes still more probable. We do not know the etymological meaning of the word *kujūla*². I may add that I do not any more think it likely that it is a Turki word³. We have no certain traces of Turkish in the language or titulature of the Indo-Skythians. The title *yavuga*, which has often been stated to be an adaptation of the Turki *yabqu*, has not been etymologically explained, and it is perhaps more probable that it is originally an Iranian word which has been taken over by the Turks than that the opposite should be the case.

I therefore identify Kujūla Kara Kadphises with Kujūla Kadphises and cannot admit that the use of the monogram in question on the Taxila silver scroll can be urged against the view that the Kushāna king mentioned in the inscription is Kujūla Kadphises.

There is still another reason which strongly speaks in favour of this identification. Vima Kadphises is never, in his coin-legends, designated as a Kushāna, and nobody would, I think, *a priori* be inclined to identify him with the *Gushana-maharaja* of the Panjtār inscription and the *maharaja rajatiraja dēaputra Khushana* of the Taxila silver scroll, if it were not for the common theory that the Śaka era was established by Kanishka.

I do not overlook the fact that Sir John Marshall has found some coins at Sirkap which seem to show the legend *maharajasa rajatirajasa Khushanasa yavugasa*, while the obverse bears the head of a Kushāna king, resembling that of Vima Kadphises. Sir John⁴ is inclined to ascribe these coins to Vima Kadphises and writes "The epithet *Yavuga* (=Turkish *yabgou*) is found on coins of Kujūla Kadphises, and is supposed to have been replaced by the title *maharaja rajatiraja* after the conquest of India. The simultaneous use, however, of the two terms in one and the same legend appears to indicate that the prevalent view regarding the meaning and use of this title is not wholly correct." He is not, it should be noted, certain about the assignation of these coins to Vima Kadphises, and, in my opinion, the use of the title *Khushana yavuga* goes a long way towards proving that they should be assigned to Kujūla Kadphises. The legend informs us of the fact that he who was then the *maharaja rajatiraja* had risen to that exalted position from the rank of a *Khushana yavuga*, and I cannot help thinking that there is a touch of justifiable pride in the wording of the legend.

¹ *l.c.* p. 52.

² Cf. Lüders, *S. B. A. W.*, 1922, pp. 260 f.

³ Hultzsch, *Z. D. M. G.* 69, p. 176, thought of *guzlu*, strong, and I have myself, *S. B. A. W.*, 1916, p. 799, compared *gūzel*, beautiful.

⁴ *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1912-13*, pp. 44 ff.

Professor Rapson¹ has no doubt about the identity of the *maharaja rajatiraja Khushana yavuga* with Vima Kadphises. He says, "Most of the coins of Kujūla Kadphises show clearly both by their types and by their fabric that they were struck in the Kābul valley. They are imitated from the barbarous issues of that region which still continued to reproduce mechanically the legends with the name of the last Yavana king, Hermæus, long after his death. They are found in enormous numbers beyond the limits of the Kābul valley in Takshaśilā, where the stratification of the objects discovered in the excavations proves unquestionably that, in that district, they are rather later than the coins of Gondopharnes. At first sight the evidence of the finds would thus seem to show that Kujūla Kadphises himself was later in date than Gondopharnes and that he was the actual conqueror of Takshaśilā, but since the coins in question manifestly come from the Kābul valley, we must suppose that they represent the ordinary currency of the Kushānas at the time when the invasion took place, and that they were introduced into Takshaśilā as large numbers of Sassanian coins were brought into the country of the lower Indus from Liān by the Hūnas of the fifth century A.D. It is, therefore, by no means impossible that Kujūla Kadphises may have been not later than, but contemporary with, Gondopharnes, and there is no reason to doubt the statement of the Chinese writers that it was not Kujūla Kadphises, but his son and successor, Vima Kadphises, who extended the dominions of the Kushānas from the Kābul valley to N.-W. India."

I quite agree with Professor Rapson that the bulk of Kujūla Kadphises' coins may have been struck in the Kābul valley, but in other respects I differ from him *to toto coelo*. The Chinese sources do not, as we have already seen, tell us that Vima Kadphises, and not Kujūla Kadphises, conquered N.-W. India. They state that the latter invaded An-si (Parthia), conquered Kao-fu (Kābul), P'u-ta (probably the country about Ghazni) and Ki-pin. But we know that Ki-pin comprised parts of the Panjāb, *i.e.*, N.-W. India,² and the "India" conquered by Vima Kadphises cannot be identified with N.-W. India.

In such circumstances it seems to me that the Sirkap coins must be ascribed to Kujūla, and not to Vima Kadphises. Coins of the known types of the former were found in the same locality, but no coins of Vima Kadphises or of Soter Megas. It cannot be objected that Kujūla Kadphises' bust does not occur on any of the coins which can, with certainty, be ascribed to him. Professor Rapson has given the explanation of this fact: these coins were struck in the Kābul valley, and it was only after the conquest of Takshaśilā that Kujūla Kadphises introduced his bust on his coins, probably in direct imitation of Gondopharnes.

It is of interest to note that the form *Khushana* occurring in the Sirkap legends is also found on some coins of Kujūla Kadphises with the legend *Khushanasa yavugasa Kuyula Kaphsasa sachad hramathitasa*, and some of these coins were found together with the new type at Sirkap, with the legend *Khushanasa yavugasa Kuyula Kasasa*.

So far as I can see, the cumulative weight of all these indications makes it necessary to ascribe the silver coins found at Sirkap, with a head "resembling" that of Vima Kadphises, to Kujūla Kadphises and to infer that they were struck during his rule at Taxila, in imitation of the practice adhered to by his predecessors.

Now I have tried to show above that the date of the Gudufara inscription must fall between 16 and 26 A.D. Nineteen years later, *i.e.*, between 35 and 45, the Kushāna ruler of the Panj-tār record had assumed the title *Mahārāja*, and 33 years later, *i.e.*, between 49 and 59, he uses the imperial titles *Mahārāja rājatirāja dēva-putra*. If the ruler in question was Kujūla Kadphises, he had already a distinguished career behind him when he began his conquest of the Parthian empire. He had succeeded some other ruler as *yavuga*, and he had subjected four

¹ *l.c.* p. 581 ff.

² Cf. Franke, *Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis der Türkölker und Skythen Zentralasiens*, Berlin, 1904, pp. 59 f.

other *yaukas* to his rule. He cannot have been quite a young man. If we assume that he was about 40 years old at the time of the Panjtār inscription, his death must have taken place between 75 and 85 A.D., and it will be seen that the establishment of the Śaka era, which I ascribe to his son and successor, falls within that period. On the other hand, he can hardly have been an old man when he started on his eventful career. We know from Chinese sources that that happened after 24 A.D. We can infer, with some confidence, that he was born shortly before or shortly after the beginning of our era, and as he died an octogenarian, that would take us to the same time as I have come to above. I am unable to see how Vima Kadphises can possibly be pressed into the period between Gudufara and the establishment of the Śaka era,¹ and the theory that that reckoning was introduced by Vima Kadphises is the only explanation which is not merely based on general chronological considerations but derived from definite statements in Chinese and Indian literature, and I have not seen any serious grounds urged against it.

In such circumstances my identification of the prince (*orjhana*) Kapsha mentioned in 15 of the Gudufara inscription with Kuṣāla Kadphises receives considerable support. He is not distinguished by any title which would lead us to infer that he was a ruling prince. He is not even styled *yauka*, but simply characterized as *orjhana*, i.e., *kumāra*. We would naturally infer that he had not yet risen to the rank of *yauka*, and at all events, that his conquest of the other *yaukas* had not yet taken place. He may have been a young man, of say twenty years, and if he were born about the beginning of the Christian era, the date of the Gudufara inscription would correspond to c. 20 A.D.

I do not think that it is possible to arrive at more definite results at the hand of the materials themselves, without any hypothetical interpretation of their text. I believe, however, that there is one indication in one of the ancient Khawāshthi records which may some day lead us to an absolutely certain conclusion about the initial point of the era. I refer to the word *ayasa* in the Taxila scroll inscription.

I have stated above that I think it impossible to explain this *ayasa* as the genitive of the name *Aya*, *Azes*. But then *ayasa* must be connected with *ashadasa masasa*, and the only question is why the month is characterized as *aya*. *Aya* might, of course, correspond to Sanskrit *ārya*, and Professor Jacobi has mentioned the possibility that the month may have been called Aryan because the Indian and not the Macedonian month is mentioned. It will, however, be seen from a comparison of the dates of the Gudufara, the Paja, the Kaldarra and the Panjtār inscriptions, that the use of the Indian and not the Macedonian names of the months was a common feature at the time when the Taxila silver scroll was inscribed. I therefore still think, as I thought when I published the record, that *ayasa* corresponds to Sanskrit *ādyasya*. It should be remembered that *ādyā* does not become *ayā* in any Prakrit dialect, and that the change of *dy* to *yy* is attested through *uyyāna*, Sanskrit *ulyāna*, which is met with both in Pāli and in the Shāhbāzgarhi version of the Aśoka edicts.

When the month Āshādha is designated as the "first" Āshādha, that does not, of course, mean that Āshādha was the first month of the year, but that there were two Āshādhas in that particular year. Can this information help us to settle the question about the precise date of the record?

The reply would, of course, be in the negative, if we had to do with the ancient Indian calendar of the Jyōtisha, according to which there was an intercalated Āshādha every five years. I have, however, already drawn attention to the fact that the calendar used in the old Khawāshthi inscriptions is not purely Indian but contains foreign, Greco-Macedonian, elements. In other

¹ The difficulty becomes still greater if the Gudufara date and those of the Panjtār and Taxila records are referred to the Vikrama era.

words, we have to do with the initial stages of that development which finally led to the recasting of Indian astronomy and the Indian calendar on purely scientific lines

The question then arises whether we should not be justified in applying the methods of the *Siddhāntas* to the date of the Taxila silver scroll. It is true that the *Siddhāntas* are later than the inscription. According to Dr Thibaut,¹ the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* and some other *Siddhāntas* are probably at least some centuries older than 500 A.D., but not necessarily more than two or three centuries older. But then it should be borne in mind that the *Siddhāntas* are the result of a long development and not the first laying down of scientific astronomical principles. It is, therefore, not excluded that their methods can be used for a still older period. The question is not so much what the general Indian astronomer knew about calendar matters in the first century A.D., as what the Indo-Skythian successors of the Greek princes had learnt from their predecessors and how they had arranged their Greco-Indian calendar.

I do not myself understand anything about astronomy, and I cannot, therefore, form an independent opinion. I have, however, submitted the question to my friend the Dutch scholar Dr W. E. van Wijk, who has been good enough to calculate which years between A.D. 50 and 80 had an intercalated Āshādhā according to the *Siddhāntas*. He has informed me that such was the case in the years 52 and 71 A.D., and Mr. Sewell has accepted this result.

Of these two dates only the former one is possible. For, if Sam 136 corresponded to 71 A.D., the 5th Panemos 78, the date of Patika plate, would correspond to 13 A.D., only two years before the Śōdāsa inscription, and two years are not sufficient for covering the events falling between the two records. The year 52, on the other hand, excellently suits the facts as we know them. If it should prove to be right, the date of the Gudufara inscription would correspond to 10 March 19 A.D., i.e., about 60 years before the beginning of the Śāka era, and if Kapsha, i.e., Kujāla Kadphises, were then twenty years old he would have been born in 1 B.C. The year 103 would have begun in October 18, and the accession of Azes, if the figure 26 refers to an era instituted by him, would fall in the year 9-8 B.C., wherewith it is impossible to know whether the use of the term *varsha* for 'year' points to a year beginning with the rains and not with the autumn.

If this result is accepted, it would become possible to give the dates corresponding to those occurring in other Kharoṣṭhī records of the older series. The Patika plate of the 5th Panemos 78=June 6 B.C., the Machai inscription of the year 81=4-3 B.C., the Mount Banj inscription of the year 102=18-19 A.D., the Pāja inscription of the 15th Śrāvana 111=23 June 27 A.D.; the Kaldarra inscription of the 20th Śrāvana 113=5 July 29 A.D., the Panjtār inscription of the 1st Śrāvana 122=7 June 38 A.D., the Taxila silver scroll of the 15th of the first Āshādhā 136=17 May 52 A.D., the Dewai inscription of the 8th Vaiśākha 200=24 March 116 A.D., the Loryān Tangai inscription of the 27th Prōshthapada 318=27 August 234, the Jamālgarhī inscription of the 1st Āspau (?) 359=September 276 A.D., the Hashtnagar inscription of the 5th Prōshthapada 384=7 June 300 A.D., the Skārah Dheri inscription of the 10th (or 20th) Āshādhā 399=28 April or 8 May 315 A.D.²

I give these identifications with every reserve. Future research may make it necessary to fix the initial point of the era some few years later than I have done, but the relative chronology is, I think, certain. The new arrangement also removes a great difficulty which has been felt by everybody who has studied the history of the Indo-Skythians: the many different eras supposed to be used side by side in their records. The late Dr Fleet consistently maintained that all the dates of Indo-Skythian records should be referred to the Vikrama era, which he held to be introduced by Kanishka. I do not think that anybody holds that view at the present date.

¹ *Astronomie, Astrologie und Mathematik*, p. 45

² See *Acta Orientalia*, III, pp. 82 f.

Most scholars are of opinion that the Patika plate stands alone with an era of its own, that the older series should be referred to the Vikrama era, while the Kanishka group is dated in Śaka years. The dates with years higher than 300, finally, it has become customary to refer to the Seleukidan era. M. Foucher¹ has demurred to the latter part of the prevalent theory. I have quoted his remarks about the improbability of the use of a foreign era in private votive inscriptions above, and I think that they are quite to the mark. But I do not think that his own solution of the difficulty is in any way better. He holds that the high figures should be referred to the so-called Maurya era, a suggestion which had already been made by Mr. R. D. Banerji in his valuable paper on the Scythian Period of Indian History². He reckons the year 322 B.C. as the starting point of the Maurya era and draws attention to the fact that the beginning of the Śaka era comes exactly 100 years after that date. In his opinion the Śaka era is only a continuation of the Maurya era, with omitted hundreds.

It is extraordinary how tenacious this idea of suppressed centuries is. I quite accept the dictum of the late Dr. Fleet³: "There is, in fact, no sound reason for thinking that this national method of recording dates was used in ancient times in any territory which comes in any way within the scope of our inquiry." The results of referring the Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions with years higher than 300 to the Maurya era are, moreover, just as fatal as if we use the Seleukidan reckoning. We would have to date the Loryān Tangai statue in the year 3 B.C. and the Hashtnagar pedestal in 63 A.D. Now palaeography seems to be in discredit at the present date, but still I think most scholars would experience some difficulty in ascribing the Loryān Tangai epigraph to an earlier date than the Gudufara and Paja inscriptions. M. Foucher himself thinks that the epoch of the Loryān Tangai *stūpa* is late, and according to him, approximately the second century A.D. The *point d'appui* for this dating is the Kanishka reign, which he supposes to begin about 78 A.D. If now the accession of Kanishka took place more than 50 years after that date,⁴ the Loryān Tangai *stūpa* must be referred to the third century, as I have done above. M. Foucher, it is true, places the inscribed statues from Loryān Tangai and Rājgar (Hashtnagar) before Kanishka, but it seems to me that his reason, the good style of the foldings of the garments, is far from being convincing. If an older image was broken and had to be replaced by a new statue, the Gandhāra artists of a later period were certainly not more backward in imitating ancient models than the Indian craftsmen of the present day. And statues without heads and hands are, it would seem, not the very best material for drawing chronological conclusions.

Moreover, it would seem to be a necessary preliminary to the reawakening of the theory of a Maurya era to show that the strong reasons cannot be accepted which have been brought into the field in order to show that the whole idea of such an era is without any foundation. And it would have been well to try to explain the curious fact that there is not the slightest reference to any such era in the numerous epigraphs of the great Maurya emperor Aśoka. His inscriptions are, it should be remembered, official documents, and if a Maurya era had been in existence, we should certainly expect to find it used in them. The only inscription in which the Maurya era is supposed to be mentioned, belongs to a different dynasty, that of the Chōdis, and besides, the supposed date is given in such a way that no unbiased person could be supposed to understand the meaning.⁵

M. Foucher has made no such attempt. He has been content to state that his whole theory stands and falls with the Maurya era, and there is, so far as I can see, absolutely no more

¹ *l.c.* pp. 484 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, 1908, pp. 25 ff., see especially p. 67.

³ *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 984.

⁴ I hope to show that such was actually the case in my edition of the Zeda inscription.

⁵ For further details I may refer the reader to my remarks, *Acta Orientalia*, I, pp. 12 ff.

foundation for the belief in its existence than there would be if somebody were to suggest that an era was instituted to commemorate the conquest of India by Alexander

The only objection against referring the high dates in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions to the old Śaka era of which I can think, is that it seems difficult to understand why it was not replaced by the Kanishka era. But then we have the analogy of the Gudufara inscription, which shows that the old era had gained such a firm footing in Yūsufzai that it survived the introduction of a new, Parthian era. There are, on the whole, no traces of Kanishka and his successors in Yūsufzai proper. The capital was no more Pushkalāvati or Shāhbāzgarhī. Those districts, and the country further to the north, where the Gandhāra school of art had had a richer development than anywhere else, were no more in the centre of political activity. Peshāwar, on the high road to the stronghold of the Kushānas in Badakshān,¹ had become the most important city in the west, and the route from Taxila to Peshāwar did not lead through Yūsufzai. That country had been reduced to be an out-of-the-way territory, where Buddhist civilization and art remained, but where political vicissitudes were of little importance. No wonder that the indigenous donors and sculptors went on using the old era, undisturbed by the accession of Kanishka.

TEXT

- 1 Maharayasa Gudufarasa vasha 20 4 1 1
- 2 samba[tśarae t]śatimae 1 100 1 1 1 Veśakhasa masasa divase
- 3 [pratha]me [d] 1 1[śa] [dine] pachhe Balasamisa [bo]yanasa
- 4 par[1]vara [sha]dhad[a]na sapu[ta]dhitasa Mira boyanasa
- 5 erjhana Kap[sha]sa puyae madu
- 6 pidu puyae

TRANSLATION.

(During the reign) of the Mahārāja Gudufara, (in) the year 26, in the hundred-and-third year—103—on the first day—d 1—of the month Vaiśākha, on this *pakṣa*-day, the chapel (?) of Balasvāmin the Saviour [is] the pious gift of Mira the Saviour, together with his son and daughter, in honour of Prince Kapsha, in honour of his mother and father

NO 29—FOUR BHANJA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS

By

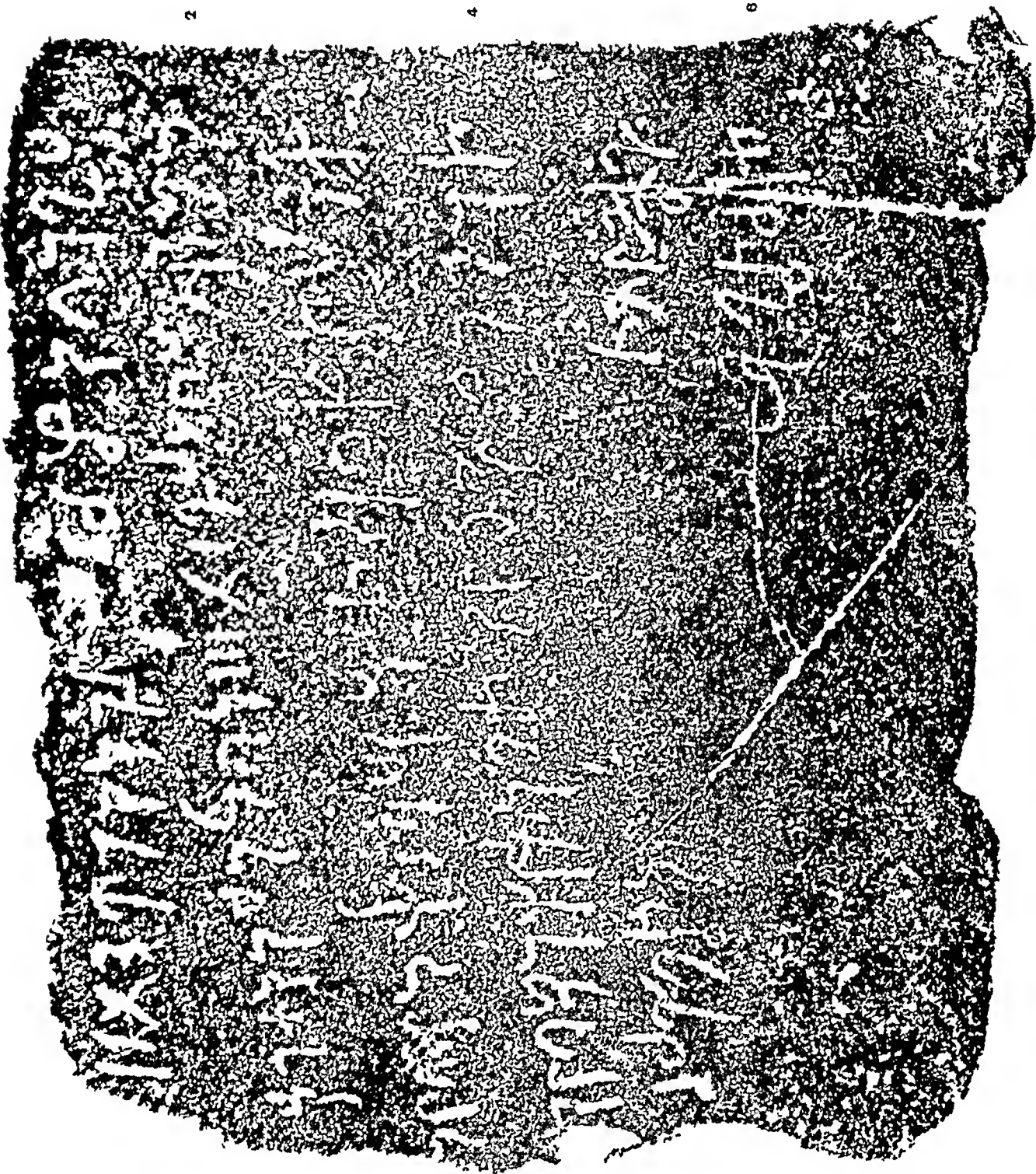
RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL, B A, DEPUTY COMMISSIONER (*Retired*), JUBBULPORE

The Government Epigraphist for India forwarded to me impressions of 4 sets of copper-plate grants belonging to the Bhañja dynasty sent to him by the late Mr Taimi Charan Rath, B A, District Munsiff of Aska, Ganjām District. Brief notices in respect of them appeared in Rao Sahib Krishna Sastri's *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1917-18 on pages 12 and 135 ff, paragraphs 10—14. I now edit the charters from the impressions supplied by him, which are reproduced in the accompanying plates.

The Bhañja grants yet discovered number eleven² including the present ones, four of which have been edited in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* and the rest in this *Journal* including the one of the Bengal Asiatic Society's *Journal*, which has been re-edited by Dr Kriehorn in Volume IX, above. For facility of reference the charters have been assigned

¹ Cf Chavannes, *T'oung Pao* II viii, p 187².

² Sixteen. See Postscript.



distinguishing letters given below, especially because some of them bear the same name, having been found in the same locality. In editing the two Baudh charters Mr R. D. Banerji distinguished them by the letters A & B and Mr Mazumdar gave to the Sonpur grant the letter C, which have been retained in my scheme.

A Baudh grant of Ranabhañjadēva of the 54th year, by Banerji, *Ep Ind*, Vol XII, page 322 ff

B Baudh grant of Ranabhañjadēva of the 26th year, by Banerji, *Ep Ind*, Vol XII, page 325 ff

C Sonpur grant of Śatubhañjadēva, by Mazumdar, *Ep Ind*, Vol XI, page 98 ff

D Bāmaṅghāṭi grant of Ranabhañjadēva, *J B A S*, XL, Part I, page 165 ff

E Bāmaṅghāṭi grant of Rājabhañjadēva, *J B A S*, XL, Part I, page 168 ff

F Orissa grant of Vidyādharaḥbhañjadēva, *J B A S*, LVI, Part I, page 154, re edited by Kielhorn in *Ep Ind*, Vol IX, page 271

G Ganjām plates of Nēṭribhañjadēva, *J B A S*, Vol V, page 669

H Ganjām plates of Nēṭribhañjadēva edited below

I Ganjām plates of Nēṭribhañjadēva edited below

J Ganjām plates of Vidyādharaḥbhañjadēva edited below

K Antirigām plates of Yaśabhañjadēva edited below.

The description of these plates supplied by the Epigraphical office is reproduced below

H Ganjām plates of Nēṭribhañjadēva

"This is a set of three copper-plates, oblong in shape, strung together on a ring of the same metal, which passes through a hole of about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter near the proper right margin and has its ends riveted into the arms of the bracket at the back of the seal accompanying it. The ring was uncut when the plates reached this office. The plates have writing on five faces in all, the first plate being engraved only on the inner side. They measure about $6\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth and $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in height. They bear slightly raised rims on either face, though those of the first plate are worn out a little. The ring has a diameter of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ ". The seal is circular in shape and has a diameter of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". On its counter-sunk surface it bears in relief the figure of a lion at the top of proper left with the legend 'Śrī Nēṭribhañjadēvasya' below it in two lines. The entire set weighs about 158 tolas."

I Ganjām plates of Nēṭribhañjadēva

"This is a set of three copper-plates, oblong in shape, strung together on a ring of the same metal which passes through a hole about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter at about 1" from the proper right margin. The ring was uncut when the set reached the office. It carries a fixed seal which is now partly damaged and must have been circular in form originally. The engravings on it are all lost. The first plate is written only on one side while the other two have writing on both the faces. The plates have very slight rims. They measure 6' in breadth and $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in height. The set weighs 71 tolas."

J Ganjām plates of Vidyādharaḥbhañjadēva

"This is a set of three copper-plates, oblong in shape and strung together on a ring $2\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter, which passes through a hole of about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter near the proper right margin. The ring carries a seal into the two arms of the bracket on the back of which are fixed its two ends. The seal is much damaged so that nothing remains of the original engravings on its surface. Its diameter is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". The plates measure $7\frac{1}{4}$ " in breadth and $3\frac{1}{2}$ " in height. They have writing on four faces in all, the first and the last ones being blank in outer faces. The first plate is broken to the extent of 1" in the right hand top corner. The total weight of the set is 85 tolas. The plates are not uniformly thick, the first being slightly thinner than the other two."

H grants a village named Rātanga¹ in the Vāsudēvakhandā-vishaya to a number of Agnihōtrins belonging to the Kauśika- and Vatsa-gōtras. The plate I grants a village named Machchhādagrāma of the Māchhādakhanda to another donee of the Vātsya gōtra. These two records do not give either the residence of the donees or the place whence their forefathers came, nor do they state the occasion on which they were granted. They state as usual that the gifts were made for increasing the religious merits of the king's father, mother and self. They do not refer to any date whatsoever, but simply say that they were issued at the king's own order and written by the Minister for peace and war, in the case of H by Savarāja and in the case of I by Kubēra. Both were incised by a goldsmith (*akṣasālīka*) named Durgadēva. The seal in H was affixed by Māmmā, apparently a short form of Mahāmāyā (the queen) and in I a lady, named Jachchhikā of the noble family. The messenger for H was Bhatta Sumangala, but the name of that in I is not legible.

The charter J was issued by Mahārāja Vidyādharaḥaṇjadēva, surnamed Amōghakalaśa, son of Śilābhaṇjadēva, grandson of Digbhaṇjadēva and great-grandson of Ranabhaṇjadēva. It was issued from the ancestral capital Vañjulyaka and records the grant of a village named Mūlamāchhādā (i.e., Māchhādā proper) situated in the Māchhādakhanda-vishaya to Bhatta Purandara, an emigrant from Manmānā, situated in the district Tadisama vishaya in Vṛoḍdhī² (province). In this case as in the previous two, the gift was made for increasing the religious merit of the donor and his parents and bears no date. The record was composed by Stambha, the Minister for peace and war, and incised by the goldsmith Kumārachandra, and the seal was affixed by Trikalīnga-Mahādēvī, on the record being apparently presented by the Prime Minister Bhatta Kēśavdēva. One Chūchika is recorded as the *vārgulika* which appears to be an alternative term for *dūtaka* or messenger.³ All these names occur in plate I except the last, with a medley of offices, which throw a doubt on its genuineness but this is susceptible of being explained, as would appear later on. The last charter K was issued in the 3rd year (of the king's reign) on the 11th day of the bright fortnight of the Kārtika month (known also as Prabodhini Ēkādaśī), the day on which Viṣṇu awakes from his four months' sleep, granting the village Komyāna of Vōdā-vishaya to the astrologer Jagadhara-Śarman, resident of Pattavādapātaka, situated in the district of Kontarāvanga-vishaya, emigrant from Vapabhūmi, situated in the middle of Thihāra-vishaya by Yaśabhaṇjadēva, son of Rāyabhaṇja II, who was son of Vīrabhaṇja, who was son of Rāyabhaṇja I, who was son of the Rājādhirāja Dēvabhaṇja, styled *Samasta-Khiṇja-dēs ādhipati* or lord of the whole Khiṇja country, which connects him with the family headed by Śilābhaṇjadēva, from whom the kings referred to in the preceding three (H, I, J) records, were descended. Though Khiṇja is not mentioned in the three foregoing records in hand, it finds a mention in A, B and C. In the latter there is a mention of Ubhaya-Khiṇja mandala which shows that the Khiṇja was divided into two *maṇḍalas* or divisions, though owned by the same king. The records, however, do not show how Dēvabhaṇja, the original ancestor of Yaśabhaṇja's family, was connected with the parental stock to which all the kings mentioned in plates A to J appear to belong. From these eleven⁴ records of the Bhaṇja family the following tentative genealogy⁵ may be made out —

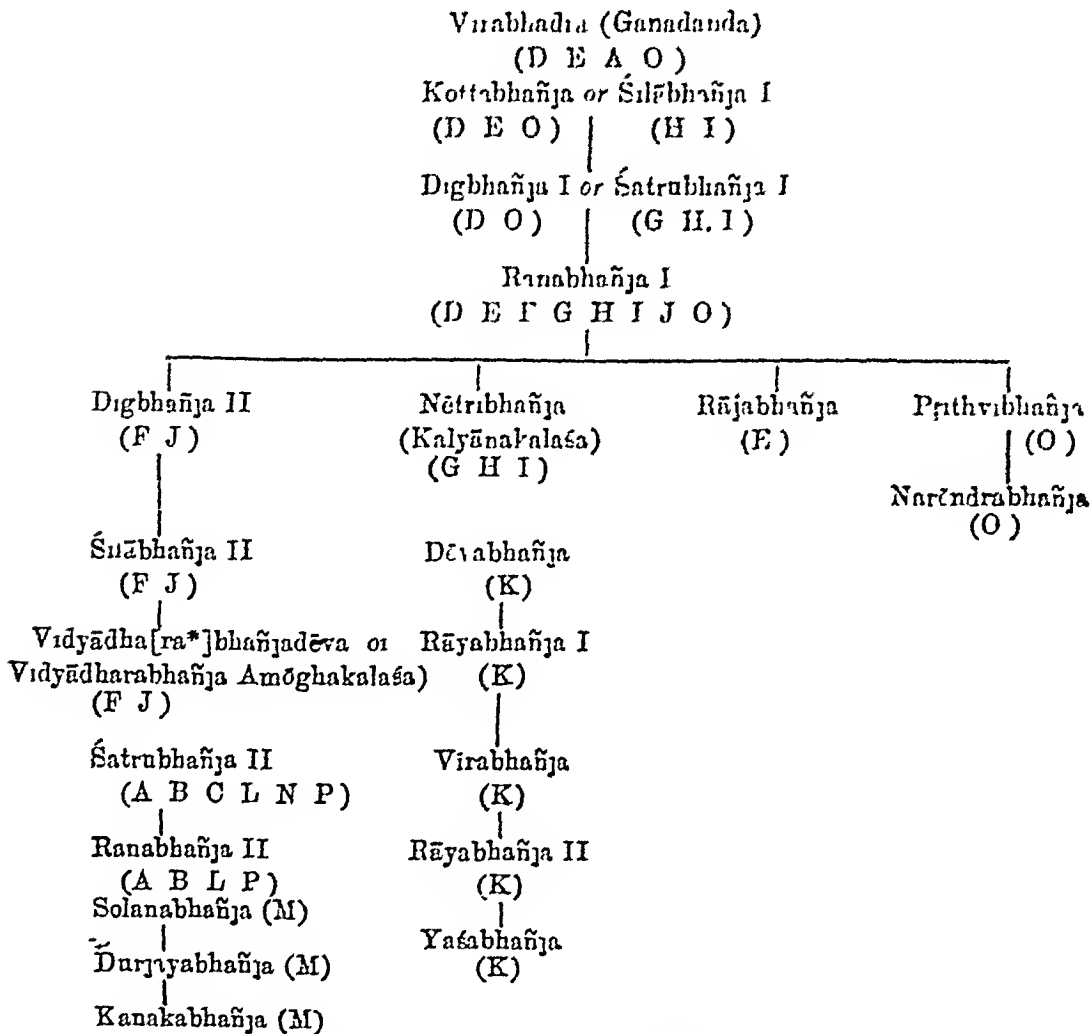
¹ [R B Krishna Sastri would read this name as Arātala, see his *Ep. Rep.* for 1917-18, p. 12, No. 6.—Ed.]

² [R B Krishna Sastri would read it as Varēndhī, see *ibid.*, p. 136, para. 13.—Ed.]

³ [If it is a derivative of the Telugu *vargu* = ledger, the official might have been a ledger keeper of land given by analogy it appears to be supported by the Kanarese expression *vargakodu* which means "to deliver land to somebody as his property"—Ed.]

⁴ Sixteen. See Postscript.

⁵ [In drawing the genealogical tree we should not lose sight of the fact that some of these rulers used different seals, for such a difference can well indicate a different house or branch of a dynasty.—Ed.]



NOTE —Letters in the brackets refer to the charters as named in this article and the postscript Ganadanda appears to have been the title of the original ancestor, which is found in some records in a corrupted form as Gandhata

In the Bāmanghātī charters (D E) which appear to be the oldest, it is stated that the original ancestor of the Bhañja family was one Virabhadra, who was reared up by Vaśīsthāmuni. From him was descended in the main line king Kottabhañja whose grandson was Ranabhañja, this seems to imply that there were several other branches, the senior being the one in which Ranabhañja I was born. As the saying goes, two swords cannot remain in a single scabbard, the junior members of the family had apparently no alternative but to settle elsewhere, either as subordinate or independent rulers. It appears that the senior branch continued to observe the Orissa practice of repeating the names of its ancestors, while the junior ones adopted a different scheme. Thus in the main branch with 8 kings, there is only one whose name is not repeated, while in the second there is only a single name out of 6, which has been repeated. In the main line there were 2 Śīlābhañjas, 2 Dīgbhañjas, 2 Śātrubhañjas, and 2 Ranabhañjas, although in one case the first Dīgbhañja was apparently identical with the first Śātrubhañja. In the junior branch there were only 2 Rāyabhañjas. In the main line the word Bhañja forms an integral part of the proper name, without which the latter would be ridiculous. In the junior line this is not the case as its omission would still give an appropriate connotation. For instance, it would be extremely uncomplimentary to name one's

son as Śatru or enemy, unless *bhañja* were to be an integral part of it, which would make him the 'vanquisher of an enemy'. Similarly *śilā* is a rock, but with *bhañja* added, it makes its wearer 'the breaker of rocks'. *Rana* is battle, but a king is no battle, he is *Ranabhañja*, the 'conqueror in battle'. *Dis* are the 4 or 10 quarters. Obviously the king cannot be *dis*, but it is a great compliment to him to be called *Digbhañja*, the 'victor of all the quarters'. There is only one name in that line which appears to be self-sufficient without the *bhañja* and that is *Vidyādhara* found in two plates (F and J) where in each case the last letter *ra* is absent which, however, is supplied by the seal attached to the charter F. By the way I may here note that the king had the title of 'Āmoghakalaśa', which was conjecturally read by Dr Kielhorn as *Dharmmakalaśa*, owing to an over-engraving in the part where the epithet occurred. It was natural for him to read it as such, on the analogy of *Kalayānakalaśa* attached to the name of *Nētribhañja*, especially as the last letter looked like double *m*, which was apparently meant for *ṃ*. Dr Kielhorn has clearly shown that plates F are palimpsests, but what is most curious is that the alterations are most prominent in the names of the donor, his title and his ministers. Plates J show that the Prime Minister was *Bhatta Kēśavadēva*, who presented the charter to the queen for affixing the royal seal, and that the composer of the charter was *Stambha*, the Minister for peace and war, in whose office it appears that such records used to be prepared. In plates F the offices are reversed, whereby *Kēśava* becomes Minister for peace and war, while *Stambha* becomes the *Mantri*.¹ The alterations were so carelessly made that *Khambha* (the popular form of *Stambha*) continued to be shown as Minister for peace and war and, as such the writer of the charter. This led Dr Kielhorn to suppose that *Stambha* and *Khambha* were different names, occupying the offices of *Mantri* and *Sandhi-vigrahika* respectively, while *Kēśava* was put down as a messenger, in view of the fact that no messenger was mentioned in the record.

My view of the matter is that the record F was originally prepared during the reign of a short-lived king, the immediate successor of *Śilābhañja* II, but it could not be issued before his death. At this stage *Vidyādhara*, the younger brother of the deceased, was installed, not without a *coup d'état*, which brought the Minister for peace and war to prominence causing the supersession of the Prime Minister *Kēśava* by *Stambha* for the time being. The accession of *Vidyādhara* to the throne must have been an occasion for munificent gifts and apparently the charter F was issued in hot haste, with necessary corrections, though not very carefully carried out as

¹ Our record J which has no signs of being tampered with at all reads as follows at the end —

साधित श्रीविक्रमहादिव्या (a) मणिषा श्रीमदकेशवदेव । (b) वारुणिकचाचिकेन लिखित साधिविग्रहिक श्री-
खम्भेन । चरकीर्णचाचसालीकुमारचन्द्रेण ॥

I think the original record was exactly like this, except perhaps that at (a) the word *प्रवेशितं* and at (b) *समानितं* or some such equivalents were omitted. In tampering with the record the first alteration to have been made was the insertion of the family name of *Stambhadēva* as *Tōjadika*, which took the place of *pravēṣitam* at (a) leaving no room for the word *mantrinā* to precede his proper name, which was next inserted in the place of *Kēśavadēva*. The official designation *mantrinā* had therefore to follow instead of preceding his name against the usual practice. Thus the word *mantrinā* had to be put in the place of the unknown word at (b). This necessitated the insertion of his part of the duty (that is, presenting the record to the queen for affixing the royal seal) further on, again against the usual practice, and the word *प्रवेशितं* had therefore to go in the place of *वारुणिक*. There remained now *Kēśava*'s name to be inserted and it was apparently put in the place occupied by *चाचिकेन* which was as usual followed by *लिखित सधिविग्रहिक*, which was left intact, the duty and the office of the displaced minister thus being joined with his name in this manner. What was omitted to be done was the elision of *खम्भेन* which created an almost meaningless colophon as follows —

साधित श्रीमहादिव्या तेजडिकेन श्रीमदकेशवदेव मणिषा प्रवेशित केशवेन लिखित सधिविग्रहिक खम्भेन चरकीर्ण
चाचसालीकुमारचन्द्रेण ॥५॥

[The expression *Tōjadika* might be connected with the Telugu and Kannarese *Tēṭi* meaning a horse. The title may have been derived from the fact of *Stambha* or his ancestors having been originally Keepers of royal horses — Ed.]

referred to before. Things may have afterwards resumed the normal condition including the restoration to office of previous employees, when the charter I was issued. This would also account for the peculiar name Vidyādhara as Śilābhāṇja II's successor, who should have been in the ordinary course named as Digbhāṇja III, (who should be no other than the deceased elder brother of Vidyādhara in the present case). I feel this is rather a wild conjecture, but until evidence to the contrary is available, there is nothing strange about it. In Orissa the sāstrak custom of continuing ancestral names¹ has survived even up to the present day. For instance, the Rāja of Bāmra is either Sūdhalaḍēva or a Tribhuvanaḍēva and I have personally known three generations, Śrī Sūdhalaḍēva, his son Tribhuvanaḍēva and his grandson Sūdhalaḍēva again. In Pāl Lahā, situated between Bāmra and Keonjhar the Rāja is either "Pāt Ganēshvara Pāl" or "Pāt Munī Pāl". In the Bhāṇja family the recurring names appear to have been four, viz. Śilā, Dig, Śātra and Rana, and each has had a repetition according to the inscriptions found. There is nothing to prevent the discovery of a third name-sake of any or all of them.

There are a number of geographical names in the records which have been yet found, but no serious attempt was ever made to identify them. In an appendix to this article I have tried to identify not only places mentioned in the four records in hand, about which I have added a special note in the end, but also those mentioned in charters previously edited. It will be seen from them that the oldest charters D and E refer to villages in the extreme north of the Mayūrabhāṇja State, A, B and C to those in the Baudh State to the west, and the remaining ones to those in the Ganjam District. This gives an indication of the extent of the Bhāṇja kingdom, which apparently included almost all the tributary states² of Orissa together with the northern portion of the Ganjam District covering about 16,000 square miles, about half of which is occupied by Mayūrabhāṇja and Keonjhar States both of which were owned by Ubhaya-Khūṇja-yādhipati, or the lord of both the Khūṇjas. This title was retained by the latest king of the family, viz. Yaśrabhāṇja of charter K, who styled himself as Samasta Khūṇja-dēśādhipati or the 'lord of the whole Khūṇja country', which can be no other than the present Keonjhar. The aspirate of the first letter disappeared, i soft, after i except in after the Orizā mode of pronunciation and the l at the end changed into r which transformed the original name into Keonjhar or Keonjhar.

The latest *Imperial Gazetteer*³ states Keonjhar is divided into two widely dissimilar tracts. Lower Keonjhar being a region of valleys and lowlands while Upper Keonjhar includes

¹ Cf. V. A. Smith, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 291.

² The traditions of the various Pāj families of these states support it, for instance the Keonjhar Rāja claims descent from a brother of the Bhāṇja king of Mayūrabhāṇja State, which is referred to later on in some details. Pāl Lalā was admittedly a subordinate of Keonjhar which claims that one of its Rājas got Atlantik from the Puri king. The Dasparā chief traces his origin to a younger son of Rāja Nārāyaṇa Bhāṇj of Baudh, where they say the original Rāja was a Brāhman, but was ousted by the Bhāṇja chiefs (Cunningham, *Arch. Rep.*, Vol. XIII, p. 110). The Bonai State of which Kichakkol is a branch has a peacock for its crest with a curious story, which looks like a variant of the origin of Mayūrabhāṇja king, discussed later on. The Bonai legend avers that its original ancestor when born was abandoned and was in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy when a peacock swallowed it and kept it in his craw, until the danger was over. The infant was born under a Kadamba tree, so the family came to be called Kadambavamsi, but it regards the peacock as sacred. This peacock totem certainly establishes a connection with the Mayūrabhāṇja family. The Bonai family are Gangavamsis, whose connection with the Bhāṇjas has been shown later on. The emirs of Dhenkanal admit that they were feudatories of the old Orissa Rājas, who conferred the title of Sāmanta on them. The Athamalik Rāja who bears a similar title has a tradition of his origin similar to that of Mayūrabhāṇja, i.e., from an emigrant from Jaipur. The Khandapara and Niyāgarh States, the latter being an offshoot of the former, got the title of Rāja during the Marāṭha campaign of Orissa. None of the other states, Baramba, Hindol, Narsinghpur, Nilgiri, Raigar, Talcher and Ugaria, or compass an area of more than 400 square miles and could not but have been subordinate to the Bhāṇjas if they existed as separate entities in those times. See 'Who is who in India', Part VIII, Lucknow edition.

³ See Vol. LXX, p. 292.

the mountainous high lands" These are natural divisions which must have existed, as they do to day, during the Bhañja rule, and the word "*ubhaya*" meaning 'both' found in the records in connection with Khūñjali not only justifies its use, but affords a clue for the identification of the country Local chroniclers also support the fact that Keonjhar was ruled by the Bhañja Rājas Hunter's *Gazetteer*¹ plainly records —"Keonjhar State originally formed part of Morbhañj, but about 200 years ago, the tribes of this part, finding it a great hardship to travel through the perilous forests of Morbhañj to obtain justice from their prince, separated themselves and set up the brother of the Morbhañj Rāja as their independent ruler" That is to say, Keonjhar separated from the parental stock less than 300 years ago and was part of the Mayūrabhañja State where many of the Bhañja inscriptions were incised

The records show that there were about three capitals of the Bhañja kings, either co-existing or at different periods of their rule D and E, the oldest records as noted before, give Khijinggā or Khijjunga as the residence of the king This is identical with the present Khiching to the west of Baripada, the present head-quarters of the Mayūrabhañja State It still contains numerous ancient remains about which Rai Sahib Nagendra Nath Vasu remarks —"The superior workmanship of these has indeed been a startling discovery for us The faces of the goddesses beam with radiant smiles which seem to be a realization on stone of the best dreams of poets and artists The smiles . . . look as fresh and soft as newly-blown buds . . . and illustrate that motherly grace which is a pure Indian conception and is quite distinct from what we find in the Italian painter's Madonna"² A, B, and C refer to Dhṛitipura as the old capital which is untraceable F, G, H, I and J were issued from Vañjulvaka and as the villages mentioned in them are all found in the Ganjām district, it is perhaps not unfair to conclude that Vañjulvaka was also situated within that district The name connotes a superabundance of cane plants, for which the Ganjām district is noted The last record, K, mentions no capital at all

In spite of the extensive area occupied by the Bhañja family and its branches, it, however, appears that they were not the sovereign lords of the country they ruled The original ancestor of the family appears to have been an officer of some Gana or Hindu republic, as his title *Ganadanda* indicates The title was apparently a short form of *Ganadanda-nāyaka* or *Ganadanda pāla*, the former being equivalent to a Minister and the latter to an officer in charge of the maintenance of the army³ There are numerous instances of ministers or army officers becoming kings, whenever they found the administration over them weak Traditions of a strong member of the democracy usurping the power of government and finally becoming king are not wanting in the Orissa *Janapadas* as the political communities were called in olden days of which the Athmalik State is an excellent example It was ruled by eight representatives of the people by turns, which gave it the name of Athamallika (the tract ruled by eight). It is not very far away from Mayūrabhañja What wonder that Virabhadra and his descendants should have seen their opportunity and become the sole masters of their political community Judging from the titles of the inscriptional kings of this line, however, it does not appear that they ever attained to paramount sovereignty, and as such they must have become the *Māṇḍalikas* of the Mahākōśala kings, firstly of the Sōmavamsīs of Vinitapura (Binka) and later on, of the Haihayas of Ratanpur, both of whom bore the title of Trikaṅgādhipati or "Lord of the Trikaṅgas," which, apparently, included the Orissa Tributary Mahals The omission, in the grants, of references to any sovereign power, however, indicates that the Bhañjas enjoyed much extended powers and were at any rate semi-independent chiefs

¹ Vol VIII, p 121 (Second Edition)

² *Mayūrabhañja Arch. Rep*, Part I, Preface page vii

³ Mr. Jaysawal's *Hindu Polity*, Part II, pp 134 and 147

There is no record of any conquest made by them, the epithet *patil* of *Jagadīśa Mayūra* added to the name of Yaśabhañja being ambiguous. It may mean 'the conqueror of Jagadīśa malla' or 'the one warrior and conqueror in the world'.¹ It, however, seems that the Rājas of the Bhañja dynasty were connected with the Southern Jaipur instead of the Northern Jaipur of Rājputāna, to which local chroniclers connect them in the wake of all Rājputas, who consider it an honour to link themselves with the country regarded as the birth-place of the Kshatriyas. The Jaipur Zamindar, formerly a Rāj, who still holds an estate covering about ten thousand square miles, relates that the predecessors of his family belonged to Śilāvamśa,² and we know from the Bagadā and Bāṅkaka's charters³ that the family of Śilādbhaṇas or Śāilādbhaṇas (born of rock or hill) were ruling in that region in the 7th century A.D. It sent out its scions to different parts of the country, one of whom settled in the Vindhya in the Central Provinces and conquered many countries until later, as revealed by the Raghoh plates,⁴ the only record yet found about that branch. Another about 100, apparently, settled in Mayūrabhañja. The date of the advent of the Mayūrabhañja is given, as related in local chronicles (c. 1,300 years ago),⁵ very well fits in with the dates of the inscriptional Śilādbhaṇas, and the family has more than one Bhañja named after it. In fact, the oldest ancestor found in the inscription is named Śilābhañja. Distinguished Indians for the usually seek for supernatural origins. As is well known, Rājputas claim descent from the Sun or the Moon. This may look edifying, but they have pushed the matter so far as to make it ridiculous. Some trace their origin from an insect, a bird, or an animal of any kind whatsoever, because such an origin implies some miraculous power. It neglects the real origin which lurks beneath it and which might cause a blush in its bare nakedness. Here is, for instance, the origin of the Śilādbhaṇas as recorded in the Bagadā plates of Mādāyavarman — "There was a personage named Pulindasena, famous amongst the people of Kalinga. He, although endowed with many excellent qualities, did not exact sovereignty for himself, but rather worshipped Brahmā in order that the god might create a fit ruler of the land. And Brahmā granted his wish and created out of a rock the lord Śilādbhaṇa, who became the founder of a distinguished family." I said here, the story would show that the dwellers of the local mountains or rock produced a person, who became the ruler and as such the founder of a dynasty. In editing the Raghoh plates I have shown how Śāilavamśa was patronymic and how the metronymic of the same family was Gangavamśa. The dynasty was thus the outcome of a mountaineer husband and a river-born wife (the sacred Ganges), which was delicately turned into a compliment, when describing the local river Śālimā on whose bank Kōngēda, the capital of their kings, was situated? "On its banks covered with flowers of excellent trees," said the eulogist, "pools of water have formed resembling the river of gods (Gangā), which issued from the sky and the streams of whose waters are split and dashed outside by masses of rocks."⁶ Bereft of the allegory, this would signify that a brave mountaineer of Orissa married a Gangavamśī lady and their son became the founder of a new dynasty. By a similar process the Andavamśa family was evolved from a pea hen's egg. A scion of the Śāilavamśa left his parental home and went to the country where peacocks (Māyūra) abounded, which gave to the people of that locality the appropriate name of Māyūrikas,⁷ as found in the Rājīm stone inscription of Jagadīśadēva. He defeated them and thus became the Mayūrabhañja (breaker of Māyūrikas) and in due course married a Māyurkī, a local lady, whose

¹ [The attribute *जगदकमलविजयी* given to Yaśabhañja in I 11, Plate K is very significant and may lead one to surmise that he defeated one of the Western Chūlūkyā kings of Kalyāni, perhaps Jagadīśamalla II himself or one of the feudatories.—H. K. S.]

² Hunter's *Gazetteer*, Vol. VII, p. 64 (Second Edition)

³ Above, Vol. VI, p. 143 ff.

⁴ *New Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XVII, p. 255

⁵ Above, Vol. VI, p. 146.

⁶ Above, Vol. III, p. 41 ff.

⁷ Above, Vol. IX, p. 41 ff.

⁸ Above, Vol. IX, p. 42.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 135 ff.

progeny became the founder of a new dynasty. A Māyurī, literally pea-hen,¹ lays eggs and, therefore, her offspring must be *andaḥ* or born of an egg. The peacock became the family totem and that is why there is still a strict prohibition against killing peacocks in the Mayūrabhaṅja State.

Postscript

It was after I had sent my article to the Government Epigraphist on 6th May 1923 that I received a letter from Mr McLeod Smith, Dewan of Mayūrabhaṅja State, dated 21st May 1923, in which, besides giving certain local information in reply to my queries, he was good enough to add that in 1916 a copper-plate grant was found at Khandadoulī in Paiganā Khāntā Pīr of the Bāmanghātī sub-division, and was published in the 4th volume of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* which I had not consulted at all. This led to a research which brought to light as many as three other grants² of the Bhaṅja family, published by Mr B. C. Mazumdar in Vol. II of the *Journal*, and a genealogy of the same dynasty as given by Mr R. D. Banerji in the 3rd volume of the same *Journal*. Had these been before me when I was drafting the above article, the discussion in it would have assumed a somewhat different form, but it is now too late to recast it. I would, therefore, note here the salient points after inserting new names of kings in the genealogical table on page 286 above, and some geographical names in the Appendix, which deals with identification of places. For facility of reference letters L, M, N, O and P have been given to these records as follows —

L Tasapaikera grant of Ranabhaṅjadēva by Mazumdar, *J B O R S*, Volume II, pp 167 *et seq*

M Baudh grant of Kanakabhaṅjadēva by Mazumdar, *J B O R S*, Volume II, pp 356 *et seq*

N Kurnmelā grant of Śatrubhaṅjadēva by Mazumdar, *J B O R S*, Volume II, pp 429 *et seq*

O Khandadoulī grant of Ranabhaṅjadēva? (Narēndrabhaṅjadēva) by Haraprasad Śāstri, *J B O R S*, Volume IV, pp 172 *et seq*

P Patna Museum grant of Ranabhaṅjadēva of the 21st year by R. D. Banerji, *Ep Ind* (awaiting publication)

Only two records, M and O, give new names of kings, M gives Kanakabhaṅja, son of Dnṛjayabhaṅja, who was son of Śolanabhaṅja. They belonged to the Bhaṅja branch ruling at Baudh and were possibly connected with Śatrubhaṅja II and his son Ranabhaṅja II of A, B, C, L, N and P. The Plate O gives Narēndrabhaṅja, son of Prithvibhaṅja, son of Ranabhaṅja I, son of Kottabhaṅja, descended from Vinabhadra, the original ancestor of the Bhaṅjas.

In dealing with Plate M, Mr Mazumdar has given a lengthy discussion on the dates of the Bhaṅja grants in general, and has come to the following conclusions —

(1) The present chiefs of Mayūrabhaṅja and Keonjhar States have no connection with the inscriptional Bhaṅjas.

(2) There were several offshoots of the early Bhaṅjas, of which one ruled at Baudh and had under its sway the Baudh and Kimidi tracts during the times of Śatrubhaṅja II. These split up during the reign of his son Ranabhaṅja II, who remained a feudatory at Baudh, while a descendant of Nētribhaṅjadēva established a new line of rulers at Kimidi.

(3) Kanakabhaṅja flourished about 1475 A.D. His line was independent of Ranabhaṅja II.

¹ [That would be Māyūrī or Māyūrīkā, but not Māyurī. The latter, if connected with Māyūraka, will have a different connotation for which see Monier Williams' Sanskrit-English Dict. under Māyūraka —Ed.]

² [The two Bhaṅja grants from Dasapalla which Mr B. Bhattacharyya has edited in the same journal (Vol VI, pp 266 ff.) are also to be added to this list —Ed.]

[illegible]

progeny became the founder of a new dynasty. A Māyurī, literally pea-hen,¹ lays eggs and, therefore, her offspring must be *andaṣak* or born of an egg. The peacock became the family totem and that is why there is still a strict prohibition against killing peacocks in the Mayūrabhaṅja State.

Postscript

It was after I had sent my article to the Government Epigraphist on 6th May 1923 that I received a letter from Mr. McLeod Smith, Dewan of Mayūrabhaṅja State, dated 21st May 1923, in which, besides giving certain local information in reply to my queries, he was good enough to add that in 1916 a copper-plate grant was found at Khandadeuli in Paiganā Khantā Pīr of the Bāmanghātī sub-division, and was published in the 4th volume of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* which I had not consulted at all. This led to a research which brought to light as many as three other grants² of the Bhaṅja family, published by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar in Vol. II of the *Journal*, and a genealogy of the same dynasty as given by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the 3rd volume of the same *Journal*. Had these been before me when I was drafting the above article, the discussion in it would have assumed a somewhat different form, but it is now too late to recast it. I would, therefore, note here the salient points after inserting new names of kings in the genealogical table on page 286 above, and some geographical names in the Appendix, which deals with identification of places. For facility of reference letters L, M, N, O and P have been given to these records as follows —

L. Tasapakeṛā grant of Ranabhaṅjadēva by Mazumdar, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Volume II, pp. 167 *et seq.*

M. Baudh grant of Kanakabhaṅjadēva by Mazumdar, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Volume II, pp. 356 *et seq.*

N. Kumrukelā grant of Śatrubhaṅjadēva by Mazumdar, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Volume II, pp. 429 *et seq.*

O. Khandadeuli grant of Ranabhaṅjadēva? (Narēndrabhaṅjadēva) by Haraprasad Śāstrī, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Volume IV, pp. 172 *et seq.*

P. Patna Museum grant of Ranabhaṅjadēva of the 21st year by R. D. Banerji, *Ep. Ind.* (awaiting publication).

Only two records, M and O, give new names of kings, M gives Kanakabhaṅja, son of Dujayabhaṅja, who was son of Śolanabhaṅja. They belonged to the Bhaṅja branch ruling at Baudh and were possibly connected with Śatrubhaṅja II and his son Ranabhaṅja II of A, B, C, L, N and P. The Plate O gives Narēndrabhaṅja, son of Prithvibhaṅja, son of Ranabhaṅja I, son of Kottabhaṅja, descended from Virabhadra, the original ancestor of the Bhaṅjas.

In dealing with Plate M, Mr. Mazumdar has given a lengthy discussion on the dates of the Bhaṅja grants in general, and has come to the following conclusions —

(1) The present chiefs of Mayūrabhaṅja and Keonjhar States have no connection with the inscriptions Bhaṅjas.

(2) There were several offshoots of the early Bhaṅjas, of which one ruled at Baudh and had under its sway the Baudh and Kimidi tracts during the times of Śatrubhaṅja II. These split up during the reign of his son Ranabhaṅja II, who remained a feudatory at Baudh, while a descendant of Nātribhaṅjadēva established a new line of rulers at Kimidi.

(3) Kanakabhaṅja flourished about 1475 A.D. His line was independent of Ranabhaṅja II.

¹ [That would be Māyūrī or Māyūrīkū, but not Māyurī. The latter, if connected with Māyūraka, will have a different connotation for which see Monier Williams' Sanskrit English Dict. under Māyūraka.—Ed.]

² [The two Bhaṅja grants from Daspalla which Mr. B. Bhattacharyya has edited in the same journal (Vol. VI, pp. 266 ff.) are also to be added to this list.—Ed.]

Mr R D Banerji, reviewing Mr Mazumdar's discussion, declared the date assigned to Kanakabhañja as absolutely impossible on palæographical grounds 'We cannot,' he said, 'admit the existence of a Ranabhañja in 1200 A.D., because the Ranabhañja of the Bāman ghāti grant¹ was living in the third quarter of the 11th century, according to Mr Mazumdar, and palæography shows that Ranabhañja (II), son of Śatrabhañja (II), is earlier than Ranabhañja (I), son of Digbhañja (I) Mr Banerji would place Kanakabhañja in the beginning of the 12th century A.D.'

It would thus appear that the Bhañja chronology still remains a subject of great controversy, but, although I do not find sufficient reasons in support of Mr Mazumdar's theory dissociating the present families of Mayūrabhañja and Keonjhar States from the inscriptional Bhañjas by relegating their origin to an adventurer of Rājputāna, I agree with him as regards the date of Ranabhañja II, about the end of the 12th century A.D., until Mr R D Banerji establishes his contention, for which he says he is ready. Kanakabhañja may or may not have been very far removed from Ranabhañja II, but the mere fact that Kanakabhañja's two ancestors only are mentioned in Plate M does not warrant the conclusion that his grandfather was not connected with the Bhañjas known to have been previously ruling at Baudh. It is true that the Bhañja family sent out several offshoots and they became rulers of different tracts, but at present there is nothing to show that Kanakabhañja's line was a distinct one and supplanted Ranabhañja II's. Again, the adoption of the *Kāśyapa-gōtra* in place of the old *Andaja* or egg-born is no proof of disparity in view of the accepted rule that 'he who has no *gōtra* belongs to the *Kāśyapa-gōtra*'. Kanakabhañja belonged to a much later date than his original ancestor. He must have noticed the contempt with which the origin from an egg must have been looked upon in his time. The easiest thing for him or his immediate predecessors was, therefore, to relegate themselves to the sage *Kāśyapa*, to which nobody could raise an objection.

By a misleading of the word *Khimjālī* as *Khindini* or *Khiñjini* Mr Mazumdar was led to identify it with *Khimidi* and consequently to the conclusion that a branch of the Bhañja family held sway there. In essence he is not very far from the truth, in that a branch belonging to the line of Nātribhañja did rule in the Ganjam District, the eastern portion of which was certainly under the Bhañja sway, as a number of villages granted were situated in the Gumsūr, Aska and Chatrapur taluks to which *Kimidi* in the same district adjoins towards the west. *Kimidi* may or may not have been included in the Bhañja dominions, but it was certainly not of such an importance as to have induced the kings to adopt the title of 'Lords of *Kimidi*'. The title 'Lords of both the *Khiñjalis* (Keonjhar)' was an ancient one, and all the branches of the Bhañja family appear to have taken pride in calling themselves as such, irrespective of whether they continued to be rulers of that tract or not.

With due deference to the learned Mahāmahōpādhyāya Haraprasad Sastri, M.A., C.I.E., who has edited the charter O, which he calls 'Khandadeulī inscription of Ranabhañjadēva,' I may perhaps be permitted to state that his descriptive title is inaccurate. The grant should have been described as one of Nārēndrabhañjadēva, who was the real grantor and not his grandfather Ranabhañjadēva. The latter comes in merely as one of the several ancestors of the donor. The text reads:—

श्रीरामजाख्यः तस्य चौ(चो)पयि(यी)कात्मज(जः) श्रीपृथ्वीभञ्जसुतश्रीनरेन्द्रभञ्जदेवो भूतः ।
 स च मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिहृदये * * * * वोतुलाग्राम[.] * * * *
 रान्को आभिधानाय प्रतिपादितो अस्माभिः

¹ The only dated Bhañja charter yet found (D) bears the date 288 which Mr Mazumdar assigns to the Chōla-Gabga era. It is thus equivalent to 1060 A.D.

2.

2
4
6
8

2
4
6
8

2
4
6
8

ia.

10
12
14
16
18

10
12
14
16
18

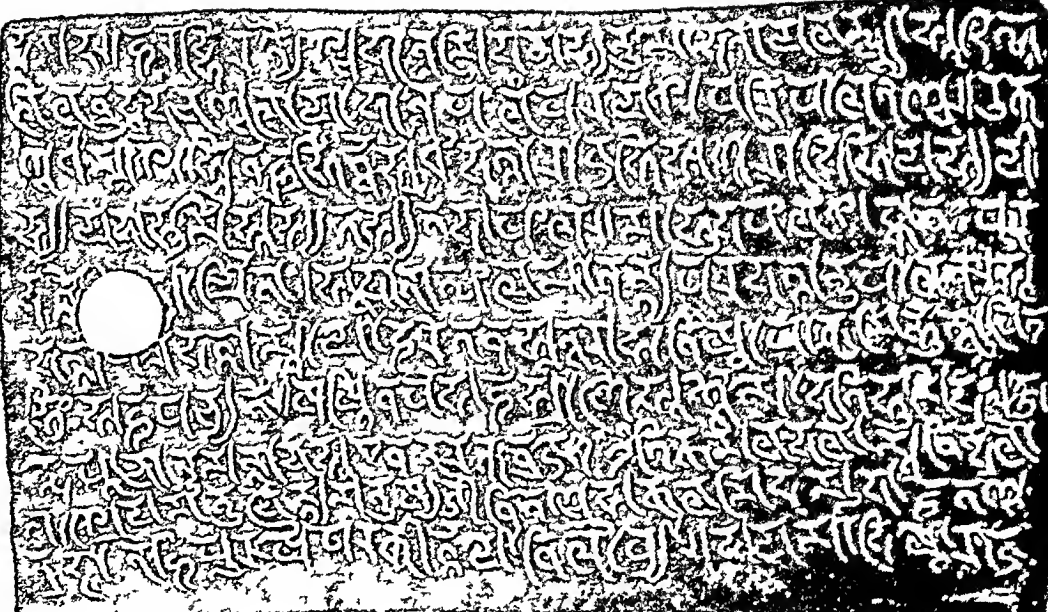
ib.

20
22
24
26
28

20
22
24
26
28

ina.

20 30
32 32
34 34
36 36
38 38



30
32
34
36
38

iiib

40 40



40
42
44
46
48

The language is defective no doubt, but it is clear that the words स and अस्माभिः in the above extract refer to Narēndrabhaṅjadēva¹ and not to Ranabhaṅja. The above extract is preceded by verses giving the genealogy of the Bhaṅja kings from Virabhadra to Ranabhaṅja, apparently taken from a charter composed during the time of Ranabhaṅja in which the last line stood as follows —

श्रीरणभञ्जस्यातः सानुन्व(न)य ग्राह भूपालान् ॥

It appears that the word ग्राह has misled the above-named scholar. It was suited to the time when it was composed and not to the one when it was adopted by his grandson's grant-writer. The latter's composition in prose quoted above is an index of his poor knowledge of Sanskrit, although to the best of his ability he endeavoured to convey his meaning by repeating श्रीरणभञ्जस्यः after the close of the quotation in verse and connecting him with his reputed son तस्य चोपयोक्तात्मजः, whose सुत or son was नरेन्द्रभञ्जदेवः. And स (he, viz the latter) was the person who granted the village

H — Ganjām Plates of Nētribhaṅjadēva

First Plate

- 1 ओ² [॥*] स्वस्ति [॥*] जयति कुसुमवा(वा)णप्राणविलोभदत्त स्व-
- 2 किरणपरिवेषोर्जित्यजोर्गेन्दुलेखं [१*] त्रिभुवनभवनान्तर्द्योत-
- 3 भास्वत्प्रदोषं(पः) कनकनिकषगौरं वि(व)भु नेत्रं हरस्य [॥१*]³ शेषाद्विरि-
- 4 व ये फणाः प्रविल[स*]न्त्युज्ञास्वरन्दुत्विषः प्रालियाचलशृङ्गकोट-
- 5 य इव त्वङ्गन्ति यत्युन्नताः । नृत्ताटोपवि[घट्टि]ता इव
- 6 भुजा राजन्ति ये शाम्भवास्ते सर्वाधविघातिन सुरसरित्तो-
- 7 योर्मयः पान्तु वः ॥ [२*]⁴ विजयवञ्जुल्लवकात् [१*] अस्ति जयश्रीनिल-
- 8 यः प्रकटगुणस्तसर्व्वरिपुगर्व्व कल्याणकलशनामा
- 9 राजा निर्दू(र्ध्)तकलिकलुष.⁵ भञ्जामलकुलतिलक[१*] श्रीशिला-

Second Plate, First Side

- 10 भञ्जदेवस्य प्रपौत्रः श्रीशत्रुभञ्जदेवस्य नप्ता श्रीरणभ-
- 11 ञ्जदेवस्य सूनुः परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादानुध्यान-
- 12 रतः श्रीने[तृ]भञ्जदेवः कुशली वा[सु]दिवस्वण्डविषये रा-
- 13 जराज[१*]नकराजपुत्रान् विषयपतिदण्डपाशिक[१*]न् यथा-
- 14 कालाध्यासिनो व्यवहारिणो ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणान् करणपुरो-
- 15 गान् निवासिजनपदाश्च यथाहं मानयति वो(वो)धयति
- 16 समादिशति सर्व्वतः शिवभस्माकमन्त्र[तृ] विदितमस्तु

¹ This is further confirmed by his name being inscribed in the medallion (seal r) at the top, as communicated to me by Babu Kāmākhyā Prasad Basu, Deputy Collector of Mayūrabhaṅja State

² Expressed by a symbol

³ Metro Māhārī

⁴ Metro Śārdulavikrīditā

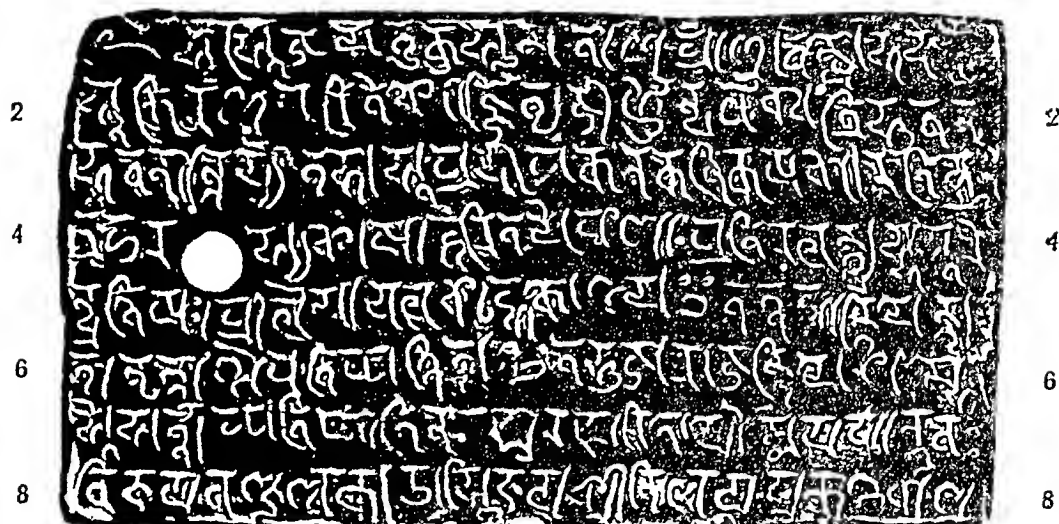
⁵ [From अस्ति . to कलुष seems as Aryā —Ed]

1994

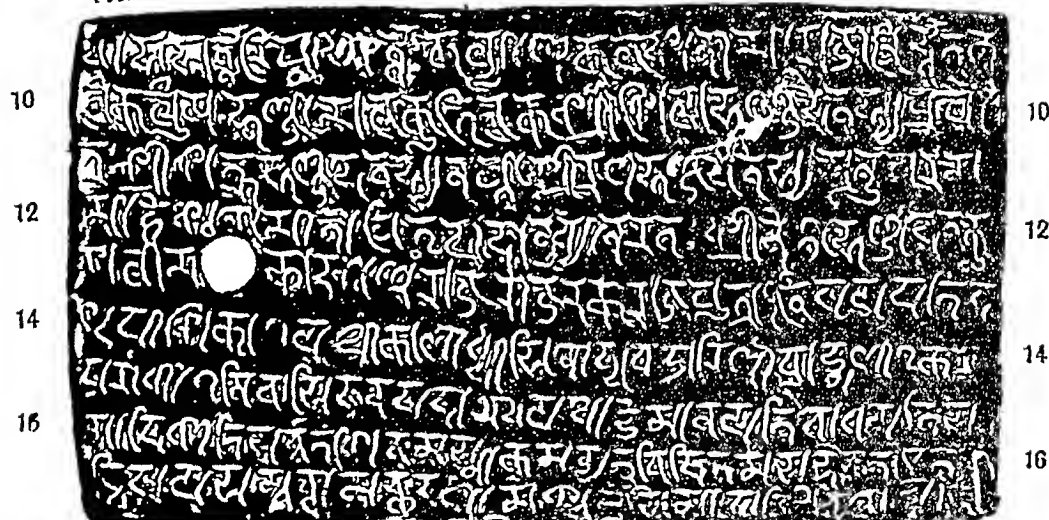
FOUR BHANJA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS.

I-Ganjam Plates of Netribhanjadeva, with damaged seal

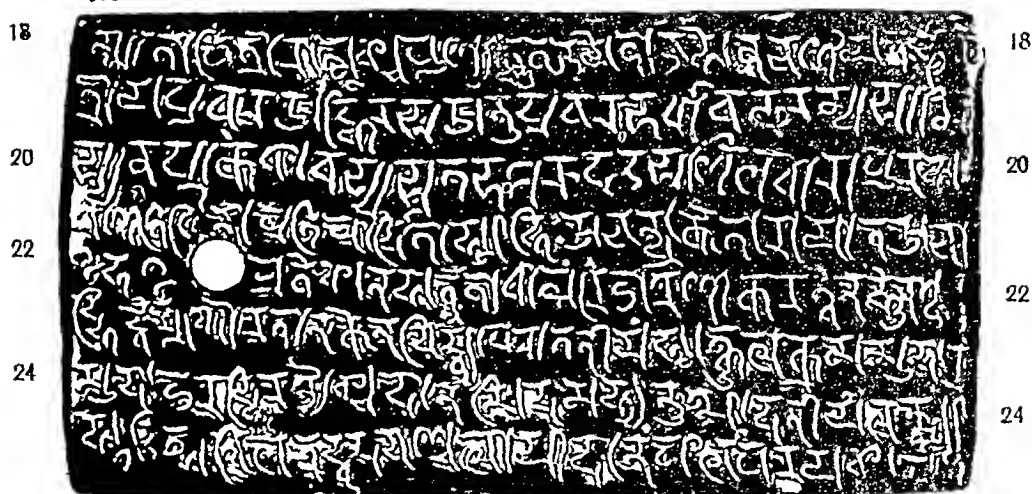
i.



11a



11b



iiia.

[illegible]

222b.

[illegible]

86 चेसा चानुमन्ता च स एव नरकं व्रजेत् [॥७*] इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)-
वि(वि)न्दुलो-

37 ला(लां) श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च [॥१*] सकलमिदमुदा[हृ]तञ्च

38 बुद्धा(बुद्धा) नहि पुरुषै[ः*] परकीर्तयो विलोप्या[ः*]¹ ॥८*॥ स्वयमादिष्टो
रात्र(भ्रा)

Third Plate, Second Side

39 दूतकोत्र भट्टसुमङ्गल[ः*] ॥ लिखितञ्च स[॥]न्धिविशिष्टकसव-

40 राज(जेन) ॥ ऊ(उ)त्कीर्णश्चाक्षश[लि]कदुर्गदेवेना(न) ॥ लाञ्छितं मा-

41 म्माया[ः*]

I.—Ganjām Plates of Nētribhañjadēva

First Plate

1 ओ² [॥*] स्वस्ति [॥*] जयतु कुसुमवा(वा)णप्राणविजोभद[त्तं]

2 स्वकिरणपरिवेशो(षो)र्लित्यजोर्षेण्द(न्दु)लेख [॥*] त्रिभुवन-

3 भवनान्तर्द्योतभास्वप्र(प्र)दीप(पः) कनकनिकषगोर(गौर) वि(व)भुने-

4 त्रं ह्यस्य [॥१*]³ शेषाहेरिव ये फणाः 'प्रविरलन्युद्गाखरे-

5 न्दुत्पिपः । प्रालेयाचलु(ल)शृङ्गकोटय इव त्वङ्गन्ति येद्यन(त्युन्न)-

6 ता[ः*] नृत्ताटोपविष[ष्टि]ता इव भुजा राजन्ति ये शाश्व[वा]-

7 स्ते सर्वाधविघातिन सुरसरितो(त्तो)योर्मर्मय[ः*] पान्तु वः [॥२*]⁴

8 विजयवञ्चुल्यका[त्*] अस्ति जयश्रीनिलय[ः*] प्रकटग(गु)ण-

Second Plate, First Side

9 [ग्र]स्तसर्वरिपु[ग]र्वः⁵ कल्याणकलशनामा राजा निर्द्ध(र्ध)तक-

10 लिकलुष भस्त्रामलकु[ल*]तिलक[ः*] श्रीशिलाभस्त्रदेवस्य प्रपौ-

11 त्र. श्रीशत्रुभस्त्रदेवस्य नमा श्रीरणभस्त्रदेवस्य सनु[ः*] परम-

12 माहेश्वरो मातापितृपदानुध्यानरतः श्रीनेतृभस्त्रदेव[ः*] कु-

13 शली मच्छाडखण्डराजराज[॥*]नकराजपुत्रान् विषयपतिद-

14 ण्डपाशिकान् यथाकालाध्यासिनो व्यवहारिणो त्रा(त्रा)क्षणान् कर[ण*]-

15 पुरोगान् मि(नि)वासिजनपदां[श्च] यथार्ह(र्ह) मानयति वो(वो)धयति स-

16 मादिशति सर्वत[ः*] शिवसस्माकमन्यत् विदितमस्तु भव[ता] एत-

17 दिप्रयसम्बन्धा(म्बन्धो) मच्छङ्ग्रामश्चतुसि(स्त्री)मापरि[च्छ]न्नो[स्माभी](भि)-

Second Plate, Second Side

18 म्मातापित्रोरात्मन(त्मन)श्च पुण्याव(भि)वृ[द्ध]ये वाजसेन(सनेय)च[र*]णाय व-
च्छ(त्स)[गो]-

19 त्राय प्रवरभङ्गिरसश्चनुप्रवरभ[॥*]र्गव[धाय*] कुरम्पसामि-

¹ Metre *Pushpitāgrā*.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Metre *Mālīnī*

⁴ Read प्रविलसन्त्यु^० as in H above and J below

⁵ Metre *Śardūlavakṛīḍita*.

⁶ [See footnote 4 on p 293 above.—Ed.]

- 20 स्व(स्वामिनी) नम्रा(म्ने) केशवस्य सुत(ता)[य*] भट्टरुदड़(ड्टाय) सलिलधारा-
पुरस(स्स)-
21 रेख विधिना प्रतिपादितो(तम)स्माभिः अ(आ)चन्द्रार्कतारा(रं) याव[त्*] अचा-
22 टभटप्रवे[शे]न सर्ववा(वा)धा[प]रिहारेणाकरत्वेन भुञ्ज-
23 झिर्झगौरवा[न्*]न केनचिद्व्याघातनीयं [॥ अ*]अत्कुलक्रमसुदार-
24 सुदाहरझिरन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं [१*] लक्ष्म्या-
25 स्तुडित्सलिलबुहु(बुहु)दचञ्चलाया दानं फल परयश[ः]प-

Third Plate, First Side

- 26 रिपालनञ्च [॥३*]¹ उक्तञ्च धर्मशास्त्रे [१*] बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता रा-
27 जभि[ः*] सगरादिभि[ः*] । (१) यस्ययस्य य[दा] भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा
28 फलं [॥४*] सा भूदफलशङ्का वः परदत्तेति पार्थिवा[ः*] । (१) स्वदाना-
29 त्फल[मानत्य] परदत्तानुपालन(ने) [॥५*] स्वदत्ता परदत्ताम्वा यो
30 हरेत वसुधरा [१*] स विष्ठा(ष्ठा)यां कृमिर्भूत्वा पित्र(तृ)भिः
31 सह पच्यते [॥६*] षष्टि(ष्टि)वष(वर्ष)सहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः ।
32 अक्ष(आक्षे)प्ता चानुमता(न्ता) च स ए(तान्ये)व नरकं व्रजेत् [॥७*] इति
कमलदला-
33 म्व(म्बु)वि(वि)न्दुलोलां त्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च । (१) सकलसि(मि)द-
34 [मु]दा[हृ]तञ्च बु(बु)ध्वा नहि चे(पु)रुषैत(ः) परकीर्तयो विलोप्या[ः] [॥८*]
सर्व²

Third Plate, Second Side.

- 35 स्वयमादिष्टो राज्ञा दूक(त)कीत्र ओ — — — लिखित[त]ञ्च
36 सांख्यविग्रहिककुने(वे)र(रे)[ण*] । उत्कीर्ण(ञ्चा)क्षसा(शा)क्षिकदुर्गदेवेन ।
37 लाञ्छित(त) जच्छिकाया[ः*] सत्कुलोनायाश्च [॥*]

J — Ganjam Plates of Vidyādharaḥḥadēva

First Plate

- 1 ओ³ [॥*] जयति कुसुमवा(वा)णप्राणविजोभदक्ष(क्षं) स्वकिरणपरि-
विषोर्जि⁴-
2 त्यजोने(खें)न्दुलेख(खं) [१*] त्रिभुवनभवनान्तर्द्योतभास्व[त⁵]अदोपं(पः) कनक-
निकष⁴-
3 गौर विम्बुनेत्र(त्रं) हरस्य⁶ [॥१*] शेषाहेरिव ये फणा[ः*] प्रविलसन्त्यु-
ज्ञास्त्रेन्दुत्व[िष]⁴
4 प्र[१*]लियाचलशृङ्गकोटय इव त्वङ्गन्ति येलुन्नता[ः] १* नृता(त्ता)टो(टो)पविघ-
5 ङिता इव भुजा राजन्ति ये घान्(शान्)वा १' ते(स्ते) सर्वाधविघातिन[ः*]
सु[र*]-

¹ Metre *Paśantatīlakā*

² [These two letters appear to be superfluous — Ed]

³ Expressed by a symbol

⁴ [Superfluous — Ed]

⁵ The portion of the plate containing the letters in square brackets is broken off

⁶ Metre *Mālinī*

⁷ Punctuation superfluous.

20

20

22

22

24

24

26

26

28

28

3

30



- 6 सरिस्तो(त्तो)योर्मयः पान्तु वः [॥२*]¹ स्वस्ति विजयवज्रल्लकात् [1*]
[अ*]स्ति त्रि(त्री)वि-
7 जय²निलयप्रकटगुणगणग्रस्तसमस्तरिपुवर्ग(र्ग) आ(अ)नो(मो)घक-
8 लश(शो)नाम राजा निर्हु(र्धू)तकलिकलुषकत्तप[1*] भञ्जामलकुल[तिल*]को
9 महाराजश्रीरणभञ्जदेवस्य प्रप्तो(पौ)त्र[1*] श्रीदिग्भञ्जदेवस्य न-
10 नप्तात्³ श्रीशिलाभञ्जदेवस्य सुत[1*] परममाहेश्वरो मा-

Second Plate, First Side

- 11 [ता*]पितृपादानुध्यातो भञ्जामलकुलतिलको महाराजश्रीविद्या-
12 ध[र*]भञ्ज[दे]व[1*] कुशली माछाडखण्डविषये यथाकालाध्यासिकुडु(टु)-
स्वि(म्बि)न[1*]
13 सामन्तविषयपतिभोगिभोग्यादि⁴ यथाहिं(हं) मानयति वो(वो)[ध]यति स-
14 म[1*]ज्ञापयति सर्व्वतः शिवमस्माकमन्यद्दिदितमस्तु भवता(ता) एतद्दि-
15 ष[यस]म्ब(म्ब)द्व(द्वो) सु(सू)लमाछाडग्रामोय(यं) ॥⁵ चतुस्त्रीमापरिच्छिणो(नो)
16 मातापि[त्रो]रात्मनश्च पुन्या(ण्या)भिहृदये मा(आ)चन्द्रार्क(र्क) गवत् स-
लिल-
17 धारापुरस्सरेण विधिना अकरत्वे[न*] वाजसनेयचरणाय रौहित-
18 सगोत्राय रौहित[1*]ष्टकविश्वामित्रप्रवराय विश्वामित्रवत् [अ*]-
19 ष्टकवत् रौहितवत् अनुप्रवराय वरेष्वि(वि)समन्व(म्ब)द्वे⁶ तडिसमावि-
षय(ये)

Second Plate, Second Side

- 20 मस्माणाविनिर्गतह्रिश्च⁷ शर्मणो नप्ता(ष्टे) देवडशर्मणस्य⁸;
21 सुतभट्टपुरन्दरः⁹ प्रतिपादितोस्माभिर्यः(1*य)स्ययस्य यदा भु(भू)मिस्त-
22 स्यतस्य तदा फल [1*] माभुय(भूद)फलशङ्का वः[1*] परदत्तानुपालनः
(ने) [॥३*] स्व-
23 दत्ता(त्ता) परदत्ता(त्ता)म्वा यो हरेति(त) वसुन्धरान्(म्) । स्व(स)
विष्टाया(या) कृमिर्भु(र्भू)-
24 त्वा पितृभिस्सह पच्यते ॥[४*] इति कमलद[ल*]ाम्बु(म्बु)-
25 वि(वि)न्दुलोला(लां) श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च [1*] स-
26 कलमिदम(सु)दाहृतं(त)ञ्च वु(वु)ध्वा न हि पुरुषै[1*] परको-

Third Plate

- 27 त्तयो विलोप्य(प्याः) [॥५*]¹⁰ इति [॥*] लाञ्छित श्रीतृ(त्रि)कलिङ्गमा(म)-
हा[दे]-
28 व्या मा(मं)त्रिणा श्रीभा(भ)ट्टकेश(शव)देवेन ॥ वार्गुलिकचाचिक(के)न

¹ Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita² Read जयश्रीनिलय³ Delete त् [as well as न at the commencement of the line —Ed]⁴ Here some words appear to have been omitted through oversight Apparently the correct reading was

सागभोग्यादिजनपदाय

⁵ Punctuation unnecessary⁶ [See foot-note No 2 on p. 285 above —Ed]⁷ Probably हयं⁸ [Delete स्य —Ed]⁹ Read सुताय भट्टपुरन्दराय¹⁰ Metre Pushpātāgrā.

- 29 लिखितं सान्धिविष्टहि(ग्रहिक)श्रीस्ते(स्त)भ्मेन ॥ उत्कीर्ण(र्ष)चाक्षसा(शा).
 30 लि[कु]मारचन्द्रेन(ण) ताम्र(स्त्र)शाश(स)नमिति ॥ या ९॥९

K.—Antirigām Plates of Yaśabhañjadēva

First Plate.

- 1 श्री¹ स्वस्ति [॥*] आसीद्राजाधिराजो निजभुजविजिताशेषवीरारिवर्गः ।
 स्वर्गव्यापारभारप्र-
 2 [सु]दितहृदयोद्यद्यशोजिष्णुतुल्यः ॥(१) रुद्रध्यानैकधीरो विनयगुणनिधिर्भूपतिर्दो(दे)-
 3 वभंज [१] साक्षान्न(क्ष)क्षीनिवासो वसतिरपि सतां चेतसः सान्द्रभावं ॥² [१*]
 आसीत्तस्यात्मजो[पि]
 4 क्षितिपतिमहितो नीतिशास्त्रैकदक्षः [१] क्षोणीरक्षाविधानव्यवसितहृदयः पुण्य-
 रा[सि](शि)-
 5 प्रचारः ॥(१) संग्रामे वैरिवीरप्रहरणनिपुणो भूपतिर्भोगपुञ्जः सर्वाका-
 राभिरामो
 6 भुवि विदितयशा रायभंजः समन्तात् ॥[२*] एतस्माद्भुवि नैकविक्रमगुणः
 सौन्दर्य-
 7 सारोदयो जातो राजशिरोमणिर्गुणनिधिः सार्थैकनामाभवत् । शास्त्रा-
 8 स्त[व्य]वहारचारुच[तु]रः प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीभृतां व्यर्थान्क(र्थीक)र्तुमल भुजानिति
 भुवि श्री-
 9 वीरभंजो नृपः ॥[३*]³ आसीद्भक्तकुलाब्धि(ब्धि)वर्धनविधुर्विद्याविनोदान्वितो
 जित्वाजो
 10 परिप[न्थि]पार्थिवचयनाथः⁴ पृथिव्याश्विरं ॥(१) पृथ्वीपालनलक्ष(स्व)पुण्य-
 निचयः कारुण्यसा-
 11 रौ[चभू]स्तत्सूनुर्विजयैकधामविदितः श्रीरायभञ्जः सुधीः ॥[४*] तत्सू-
 नुर्जगदेकमल्लवि-
 12 जयो चाक्षान्न(ष्टाङ्गल)क्षीयुतः क्षामृन्मौलिविभूषणोऽस्व(स्व)लमणिव्यग्रांघ्रि-
 पञ्चदय ।

Second Plate, First Side.

- 13 राकेशद्विजहृदयवन्दनपटुर्भन्दीक्षतारिव्रजो भाति श्रीयस(श)भञ्जदेवनृपति-
 14 र्धर्मैककर्मोदयतः ॥³ [५*] स्वस्ति श्रीसकलसुरगुरुद्विजकुलकमलकलि-
 15 काविकासनार्ककल्पप्रत्ययि(र्थी)कदय(र्थ)नसमय(र्थ)महीमहनीयमहामहिमप्रशस्त-
 सम-
 16 स्तुतिश्चलिदेशाधिपति श्रीयशभंज(भञ्ज)देवः कुशलो । सकलसामन्तस-
 न्धिविश्रहपा-
 17 [त्रा]मात्योपजीविजनस्वर्गशसमुद्भवाशेषराजन्य[व]र्गसकलखण्ड-
 18 पालयभृतीन् वी(वी)धयत्यादिशति च मतमस्तु समस्तमेतद्भवतां । वोडा-

¹ Expressed by a symbol² Metre Śrāgadhara.³ Metre Śārdūlakaśikā.⁴ Read चमात्राय

FOUR BHANJA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS .

K-Antirigam Plates of Yasabhanjadeva

2

2
4
6
8
10
12

2
4
6
8
10
12

2
4
6
8
10
12

ira

14
16
18
20
22

14
16
18
20
22

14
16
18
20
22

irb.

24
26
28
30
32

24
26
28
30
32

24
26
28
30
32

iii

34
36
38
40
42

34
36
38
40
42

34
36
38
40
42

- 19 विषयान्तःपानिकीम्याणग्रामः स्वशी(सी)मापरिच्छिन्नः सोद्देशश्चतायने-
 20 कवचलतादिसमेतः सविटपारण्यः सजलस्थलमत्स्यकच्छपः स-
 21 जलक्षेत्रभूमिरचष्टभट्टप्रवेशः सकलभागभोगहिरण्यादिप्रत्याय-
 22 समेतस्त्रामशसनोक्त्याकरत्वेनाचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालमस्त्राभिर्य-

Second Plate , Second Side

- 23 या भूमिदानविधानेन मातापित्रोरात्मनः स्ववशानां च पुण्यविवक्षये । योहारवि-
 24 षयमध्यवपभूमिग्रामविनिर्गताय कोण्डरावङ्गुविषयान्तःपातिपट्टवाडपाटक-
 25 वास्तव्याय भारद्वाजगोत्रायाद्भिरसवा(वा)हस्यत्यभारद्वाजत्रिप्रवराय यजुर्वेदा-
 ध्यायि-
 26 ने माध्यन्दिनीयशाखाय अनन्तकण्ठपण्डितप्रपौत्राय ज्योतिषिक¹ श्रीधरपौत्राय
 27 श्रुतिस्मृतिज्योतिःशास्त्रविद्वाराधरपुत्राय श्रीतस्मार्त्तकम्म(र्म)निपुण[ज्यो]तिःशा-
 स्त्रैकधी-
 28 रदीक्षितजगधरशर्मणे कार्तिकशुक्लपक्षे विष्णोरुत्क(च्छ)यनैकादश्यां हस्तो-
 29 दकेन प्रदत्तः(तं) । एतच्च सर्वैरनुमन्तव्यं । भाविभिरपि नरपतिर्मिर्दानमिदमनु-
 मत्य पा-
 30 लनीयं । भूमिदानफलगौरवादपहरणे च दोषश्रवणात् । सम्बत्त(त्) ३ कार्तिक
 31 सु(शु)दी(दि) एकादशी । अत्र धर्मातुसंशिनः(शसिनः) श्लोका लिख्यन्ते । व(व)-
 हभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः स-
 32 गरादिभिः [१*] यस्ययस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥[६*]
 भूमि यः प्रतिगृह्णाति
 33 यद्य भूमि(मिं) प्रयच्छति [१*] उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतौ स्वर्गगामि-
 नौ ॥[७*] षष्टिम्(ष्टि)

Third Plate

- 34 वर्षसहस्राणि स्व[र्ग] वसति भूमिद² ॥ हरन्नरकमाप्नोति यावदा[भू]-
 35 तस(सं)प्लवं ॥[८*] गामिकां स्व[र्ग]मेकं च भूमेरप्यङ्गमङ्गुल । हरन्नरकमा-
 36 प्नोति यावदाभूतसंप्लवं ॥[९*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरत वसुध्वरां [१*] स
 37 विष्टायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥[१०*] मा भूमि(द)फलशङ्का
 वः पर-
 38 दत्तेति पाथि(र्थि)वाः । स्वदानात्फलमाप्ने(प्नो)ति परदत्तानुपालने ॥[११*] [३]ति
 39 कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)वि[बि]न्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च । सकल-
 मिदमुदाहृत च ह(बु)-
 40 द्वा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥² [१२*] असहृदयभूपतिर्यदि पुनर्भू-
 वपोन्यवशोद्भ-
 41 वो महत्तां परिपालयेदिह महीं तस्मै दृतोऽस्यञ्जलिम् [१*] यो वा लोभव-
 शाच्च पा-
 42 पह(हृ)दयात् क्रोधाच्च मच्छासने व्याघात कुरुते भविष्य नियतं निःसन्तति
 किलिवधौ ॥³ [१३*]

¹ The letter ॐ is inserted above the line

² Metro Pushpitāgrā

³ Metro Sārdūlārīkṛīdīśa

APPENDIX.

Geographical names in the records of Bhāṇja Kings of Orissa with identifications where ascertained

Designation of the record and reference to its publication.	Place of find	Place whence issued	Villages granted together with the Country or Districts in which they were situated	Grantee's residence and place whence he emigrated	REMARKS
A. Bandh grant of Rana-bhāṇjadēva. (Above, Vol XII, pp 322 ff., and Nagendranāth Vāsū's <i>Māyūr-bhāṇja Arch. Report</i> , Vol. I, pp 185 ff.)	Jagatī in the Bandh State	.....	(1) Kūṭantīthi (Kōṭṭavī) = Kōṭṭanū, about 3 miles south of Bandh, situated in the <i>viśāyā</i> of— (1a) Khātīyā whose head quarters was apparently Khātīyā (which is untraceable and has probably merged into Machhū Khanda, a <i>pargana</i> of the Bandh State Khātīyā was included in— (1b) Khūjālī-mandala = the present Keonjhar State	Residence— (1) Amvasarasarū = Ambasrabhatta (?) in Sonpur State, about 13 miles from Bandh Emigrated from— (2) Apilōmalēri = ?	A B and C mention Dhritipura as old capital
B. Bandh grant of Rana-bhāṇjadēva (Above, Vol XII, pp 325 ff.)	Landore in the Bandh State, now changed to Govindapur	.....	(2) Vāḷāṅgū = Bīlāsingī, about 2 miles from Bandh and situated on the confluence of the Mahābandi and Sāṅkī = Sāṅkī in the Bandh State included in the— (2a) Khātīyā- <i>viśāyā</i> = (1a) of— (2b) Khūjālī-mandala = (1b)	Emigrated from— (3) Khadavāpali = ?	B and C speak of Ubhaya (both) Khūjālī mandala = Upper and Lower Keonjhar
C. Sonpur grant of Śatru-bhāṇjadēva. (Above, Vol XI, pp 98 ff.)	Sonpur State	.....	(3) Mlāpādī = ? of— (3a) Rōyārī- <i>viśāyā</i> whose head quarters Rōyārī is on the borders of the Sonpur State	Emigrated from— (4) Mlāpāgrūma = ?	
D. Bāmaghātī grant of Rana-bhāṇjadēva. (<i>J B A S</i> , XL, Part I, pp 161 ff., and <i>Mayūr-bhāṇja Arch. Report</i> , Vol I, pp 141 ff.)	Jamdapur of Bāmaghātī sub-division in the Mayūr-bhāṇja State	Khujjunga = Kiching of Mayūr-bhāṇja State	(4) Timandirī = Probably Tendrī, S W of Bāmaghātī. (5) Nānkōlāda = ? (6) Jambupadraka = Probably Jamdū, 8 miles west of Bāmaghātī (7) Pasaunī = Pasaun, 7 miles N W of Bāmaghātī included in the <i>viśāyā</i> of— (4a) Kōṇḍiyō whose head-quarters is represented by Kōṇḍiyō, 5 miles from Kiching and of—	.....	D and F both mention Khujjunga Kōṭṭa or Khujjunga, i.e., the fort Khujjunga (= Kiching, 90 miles from Bāmaghātī), as the residence of the king. His original ancestor is stated to have been living in Kōṭṭa-ma-lapāṇa = Kiching, 32 miles from Bāmaghātī.

E Bāmaghātā grant of Rājā- bhāṇjadēva (<i>J. B. A. S.</i> , XI, Part I, pp 161 ff., and <i>Mayūr Arch.</i> Rep, Vol I, pp 144 ff)	Jamāpur of Bā- maghātā sub- divn of the May- ūrbhāṇja Stato	Khujjunga = Kich- ing of the May- ūrbhāṇja Stato	(13) Dūvankunja whose head quarters is represented by a place of the same name about 8 miles west of Bāman- ghāṭa, 75 miles west of Baripadā, capital of the Mayūrbhāṇja Stato	...	In all the grants from F to K Vāṇjivakā is mentioned as the capi- tal of the donors.
F Orissa grant of Vidyādharma- bhāṇjadēva (<i>J. B. A. S.</i> , LVI, Part I, p 163, <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , Vol IX, p 271, and <i>Mayūr Arch.</i> Rep, Vol. I, pp. 149 ff)	.....	Vāṇjivakā	(8) Brāhmanavastī = Brahmanavās, 6 miles from Bāmaghātā in the Mayūrbhāṇja Stato situated in the <i>viśaya</i> of— (8a) Brāhmanavastī which is now repre- sented by the Bāmaghātā sub divi- sion (9) Tundurāva = Tundurā village in the Askā taluka of the Ganjam District situated in the <i>viśaya</i> of— (9a) Ramlavā, whose head quarters was apparently at Ravulabādo in the Askā taluka (10) Māchchhadagrāma = Māchhgaon in the Cuttack District situated in the <i>viśaya</i> of— (10a) Māchchhādā Khanda whose head- quarters was Māchhgaon (11) Rātanga = Rottongo in Gumsūr Taluk of Ganjam District situated in the <i>viśaya</i> of— (11a) Vāsudēva Khanda whose head quarters was Vāsudēvapura, 4 miles from Rātanga (12) Māchchhadagrāma = (10) in the <i>viśaya</i> of— (12a) Māchchhādā Khanda = (10a) (13) Māchchhadagrāma = (10) situated in the <i>viśaya</i> of— (13a) Māchchhādā Khanda = (10a).	.....	...
G Gumsūr grant of Nētrī- bhāṇjadēva (<i>J. B. A. S.</i> , Vol VI, p 669 ff., and <i>Mayūr Arch.</i> Rep, Vol. I, pp. 146 ff.)	Gumsūr in the Ganjam District.	Ditto		...	
H Ganjam grant of Nētrī- bhāṇjadēva (just dealt with)	.....	Ditto		...	
I Ganjam grant of Nētrī- bhāṇjadēva (just dealt with)	..	Ditto		...	Emigrated from— (5) Mānmānā = Mandāra (?) in the Gumsūr Taluk situated in the <i>viśaya</i> of— (5a) Tadāsamā or Tadā- samā = Tadāsamā (?) in the Gumsūr Taluk, 20 miles north of Man- dāra, included in the (5b) Vārebhī ² (province) = ?
J Ganjam grant of Vidyādharma bhāṇjadēva (just dealt with)	.....	Ditto		...	

¹ See above, p 285, f n 1² *Ibid.*, f n. 2.

APPENDIX—*concl.*

Geographical names in the records of Bhāṇja Kings of Orissa with identifications where ascertained.

Designation of the record and reference to its publication	Place of find.	Place whence issued	Villages granted together with the Country or Districts in which they were situated	Grantee's residence and place whence he emigrated	REMARKS.
K Antirigām grant of Yaśa-bhāṇjadēva (just dealt with)	Antirigām in the Chatrapur Taluk of the Ganjām District.	Vaijñānīvala	(14) Komyāna = Konomonā in the Chatrapur Taluk of the Ganjām District situated in the <i>visaya</i> of— (14a) Vāḍā whose head quarters was Beḍḍa Patṭī, 3 miles from Konomonā in the Chatrapur Taluk of the Ganjām District.	(3) Residence Pattavāda-pātala = Patatupuram in the Chatrapur Taluk situated in the <i>visaya</i> of— (3a) Kontarānga whose head quarters is Kotayaguda in the Chatrapur Taluk, 8 miles from Patatupuram (7) Vapabhūmigrāma = Boppangi in Gumsūr Taluk situated in the <i>visaya</i> of— (7a) Thāhāra = ?	Jaipuri is mentioned as conquered by this line of kings. It may be Jaipur Zamindari in the south
L Tārapukeśī grant of Rana-bhāṇjadēva (<i>J B O R S</i> , Vol. II, pp 167 ff)	Bāhā in the Sonpur State	...	(15) Tārapukeśī still existing included in— (15a) Uttarapalli = Uttarāra or tract north of the Mahānadi	Emigrated from (3) Bhatā Nāra = (9) Residence Kāmāri = ?	Refers to Ubhaya-Nāhā = Upper and Lower Keonjhar
M Baulh grant of Kanakabhāṇjadēva (<i>J B O R S</i> , Vol. II, pp 356 ff)	Baulh, capital of the State of the same name	..	(16) Bāhulā = ? (17) Beḍḍāli = ? (18) Jamarāpura = ? (19) Simhāpura = ? included in— (19a) Dharmapura tract and bounded on the east by Māharāpura, on south and west by Kōpālmā and on the north by Telāundi = Tel river.	Emigrated from— (10) Madhyadī = Tract between Bengal and Orissa— Residence (11) Hastigrāma = ?	Refers to the Baulh State as the kingdom of the family

N. Kumarakela grant of Sātrubhāṇḍāya (J B O R. S., Vol II, pp 489 ff)	.....	(20) Kumarakela still existing in the Sonpur State and	...
O Khapadell grant of Rana bhāṇḍāya (sc) (Narendra- bhāṇḍāya) (J B O R S, Vol. IV, pp 173 ff)	Khapadell of Maurya- bhāṇḍāya State	(21) Jantāmarā = ? included in— (20a) Khūṇḍi-mandala = (16) (20b) Uttarapalli district = (15a).	Emigrated from— (12) Vangakuti = ? Residence— (13) Gandhatapāṭi = ?
P Patna Museum grant of Ranahāṇḍāya. (Ep. Ind., awaiting publication)	.....	(22) Bonnā = ? included in— (22a) Siddhānubā-viśāya and Ut- tarakhanda (23) Vāhuvāda on the Mahānadi included in— (23a) Dakshinapali or the tract to the south of the Mahānadi	... ... ... Mentions Dhritipura as the old capital of the Ubhaya-Khūṇḍāya.

NOTES.—With reference to the geographical places mentioned in the 4 records in hand it may be noted that Rottango, heretofore of its Oriya pronunciation, would be regularly Rātanga, like Kodelibosonto, which is no other than Kadalhasanta included in the Kadalā taluka of the same district. Bātanga was included in the Vāṇḍavākhanda, whose reminiscence is left in Vāṇḍavapur. Māchhāḍagrāma, or Māchhāḍagrāma of the Māchhāḍakhanda or Māchhāḍakhanda, has been the subject of a gift in 3 charters, G., H. & J., twice by Nōtibhāṇḍā and once by Vidyāharahāṇḍā. This appears to indicate its great importance, as apparently the relatives of the donee's family were very anxious to get it back as often as his direct line failed. The name is very expressive, meaning, as it does, the village of fishes. It was at the same time situated in a district having the name "a fish tract". But I could not find a name answering to it in the lists of Ganjam district villages. There is, however, in the Cuttack district a port named Māchhagāṇ about 9 miles from the Devi estuary and about 40 miles from Gumsūr, which can well be our Māchhāḍagrāma and so I have identified it with that. Owing to the superabundance of fish in that tract, it was appropriately named Māchhāḍagrāma (the village of fishes) and it retains its name intact with the exception of the superfluous *ra* (the Oriya genitive sign) dropped.

The donee in J came from Manmānā of the Tadasmā or Tadasmā *viśāya*. The latter appears to be named after the Tāda or palm trees which abound in the Ganjam district. In the Gumsūr taluk there is a village Tārasingī and another named Māḍarā. It would therefore appear that the first represents the village from which the *viśāya* Tadasmā took its name and the second the corruption of Manmānā, something like the present Bhandārā representing the old Bhānārā (see Hirral's *C P and Berar Inscriptions*, page 107). The charter K gives a number of geographical names, several of which must be sought for in the Chatrapur taluka, where the plates were found in a field, while ploughing, indicating that they had not been carried about from place to place at any rate for several years past. The village granted was Komyāna likely to be corrupted into Kenyāna, which in the Oriya month would become Konemeno or Konomenā, with which it has been identified. The donee was a resident of Pattapāda *viśāya* which is apparently the present Pattapur (or Pattapuram). The donee's residence was included in the Konārāvaṅga-*viśāya*, whose head-quarters appears to be represented by Konṭāya-gaḍa. The donee's family had emigrated from Vapabhūmi, which may be identical with Boppang. The name of the *viśāya* read as Tūhāra is doubtful and it would therefore be useless to try to identify it.

[Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari would identify the Māchhāḍagrāma or Māchhāḍagrāma, the Thihārā, the Bhata-Nirōla, and the Uttarapatha villages of these grants with Mājūgām in the Berhampur, Tikhārapada in the Gumsūr, Nirā in the Aska and Uttarasilī in the Parlakumedī talukas of the Ganjam district respectively.—Ed.]

No 30 —THE MUNGIR PLATE OF DEVAPALADEVA SAMVAT 33

BY LIONEL D BARNETT.

This charter was first published in the year 1788, in Vol. I of the *Asiatick Researches*, p. 123 ff. where a lithographic reproduction and an attempt at translation were presented. About that time the plate disappeared. In 1892 the late Professor Kielhorn republished the text with a corrected translation in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXI, p. 254 ff, on the basis of the edition in the *Asiatick Researches*; as will be seen, he accomplished the task with his wonted skill and success. But no trace of the original plate could be found.

Recently, while repairs were being made in Kenwood House, a dirty and discoloured metal plate inscribed with Indian characters was found hidden away between a beam and the roof. It was brought to me for identification, and I at once recognised it as the long-lost charter of Dēvapālādēva. Then Mr Plenderleith, of the Science Laboratory attached to the British Museum, came to my aid and skilfully removed the accumulated grime and rust of many generations, so that it is now restored to its original condition, a fine and almost perfectly preserved specimen of medieval Indian metal-work. It seemed desirable to publish a photographic facsimile with an emended transcription of the text, and I have been permitted to do this by the kindness of the Right Honourable the Earl of Iveagh, G C V O, Senior Trustee of the Kenwood Estate.

The plate is of thick copper, measuring $18\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height and $13\frac{7}{8}$ inches in width. On the top of it is soldered a seal, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and at the base $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, in the central panel of this is the well-known Sārnāth device, the *dharma-chakra* with two antelopes at the sides, under which is the royal name, *Śrī-Dēvapālādēvasya*. It is in excellent preservation with the exception of a very few unimportant syllables, the characters are as cleanly cut as when the plate came from the engraver's hand. The script is typical of the region and date, the letters are about $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch in height. It is needless to treat of the contents, as they are fully discussed in Kielhorn's paper.

The main part of this document, scilicet from the beginning to *kārya* *iti*, l. 46, is duplicated in ll. 1-42 of the Nālandā plate published in *Ep Ind*, Vol. XVII, p. 310 ff. The divergences are few and slight, and I have only noticed the more important.

TEXT.¹

First Side

- 1 Ōm² svasti | Siddhārthasya par-ārtha-susthira³.
- 2 matēh san-mārgam=abhyasyatas=siddhis=siddhim=a-
- 3 nuttarām=bhagavatas=tasya prajāsu kṛyāt | yas=traidhātuka-sat[t*]va-siddhi-padavīr=
- atyugra-vīry-ōdayāj=jitvā nirvṛti-
- 4 m=āsasāda sugatah san=sarvva-bhūm-iśvarah⁴ || [1*] Saubhāgyan=dadhad=atulam
- śriyas=sapatnyā Gōpālāh patir=abhavad=vasu-
- 5 ndharāyāh | drisht-āntē satī kṛtānām surājñi yasmin=śraddhēyāh Prithu-Sagar-ādayō=
- py=abhūvan || [2*] Vijitya yēn=ā jaladhēr=vasundha-
- 6 rūm vimōchitā mōgha-parigrahā itī | sa-vāshpam=udvāshpa-vilōchanān=punar=vvanēshu
- va(ba)ndhūn=dadrishu(śu)r=mmataṅga-jāh || [3*] Cha-
- 7 tatsv=anantēshu va(ba)lēshu yasya viśvambharāyā nichitam rajōbhāh | pāda-prachāra-
- kshamam=antariksham=vihangamānām suchiram=va(ba)bhūva || [4*]

¹ From the original plate² Denoted by a symbol³ [The letter looks more like *ta* than *ra*—Ed.]⁴ The Nālandā plate (*Ep Ind*, Vol. XVII, p. 318) has *sarv-ārtha-bhūm iśvaraḥ*, which is probably right.

- 8 Śāstr-ārtha-bhājā chalatō=nuśāsya varnnān=pratishthāpayatā sva-dharmm | śrī-Dharmmapālēna sutēna sō=bhūt=svarga-sthitānām=anrīnah
- 9 pitrīnām || [5*] Achalair=iva jangamair=yadiyair=vichaladbhir=dviradaih kadarthyamānā | nirupaplavam=amva(mba)ram prapēdē śa-
- 10 ranam rēnu-nibhēna bhūta-dhātī || [6*] Kēdārē vidhin=ōpayukta-payasām Gangāsamēt-āmvu(mbu)dhau Gōkarnn-ādishu ch=āpy=anu-
- 11 shtitavatām tīrthēshu dharmmyāh krivāh | bhṛityānām sukham=ēva yasya sakalān=uddh[rī*]tya dushtān=imān lōkān=sā-
- 12 dhayatō'nushanga¹-janitā siddhiḥ paratr=āpy=abhūt || [7*] Tais=tair=dig-vijay-āvasāna-samayē samprēshitānām=paraiḥ sa-
- 13 tkārar=apaniya khēdam=akhilam svām svān=gatānām bhuvam | krītyam=bhāvaya tām yadiyam=uchitam prītyā nripānām=abhūt=s-ō-
- 14 ēkantham hṛdayam divas=chyutavatām jāti smarānām=iva || [8*] Śrī-Parava(ba)-lasya duhituh kshiti-patinā Rāshtrakūta-tilakasya |
- 15 Rāpnādēvyāh pānir=jagrihē griha-mēdhinā tēna || [9*] Dhṛita-tanur=iyam Lakshmīh sākshāt=kshiti=nu śārīrīṇī kim=avanī-patēh
- 16 kīrttir=mūrttā'thavā¹ griha-dēvatā [*] iti vidadhatī śuchy-āchārā vitarkavatīh prajāh piakṛiti gurubhir=vā śuddh-āntam gunai-
- 17 r=akarōd=adhaḥ || [10*] Ślāghyā pativrat=āsau muktā-ratnam samudra-śuktir=iva śrī-Dēvapālādēvam prasanna-vṛittam² sutam=asūta || [11*]
- 18 Nirmmalō manasī vāchi samyataḥ kāya-karmmani cha yah sthitah śuchau rājyam=āpa nirupaplavam pitur=vō(bō)dhi sat[t*]va iva
- 19 saugatam padam || [12*] Bhrāmyadbhir=vijaya-kramcna karibhis=tām=ēva Vindhy-ātavim=uddūma-plavamāna-vāshpa-payasō dri[shtāh] punar=vā(bā)ndha-
- 20 vāh | [1] Kamvō(mbō)jēshu cha yasya vāji-yuvabhir=dhvast-ānya-rāj-ajyasō hēshā-mīrīta-hārī-hēshita ravāh kāntās=chiram vikshitāh³ || [13*]
- 21 Yah pūrvvam=Va(Ba)linā kritah kṛita-yugē yēn=āgamad=Bhārgavas=trētāyām prahataḥ priya-pranayinā Karnnēna yō dvāparē | vichchinnah kali-
- 22 nā Śaka-dvishi gatē kālēna lōk-āntaram yēna tyāga pathah sa ēva hi punar=vispashtam=unmilitah || [14*] A(Ā) Gang-āgama-mahitā
- 23 t-sapatna sūnyām=ā Sētu-prathita-Dasāsya-kētu-kīrttēh | urvim=ā Varuṇa-nikē[ta*]nāch-cha sindhōr=ā Lakshmi-kula-bhavanāch=cha yō
- 24 vu(bu)bhōja || [15*] Sa khalu Bhāgīrathī-patha-pravarttamāna-nānāvidha-nau-vātaka-sampādita sūtu-va(ba)ndha-nihita-śaula-śikhara-śrē-
- 25 nī-vibhramān=niratīsayā-ghana-ghanāghana-ghatā - śyāmāyamāna - vāsara - Lakshmi-samā-ravdha(bdha)-santata-jalada-samaya sa-
- 26 ndēhāt | udichin-ānēka-nara-pati-prābhṛitīkṛit āpramēya-haya-vāhinī-khara-khur-ōtkhāta-dhūli-dhūsarita-di-
- 27 g-antarālāt | paramēśvara-sēvā samāyāt āśēsha-Jamvū(mbū)dvīpa-bhūpāla-pādāta-bhara-namad-avanēh | śrī-Mudgagiri-samāvā-

¹ The elision of a is denoted by an *agraha*

² Kielhorn read *prasanna vaktrah*, and this is supported by the Nālandā plate, l 16 But our plate has distinctly *-vṛittam*

³ Our plate has clearly *vikshitāh*, as was read by Kielhorn, the Nālandā plate however has *chira prīritāh*, l 18)

- 28 sita-śrīmaj-jaya-skandhāvārāt parama-saṅgata-paramēśvara-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahūrāj-
ādhirāja-śrī-Dharmapālādēva-
- 29 pād-ānudhyātah parama-saṅgatah paramēśvara-parama-bhaṭṭārakō mahūrāj-ādhirājah
śrīmān=Dēvapālādēvah kuśali |
- 30 Śrīnagara-bhuktau Kṛimilā-viśhay-āntahpāti-sva-samva(mba)ddh-āvichchhinna-tal-
ōpēta-Mēśhikā-grāmē samupagati-
- 31 na(n) sarvvān-ēva rānaka- | rāja-putra- | amūtya- | mahākūrttākṛitika- | mahū-
dandanāyaka- | mahū-pratīhāra- | mahū-sū-
- 32 manta- | mahādauhsūdhasūdhānika- | mahā-kumār-āmūtya- | pramāṭṭi- | sarabhaṅga- |
rājasthānīya- | uparika- | dāsā-
- 33 parādhika- | chaurōddharanika- | dāndika- | dāndapāsika- | śaulkika- | gaulmika- | ksha-
(kshē)trapa- | prāntapāla- | kōttapāla- ;
- 34 khandaraksha- | tad-āyuktaka- | viniyuktaka- | hasty-aśv-ōshtra-va(ba)la-vyāpṛitaka-
[|*] kīśōra-vadavā-gō mahishy-aj-āvīk-ādhyaksha- | dūta-praishani-
- 35 ka- | gamāgamika- | abhityaramūna- | viśhaya-pati- | tara-pati- | tarika- | Gauda-Mūlava-
Khasa-Hūpa-Kulika-Karṇnāta-I ā[ta]-chāta-bhata-
- 36 sēvak-ādīna(n) anyāms=ch-ākīrttitān sva-pāda-padm-ōpajīvinah prativāsinaś=cha vrā-
(brā)hman-ōttarān mahattara-kutumvi(mbi)-purōga-mēd-ā

Second Side.

- 37 1ndhraka-Chandāla-paryantān samājñ(ā)payati Vīditam=a-
- 38 stu bhavatām yath=ōparīkṣita-Mēśhikā-grāmah sva-sī-
- 39 mā-trina-yūti-gōchāra-paryantah sa-talah s-ōddēśah s-āmra-madhūkah sa-jala-sthalah
sa-matsyah sa-trinah s-ōparikarah. sa-dās-ā-
- 40 parādhah sa-chaurōddharanah parihṛita-sarvva-pīdah | a-chāta-bhata-pravēśō² kñchit³-
pragrāhyō rājakulīya-³pratyāya-samē-
- 41 tō bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēn=ā-chandr-[ārka]-kshiti-sama-kālah⁴ pūrvva-datta-bhukta-
bhujyamāna-dēva-vra(bra)hma-dēya-varjito mayā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha pu-
- 42 űya-vaśō-bhivridhayē vēd-ā[rtha]-vidō yajvanō Bhatta-Viśvarātasya putrāya
vidy-āvadāta-chētasō Bhatta-śrī-Varāharātasya putrāya |
- 43 pada-vākya-pramāna-vidyā-pāram-gatāya | Āupamanyava-sa-grō(gō)trāya | Āślāyana⁵-
sa-vra(bra)hmachārīnē | Bhatta-[pravara⁶]-Vihōkarāta-mūśarāya
- 44 śāsanīkṛitya pratipādītah [|*] Yatō bhavadbhīh sarvvair=ēva bhūmēr=dāna-phala-
gauravād=apaharanē mahā-naraka-pāta-bhayāch=cha dānam=1-
- 45 dam=anumōdya pā[la]nīyam prativāsibhīh kshētrakaraś=ch=ājñā-śravana-vidhēyair-
bhūtvā samuchita-kara-hirany-ādēy-ādī-sarvva-pratyāy-ōpana-
- 46 yah ka(ā)rya itī | [Sa]mvat 33 Mārga-dinō 21 | Tathā cha dharm-ānuśāśa(sa)na-
ślōkāh | Sarvān-ētān bhāvinah pārthivēndrān

¹ [The symbol seems to read *māra* — Ed.]

² The elided *a* is denoted by an *acagraha*.

³ [Like the Nālandā plate, this charter clearly gives *samasta* before *pratyāya*. Kielhorn was doubtful about the reading of this word. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 256, f. n. 34. — Ed.]

⁴ [I think the text reads *kālam* as it does in the Nālandā plate, l. 36, of other nasal symbols for instance in l. 38 and 51 — Ed.]

⁵ Read *Āślāyana*

⁶ So read in previous editions the letters are no longer legible

B — Reverse

- 47 bhūyō bhūyah prārthayaty=śsha Rāmah [I*] sāmānyō=yam dharma-sētur=
nripānām(m) kālē kālē pūlanīyah kramēṇah¹ || [16*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vaśudhā
48 dattā rājabhīh Sagar-ādibhīh [I*] yasyayasya yadā bhūmih(s=)tasyatasya tadā
phalam || [17*] Sva-dattām=para-dattām=vā yō harēta vasu-
49 ndharān(m)² [I*] sa viśthāyā[m*] krmir=bhūtvā pīṭribhis=saha ³pachyat[ā] || [18*]
Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlan(lām)⁴ śrī(śrī)yam=anuchintya manushya-
50 jīvitañ=cha | sakalam=īdam=udāhritañ=cha vu(bu)ddh[v*]ā na hi purushaiḥ para-
kīrttayō vilōpyā[h*] || [19*] Srēyō-vidhāv=ubhayanśa-⁴vī-
51 śuddhi l'hājam rāj=ātka(ka)lōd=adhigat-ātma-gunam guṇa-jñah | ātm-ānurūpa char-tam
sthira-yauvarājyam śrī-Rājapālam=ī-
52 ha dūtakam=ātma-putram || [20*]

No 31 —TEKKALI PLATES OF DANARNAVA'S SON INDRAVARMAN.

By E HULTZSCH, PH D ; HALLE (SAALE)

Ink-impressions of this inscription⁵ were kindly made over to me by Rao Bahadur H Krishna Sastri. The plates belong to Sri L. N. Deb, Esq., Yubraj of Tekkali in the Ganjūm District of the Madras Presidency. These are "three copper-plates, each measuring about 5½" in breadth and 2¾" in height, and strung on a ring of the same metal. The first plate is inscribed only on the inner face, and the third plate bears only one line of writing on the outer face. The plates do not appear to have had raised rims. The ring is 3" in diameter and is fixed in a circular seal measuring ¾" in diameter, on which is engraved the worn figure of a standing bull with raised hump, facing the proper left. The three plates, with ring and seal, weigh 60 tolas."

The writing on the plates is in a state of very good preservation. The alphabet resembles that of other early grants of the Gāngas of Kalinga. The letters ण and ण have the same shape as in the majority of them,⁶ while in one of the grants of Indravarman⁷ the ण closely resembles the ण. The *jīhvāmūliya* is employed in line 18, and the *upadhmānīya* five times. A final form of *m* occurs in line 27. The group ण is written correctly in line 10, but is expressed by ण in lines 3 and 31. In line 30 occur the numerical symbol 100 and the two decimal figures 5 and 4. The language of the inscription is on the whole very correct Sanskrit prose, with three verses 'sung by Vyāsa', quoted in lines 25-29. Line 14 contains a few Dravidian words (*amba-achchi-pōṭi*).

The date of this inscription (l 30 is the year 100 54=154; i.e. the first of the three figures is expressed by the numerical symbol '100', and the two remaining figures are decimals. This fresh date induced me to re-examine the year of the Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarman, son of Guṇārṇava, which I had originally read as 100 80 3.⁸ Kielhorn noted already that the middle figure is certainly not the numerical symbol '80', but the decimal '8'.⁹ The third figure of the year does not resemble the usual form of '3', but, as the date is recorded also in words, it must be meant for '3'. Bühler solved this little problem in a very ingenious manner by explaining

¹ Read *kramēṇa*

² [I think we can read it as ण—Ed.]

³ [The original wrongly gives *pāchyatē*—Ed.]

⁴ Read *ubhaya vamsā*

⁵ See the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1924, p 10, App A, No 1, and p 97, part 2

⁶ See e.g. above, Vol XIV p 361, *Ind Ant*, Vol. XIII, p 123, above, Vol III, p 121

⁷ *Ind Ant* Vol XIII, p 120.

⁸ Above, Vol III, p 133

⁹ Above, Vol V, Appendix, p. 91, note 7

The executor (*ājñā*) of this grant was the *Mahāmahattara* *Harīśarman* (l 29 f) The donee was a Brāhmana named *Skandaśarman* (l 17), who lived at *Garakhōṇna* (l 15). The royal donor was *Dānārnavā's* son, the *Kalinga* king *Indravarmān* of the *Gāṅga* family, who issued this edict from his residence of *Kalinganagara*. He seems to have made the grant for the spiritual merit of his mother *Achchipōtī* (l 14) The grant was made at an eclipse of the sun (l 15) in the year 154 (of the *Gāṅga* era) (l 30) It consisted of a field at the village of *Tungannā* (l 11) or *Tungina* (l 21) in the district of *Rūpyavatī* (l 11)

I am unable to identify either the village granted or its boundaries (ll 18-22) But the *Rūpyavatī-vishaya* (l 11) may be connected with the [Rū]pavarttani-vishaya¹ which contained the village of *Sellāda* For, according to Mr G Ramadas,² this village belongs to the *Tekkali Tāluk*, and the subjoined grant is preserved at *Tekkali*

TEXT³

First Plate

- 1 श्रीं स्वस्ति [॥*] सर्वतु सुखरमणीयाद्विजयश्रीनिवासात्कलिङ्गन-
- 2 गरवासकान्तहेन्द्राचलामनशिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य चराचरगु-
- 3 रोस्सकलभुवननिर्माणैकसूत्रधारस्य भगवतो गोकर्ण-⁵
- 4 स्वामिनश्चरणकमलयुगलप्रणामाद्विगतकलिकल-
- 5 झो गाङ्गामलकुलतिलको नयविनयसम्पदामाधार[:] स्वासि-
- 6 धारापरिस्पन्दाधिगतसकलकलिङ्गाधिराज्यं प्रविततचतुर्दधि-
- 7 सलिलतरङ्गमेखलायनितलामलयशाः⁶ अनेकसमर-

Second Plate, First Side

- 8 संघट्टविजयजनितजयशब्दप्रतापोपनतसमस्तसाम-
- 9 न्तचूडामणिप्रभामञ्जरीपुष्करञ्जितचरणं परममा-
- 10 हेयरो मातापितृपादानुध्यातश्रीमद्दानाणवसूनुश्रीमान्महा-
- 11 राजेन्द्रवर्मा रूप्यवतीविषये तुङ्गनाग्रामे सर्वसमवेतान्कुटु-
- 12 म्बिनस्समाज्ञापयत्यस्ति⁸ विदितमस्तु वो यथास्मिन्ग्रामे हल-
- 13 स्य भूमिर्ब्रह्मदेयदण्डमानमिता सर्वकरभरैः परिहृत्याच-
- 14 न्द्रार्कप्रतिष्ठाङ्गत्वा अम्बअक्षिपोटिभट्टारिकाया पुण्याभिष्ट-
- 15 हये सूर्योपरागे सलिलपूर्वकं गरखोन्नवास्तव्याय शास्त्रि-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 16 त्ससगोत्राय वाजसनेयसन्नज्ञचारिणे वेदवेदाङ्गपारगा-
- 17 य स्कन्दशर्मणे सम्पूता [॥*] तदेवं विदित्वास्य स्वकीयां भूमिं भुञ्जानस्य न

¹ Madras Epigraphical Report for 1919, p 14, Appendix A, No 6

² Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol XIV, p 271

³ From ink impressions supplied by Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Read गोकर्ण

⁶ Read °यशा

⁷ Read °चरणं प°.

⁸ The word अस्ति is superfluous Cf Ind Ant. Vol XIII, p. 123, note 50, above, Vol. XII, p 132, note 4, Vol XIII, p 214, note 2,

- 18 कैनचिदावाषट्कार्यः [1*] सीमासिद्धान्तप्यस्य क्षेत्रस्य प्रदक्षिणक्र-
 19 सेण वीक्ष्यानि [1*] पूर्वेण विद्युद्गङ्गा [1*] दक्षिणेण¹ पुरुषच्छा-
 20 यया पाप्माणपङ्क्तिः [1*] पश्चिमेन शङ्करघाटकसीमान्ताः [1*] उत्त-
 21 रेणापि सेव विद्युद्गङ्गा [1*] तुङ्गनतडाकोदकमये[त*]त्वेन काराग्व-
 22 न्त्वाः² ब्राह्मणपत्न्याय³ निर्गत्य प्रविशति यावत्पच्यते [1*] मविष्य-
 23 तश्च राज्ञः प्रज्ञापयति [1*] धर्मक्रमविक्रमाणामन्यतम-

Third Plate, First Side

- 24 योगादवाप्य महीमनुशासद्विरयन्दानधर्मोनुपालनोयो व्या-
 25 सगीताद्यान् श्लोका भवन्ति [11*] बहुभिर्बहुधा दत्ता बहुभिर्बहुधा नुपालिता [1*]
 26 यस्ययस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं [11 १*] स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा
 27 यत्नाद्वच युधिष्ठिर [1*] महीममहीमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयोनु-
 28 पालनम् [11 २*] षष्ठिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] आ-
 29 चेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्मेव नरके वसेदिति [11 ३*] आज्ञा महामहत्त-
 30 रहन्निशर्मा [1*] प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सराः [1*] १०० ५४ [1*] लिखित-
 31 सिद्धं शासनं ऋत्युद्धवधर्मधन्वन्तुना सर्व्वधिकृतेन श[1*]स्वपुरो-⁵

Third Plate, Second Side.

- 32 पाद्म्यायेनोत्कीर्णमादित्यभोगकसूनुना⁶ खण्डिचन्द्रेणेति⁷ [11*]

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-12) From the residence of *Kalanganagara* (l 1 f), the worshipper of the god *Gōkarna-svāmīn* (l 3 f) on the *Mahēndra* mountain (l 2), the ornament of the spotless family of the *Gāngas* (l 5), who has obtained the sovereignty over the whole of *Kalinga* (l 6), the fervent devotee of *Mahēsvara*, who meditates on the feet of (his) mother and father, the son of the glorious *Dānārṇava*, the glorious *Mahārāja Indrarāman*, commands (as follows) the ryots, accompanied by all (others), at the village of *Tungannā* in the *Rūpyavatī* district (*vishaya*) (ll 9-12)

(Ll 12-17) "Be it known to you that (one) plough (*hala*) of land in this village, measured by the rod (used for) *br.hmadēyas*, exempting (it) from the burden of all taxes, making (it) to last as long as the moon and the sun, has been granted, for the increase of the spiritual merit of (my) mother, the lady *Achchipōti*,⁸ at an eclipse of the sun, with previous (libations of) water, to *Skandaśarman*, who resides at *Garakhonna* (and) belongs to the *gētra* of the *Sāndilyas*, a student of the *Vājasaneyā* (*charana*), who has mastered the *Vēdas* and *Vēdāṅgas* "

¹ Read दक्षिणेन

² Read दक्षिण

³ Read ०त्कीर्णमादित्यभोगिक

⁴ *ambā* (- २२०१११ *ambā*) in Telugu means 'a mother', *achchi* in Kanarese the same, and *bōti* according to *own's Telugu-English Dictionary* 'a damsel'

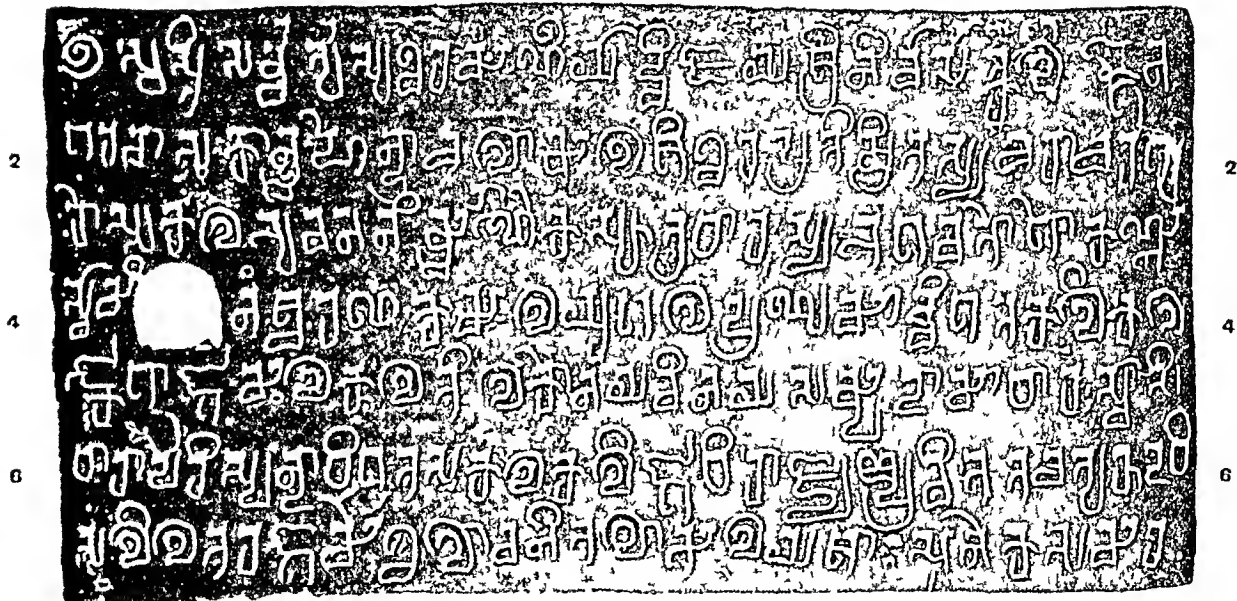
⁵ Read ०वृत्तया

⁶ See above, Vol XIV, p 362, text line 30

⁷ This line ends with a punctuation

⁸ Read perhaps ०पाचन्या

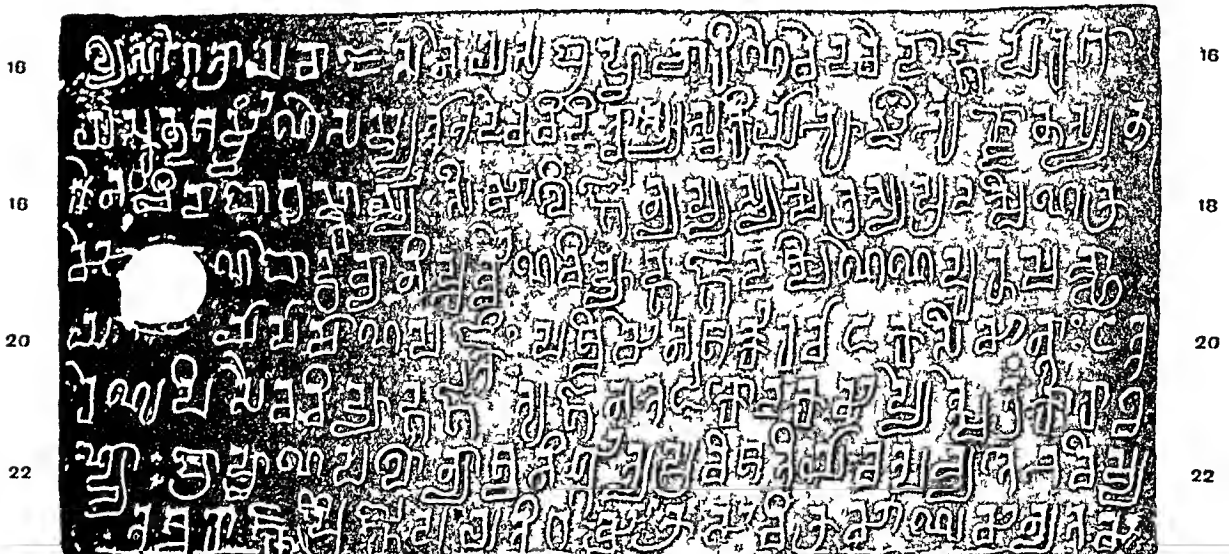
i



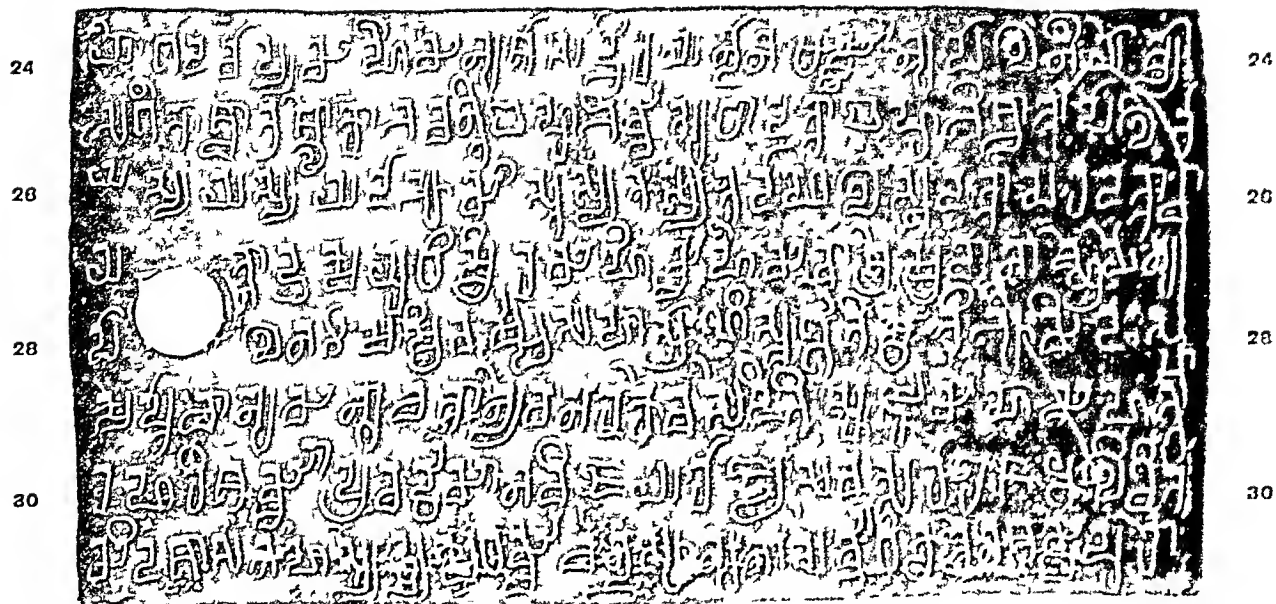
na



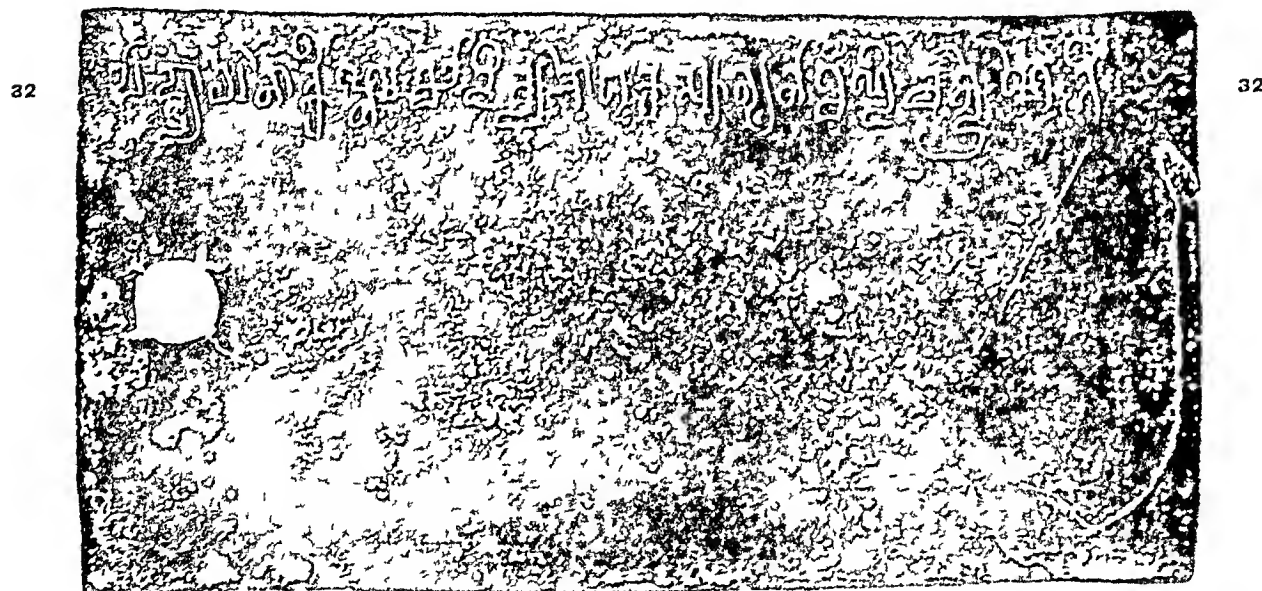
nb



iii.



iii



SEAL (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH)



ENLARGED NEARLY FOUR TIMES THE ORIGINAL SIZE

(Ll. 18-22) And the marks of the boundaries of this field are to be known in the order from right to left. To the east, the *Vidyudgangā*. To the south, a row of boulders for (a distance which equals) the shadow of a man.¹ To the west, the boundaries of *Śarkaravātaka*. And to the north, the same *Vidyudgangā*. And the water of the tank (*taḍāka*) of *Tungana*,² flowing out of the *Kārākhandī* and *Brāhmanapālani* (canals?), enters this field until (the crop) ripens.”

[Ll 24-28 contain three verses ‘sung by Vyāsa’]

(Ll 29-31) “The executor (*ājñā*) (was) the *Mahāmahattara* *Harīśarman* 100 (and) 54 years of the kingdom of increasing victory (had then passed) This edict (*śāsana*), (was) written by the *Sarīādhikṛta* *Ś[ā]mbapurōpādhyāya*, the son of the *Hastyaadhyaśha* *Dharmachandra*, (and) engraved by *Khaṇḍichandra*, son of *Āditya-Bhōg[ī]ka*”

No 32—TEKKALI PLATES OF RAJENDRAVARMAN'S SON DEVENDRAVARMAN

By E HULTZSCH, PH D, HALLE (SAALE)

These plates belong to Sri Gopinath Deb, Esq, Second Prince of Tekkali in the Ganjam District of the Madras Presidency. Ink-impressions of them were kindly forwarded to me by Rao Bahadur H Krishna Sastri. These are “three copper plates, each measuring about 6½” high and 2¾” broad, and strung on a ring of the same metal. The first plate bears writing only on the inner face. All the inscribed faces appear to have had raised rims, which are now worn out. The ring is about 3½” in diameter and is fixed in a circular seal measuring 1¼” in diameter. The seal is much damaged and broken on one side. It bears the figure of a seated bull, facing the proper left. Below the bull is a lotus, of which only three petals are now visible. The three plates, with ring and seal, weigh 85 tolas.”

The writing on the plates is fairly well preserved and distinct, except where it has been wilfully tampered with by some person who erased and changed certain topographical and personal names which the inscription must have contained originally. The alphabet closely resembles that of the Alamanda plates of the year 304.³ The language is very barbarous Sanskrit prose, with two equally faulty verses ‘sung by Vyāsa’, which are quoted in lines 24-27.

The inscription⁴ records the grant of a village by the worshipper of the god *Gōkarna-svāmī* (l 5) on the *Mahēndra mountain* (l 2 f) and the ornament of the spotless family of the *Gangas*,—the *Mahārāja Dēvēndravarmā*, who was the son of the *Mahārāja Rājēndravarmā* (ll 12-14). He addressed this edict from his residence of *Kalinganagara* (l 2) to the ryots inhabiting a village whose name has been later on erased and replaced by the word *Ni[y]mo* in *Nāgarī* characters (l 14). The name of the district in which this village was included has also been tampered with, but may have been originally *[Rū]pavarttanī*.⁵ The name of the *Brāhmaṇa* donee seems to have been erased, but he was apparently a ‘good poet’ (*su-kavi*) and the son of a ‘great doorkeeper’ (*mahāpratīhāra*, l 17). The description of the boundaries of the village granted (ll 20-23) has also been tampered with and cannot be restored in full.

¹ Cf above, Vol III, p 134, note 1, and Vol XIV, p 363, *passim*.

² This name was spelled *Tunganna* in line 11.

³ Above, Vol III, p 18.

⁴ See *Ep. Rep.* for 1924, p 10, App A, No 2, and p 97, para 2.

⁵ Cf above, p 309.

Line 28 f contains the date of the inscription. If the compound [*śata*] *mayi* is explained as a clerical error for *śata-trayī*, it may be translated by "In the year three-hundred and ten of the kingdom of growing victory of the Gaṅga race." Dēvēndravārman, whose subjoined grant is dated in the year 310, might then have been a second son and successor of that Rājēnd-avarman whose first son, Anantavarman, issued the Alamāṇḍa plates of the year 304.¹ The two names of the writer (l 30) and of the goldsmith (*akṣhaśālin*) who engraved the edict (l 31) remain doubtful and suspicious.

It will be seen that at present this whole document is of very small practical value. But I am publishing it with the hope that, in the light of future discoveries, it may still prove of some use in unravelling the tangled web of the Gāṅga genealogy and chronology.

TEXT²

First Plate

- 1 ॐ [l*] Svasy-Amara-pur ānukārīna[h*] sarva-rtu-sukha-ra]⁴
- 2 maṇi(n) yāla-vijayā(ya)vata[h*] Kaluṅganagara-vāsakān-Mahē-
- 3 ndrāchal-āmala-śikhara-pratishthitasya sa-char-āchāra-gurō[h*] sa-
- 4 kala-bhuvana-nirmān-aika su(sū)tradhārasya śaśānka-chū(chū)-
- 5 dāmanēr=bhagavatō Gōkarna(rna)-sv[ā]mnaś-charana-kamala-
- 6 yugala-pranāmād=vigata Kalakalankō=nō(nē)k-ā-

Second Plate, First Side

- 7 hava-sa[m*]kshōbha-janita-jaya-śavdā(bdah) pratāp āvanata-sama-
- 8 sta-sāmanta-chakra-chū(chū)dāmanī-prabhā-mañjarī(rī)-puñja-rañja(nī)ta-
- 9 vara-charaṇa[h*] sita-kumuda-ku[m*]d-ēndēdvāvadāta⁶di-
- 10 [dgē]śa⁷vimrggata-yashō(śō)-dhvast-ārāti-kulāchalō naya-
- 11 vinaya-dayā-dāna-dākshanya⁸-śaury-audārya-satya-tyū-
- 12 g-ādi-guṇa-sa[m*]pad-ādhāra-bhu(bhū)tō Gang-āmala-kula-ti-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 13 laka(kō) mahārāja-śrī(śrī)-Rājēndrava[r]mma-su(sū)nu[r]=mahārāja-
- 14 śrī(śrī)-Dēvēndrava[r]m[ā*] kuśali(lī) . . pavarttany[ām]⁹ Ni[y]mo-¹⁰grā-
- 15 ma-nivāsina[h*] kutu[mimna][h*]¹¹ samājñāpayatī [[l*] Vidi-
- 16 tam=astu vō [bhavatām]¹² grāma

¹ Above, Vol III, p 18 [See also *Ep. Rep* for 1924, p 97, para 2, and the genealogical table on p 98 —Ed.]

² From ink-impressions supplied by Rao Bahadur Kṛṣṇa Sastrā.

³ Expressed by a symbol. For *svasy* read *svasty*.

⁴ The tops of the letters of this line are cut away.

⁵ Read *Kalī Kalakālō*.

⁶ Read *ēndv-avadāta*.

⁷ Read *dig-dēśa* and cf above, Vol III, p 223, text line 7.

⁸ Read *dākshanya*.

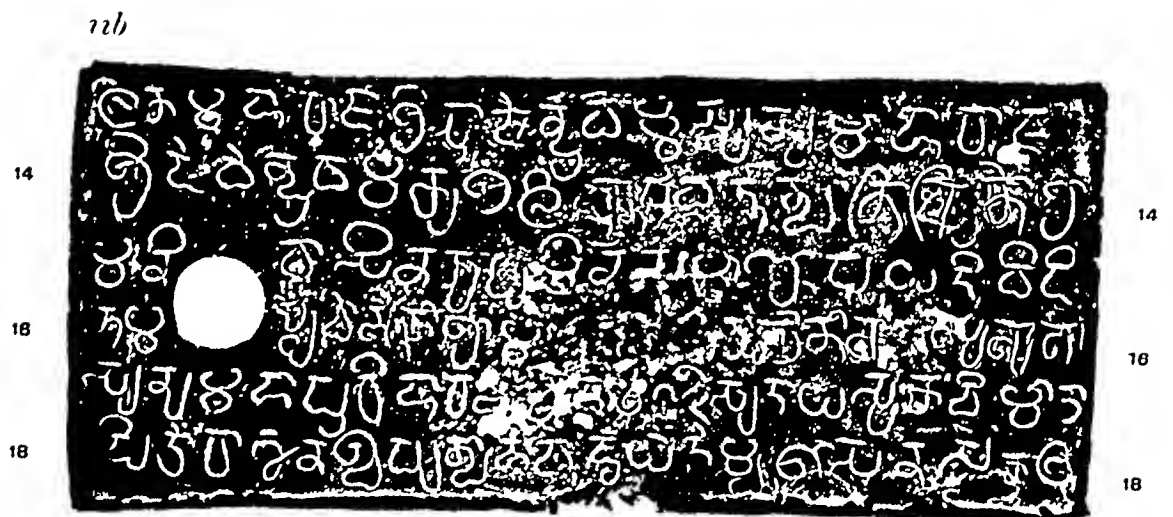
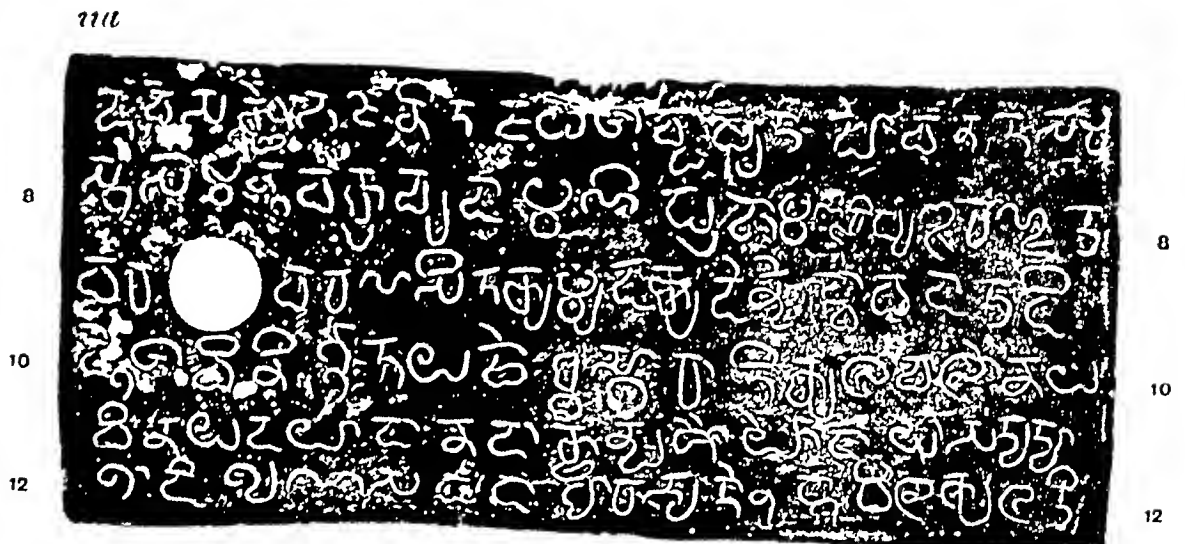
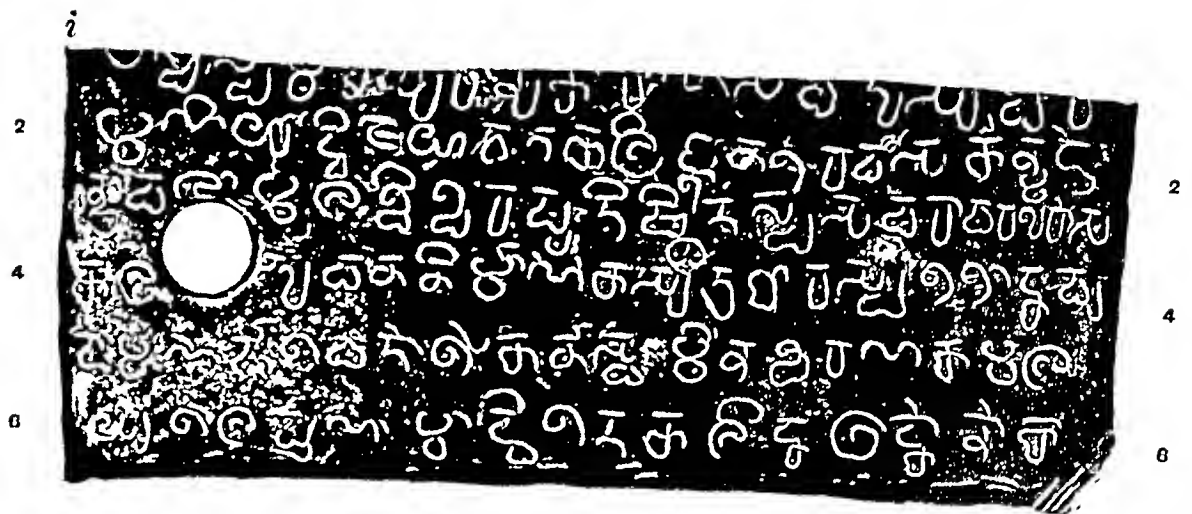
⁹ One or two letters at the beginning of this word have been erased and corrected. The original reading may have been *Rūpa*.

¹⁰ The name *Ni[y]mo* has been substituted by a second hand. The vowel of the first and second syllables is a Nāgarī, while this vowel is in every other instance expressed by a curve above the consonant.

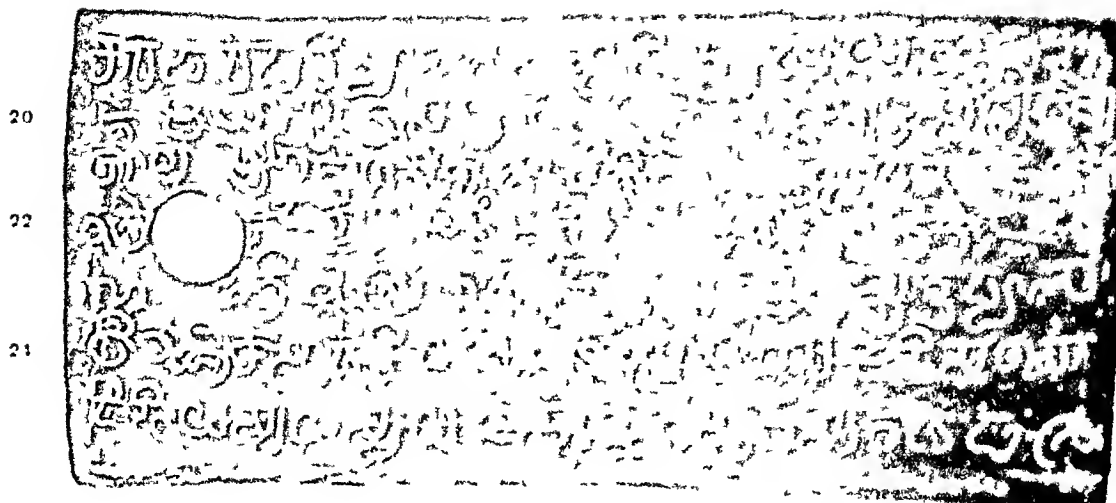
¹¹ Read *kuṭumbinaḥ*.

¹² The bracketed word is engraved on an erasure.

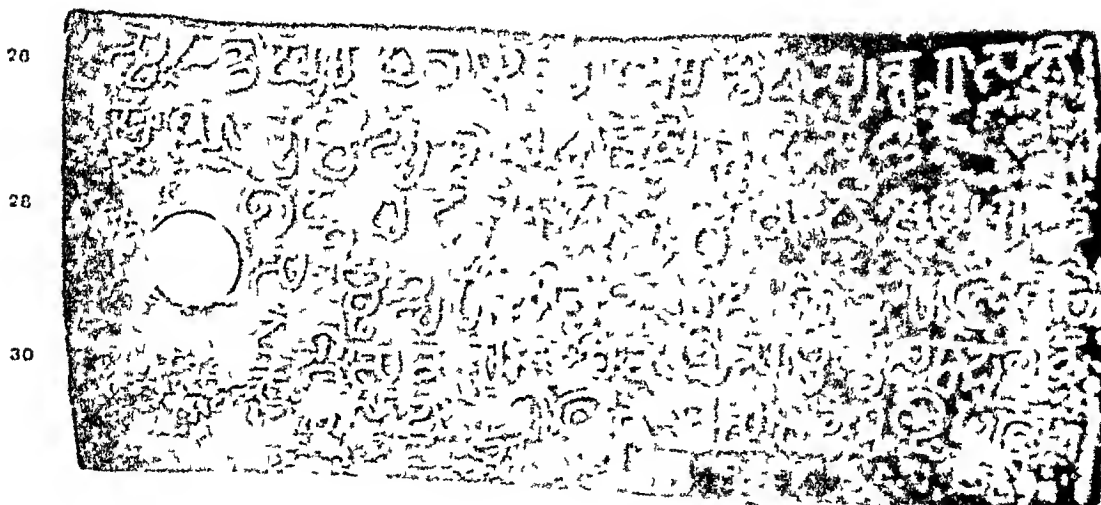
TLKKALI PLATES OF RAJENDRAVARMAN'S SON DEVENDRAVARMAN



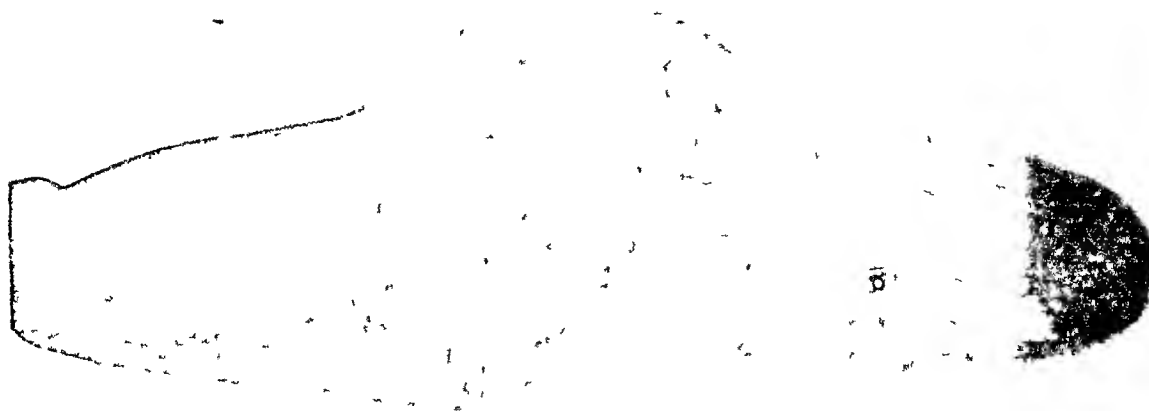
111a



111b



SEAL (COPY OF COPY) 111a



(ENLARGED, NEARLY FOUR TIMES THE ORIGINAL SIZE)

- 17 su(sū)nu-mahāpratīhāra¹ . . [śarmana][h*] sutāya su-kavi² mātā-
 18 pitrōr-ātmanaś=cha puny(ṇy)-ābhivṛddhayē t[ā]nv[ra]-śāsana³ sakala-

Third Plate, First Side

- 19 kara-bharai(ra) parityāgēna chandr-āditya-paryanta[m*] prada-
 20 tō(ttō) mayā [||*] Atra si(sī)mā-ling[ā*]ni likhyantē [||*] Grāmasya pūrvva-di-
 21 śā(śi) vyāghra[h*]⁴ tatō [gartā⁵ nyag-gatā⁶ ?] dakṣiṇēna vāpyā [va]na-rāji[h*]
 ga[rtā]
 22 tatō dakṣiṇa-paśchima-[kō] . . . [ga]rtā tatō(ta) uta(tta)rē
 23 ṇa tīntalikā-vṛi[kṣha][h*] [va]na[rāji]kā [||*] Atra Vyāsa-
 24 gi(gī)tā[h*] [ślō]kā bhavanti [||*] Va(Ba)hubhīr=vvasudhā datā(ttā) r[ā*]jabhi[h*]
 Sagar-ā-
 25 di[bh]i[h*] |] yasya-yasya yadā bhūmi[s=]*tasya-tasya tath[ā](dā) phala[m || 1*]

Third Plate, Second Side

- 26 Sva-dattā[m*] para-dūtām=vā⁷ yō harēti(ta) vasundharā[m*] sa vi-
 27 shthāyām kṛimīr-bhu(bhū)tvā pachyatō pitṛibhi[h*] saha [|| 2*]
 28 Ganga-va[nśa]-[pra]varddham[ā*]na-vijaya-rāja(jya)-
 29 samvatsarā-⁸[śata]-mayō¹⁰ daś-ōttarō [||*] Li[kh*]tam=1-
 30 dam śāsana[m*] ra [s]in[ām]¹¹ śri(śrī)-s[ā*]manta-Sarvva[chandṛē]na(ṇa) (?) - [||*]
 31 Utk[tkī]rṇa[m*] ch=ākṣaś[ā]l[i]n[ā] śri(śrī)-s[ā*]manta-Khandi[malēpā]¹² [||*]

No 33 —PENUKAPARU GRANT OF JAYASIMHA II

By E. HULTZSCH, PH D, HALLE (SAALE)

Ink-impressions of the plates which bear the subjoined inscription¹³ were kindly sent to me by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri. The plates belong to Mr. K. Nagesvara Rao, editor of the *Andhra-Patrikā*, Madras. These are "three copper-plates, each measuring 2½" by 7½", and strung on a ring of the same metal. The first and third plates are inscribed only on their inner face. The ring is 2½" in diameter and is fixed in a circular seal measuring 1½" in diameter. The seal bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrī-Sarvasiddhi*¹⁴ in Chalukya characters. Above this legend are the figures of a crescent and two stars, and below it a full-blown lotus-flower. The three plates, with ring and seal, weigh 45 tolas."

The writing on the plates is on the whole in a state of good preservation. But some lines near the edges of the plates are damaged by corrosion, especially the two bottom lines of plate

¹ The syllable *tī* looks like *dhī*

² Read *tāmra śāsana*

³ Cf. above, Vol. III, p. 134, and note 2

⁷ Read *-dattārah vā*

² Read perhaps *su kavyā*

⁴ This might be the name of some tree

⁶ Cf. above, Vol. III, p. 20, note 6

⁸ Read *-vatsā*

⁹ Read *samvatsara-*

¹⁰ Read perhaps *-śata trayē*, as suggested in my introductory remarks, and cf. *-śata dvayē*, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 145, text line 27

¹¹ Read *rahasyēna* and cf. above, Vol. III, p. 21, note 1

¹² Read perhaps *mallēna*. *Khandi śrī sāmanta* occurs in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 145, text line 26 f.

¹³ See *Ep. Ind.* for 1924, App. A No. 4 and p. 98, para. 3.

¹⁴ Accordingly, *Sarvasiddhi* must have been a surname of the donor, Jayasimha II, just as it is known to have been one of Jayasimha I's, see above, Vol. XVIII, p. 55, notes 3 and 4.

is, α, where some letters near the end have become illegible. The alphabet resembles that of the Chendalūr plates of (the grantor's father) Sarvalōkāśraya (Mangiyuvarāja).¹ A final form of *m* occurs in lines 19, 21, 23, 28 and 30. In *Chalīya* (l. 4) and *yugala* (l. 7), *l* is replaced by *l*, which letter is also employed in the Telugu genitive *Bōla* (ll. 16, 19). The Telugu letter *r* is used in lines 9, 12 and 14. The language is Sanskrit prose, with four verses quoted on plate III, α. The Telugu word *pōru*, 'going,' occurs in the description of the boundaries of the grant (l. 17).

The inscription on the plates records a gift of land by the *Mahārāja Sakalalōkāśraya Jayasimha-Vallabha* (l. 8 f.), who was the son of the *Mahārāja Sarvalōkāśraya* (l. 5 f.) and the grandson of the *Mahārāja Vishnuvardhana* 'who adorned the family of the Chalūkyas' (l. 4 f.).² The Jayasimha of this grant must be identical with the Eastern Chalūkyan king Jayasimha II, who is known to have been the eldest son and the successor of Sarvalōkāśraya (Mangiyuvarāja) and the grandson of Vishnuvardhana (II); and the subjoined grant is the first of Jayasimha II which has hitherto come to light.

In line 9 the king 'commands all as follows. Be it known to you (that) by us —' This passage was probably copied from old office records and is left incomplete. It is repeated with modifications and completed in lines 12-17, where the king "commands as follows all ryots inhabiting the district (*vishaya*) of Karma-rāshtra: (Be it known to you that):³ on the full-moon (tithi) of Jyāishtha, at the time of Samkrānti, at the occasion of gifts of land (*bhūmi-dāna*), at the request of Gobbadī, in the village named Penukaparu in Karma-rāshtra,⁴—a field (*śhētra*) in the north-eastern direction of this village has been given (by us).⁵ The limit of this field to the east (is) the *Nidugalla-tatāla* (tank); the limit to the south (is) the end of the *Pūsa-Bōla-śhētra*,⁶ the limit to the west (is) the road going to; the limit to the north (is) the limit of Mashakha."⁷ After a short *lacuna* at the end of line 17 the description of the boundaries is continued; but it is difficult to say whether it refers to the same field as before, or to another. This description ends with the words (l. 20 f.) 'To the east of the *Tāla-tatāla*, in the southern half, a rice-field measuring four (*navarīṇas*?) and ending in the east, on the north-eastern side of the village (the field lies) between hills (?). The fact that the king granted the field is then stated once more in the first person singular, 'I gave away' (*prādām*, l. 23). The inscription ends with the usual threats and imprecations in prose (ll. 23-26) and in four verses (ll. 26-31). Between the third and fourth verses (l. 30) we are informed that the executor (*ājñapti*) of this grant was *Niravadya-Sakalalōkāśraya-śrī-Prithuvigāmundin*. This officer was evidently named after his sovereign's surname. *Sakalalōkāśraya* (l. 8). The last portion of his title, *gāmundin*, is probably connected with *gāmunda*, a *tadbhava* of *grāmakūṭa*, cf. above, Vol. VII, p. 183. His actual name may have been Gobbadī (l. 14).

The description of the donee, *Era-Drōṇaśarman* (l. 12), is sandwiched between the two versions of the passage which records the king's order (l. 9 and l. 12 ff.). He was a Brāhmana of *Vaṅgīparu* (l. 9) and belonged to the *Kaundinya-gōtra*, *Taittirīya* (*charana*) and *Āpastamba-sūtra* (l. 10). His father and grandfather were *Dēvaśarman* (l. 11) and *Guṇjadēvaśarman* (l. 10 respectively).

¹ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 236 ff.

² These words are supplied from line 9.

³ In line 12 this name is represented by the words 'in your district' (*bhavad-vishaya*), which, where they actually stand, are out of their proper place.

⁴ The words 'by us' are supplied from line 7.

⁵ i.e., probably 'the field (belonging to) Pūsa-Bōla.' For *Bōla* see above, Vol. XVIII, p. 2, and cf. *J[c]dda-Nāla-śhētra* in line 19 of this inscription.

⁶ This seems to be the name of a village.

⁷ The expression *prāg-aparārgam* occurs also in the *Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra*, II, 2, 3, 22.

It will have been observed that the grant is a clumsy production which would remain unintelligible without comparing it with other more properly arranged documents of the same kind. A few remarks have to be made concerning the geographical names occurring in it. One of the imprecations mentions Vāranāśī (l 24), i.e. Benares. The field granted adjoined the village of Penukaparu in the district of Karma-rāshtra (l 14). This village must be distinct from another Penukaparu in the district of Gudrahāra,¹ which had been the object of a grant of Jayasimha I. For the district of Karma-rāshtra see above, p 228. The village of Vangiparu (l 9), where the donce lived, is mentioned also in two grants of Narēndramrigarāja² and Amma II.³

TEXT *

First Plate.

- 1 Svasti [||*] Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-samstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōtrāṇām Hārīti-putrāṇām
- 2 sapta-Lōkamātṛibhiḥ paripālītānām svāmi-Mahāsēna-pāda-bhaktānām bhagavan-Nārā-
- 3 yana-prasāda-samāsādita-vara-varāha-lāmcchhan-ēkshana-kshapa-vaśīkṛit-āsēṣha śa-
- 4 tru-maṇḍalānāmmasvamedh⁵-āvabhṛitha-snāna-pavitrikṛita-vapushām Chalikyānām kula-
- 5 m=alamkarishṇōh śrī-Vishnuvarddhana-mā(ma)hārājasya putrah śrī-Sarvvalōkāśra-
- 6 ya-mahārājasya putrah sv-āsī dhārā-namita rājanya-makuta-taṭa-ghatt[1]ta-
- 7 maṇi-mayūka(kha)-puñja-[mañja*]rī-rañjita-charana-yugalah pratāpavān=prasanna⁶
- 8 parama-[brahmanyō] mātāpitṛi-pād-ānudhyātaḥ Sakalalōkāśraya-śrī-Ja[ya]-

Second Plate, First Side

- 9 siṁgha(ha)-Vallabha-mahārājah sarvv[ā]n=ittham=ājñāpayati [||*] Vīditam=astu
- vō-smābhīh [||*] Vangiparu-v[ā*]stavy[ā]ya
- 10 Kaundinya-gōtrāya Taittirīyāy-Āpastamba-sūtrāya Gumjadēva-śarmmanā[h*] putrāya
- sarvva-
- 11 kratu-yājino Dēvaśarmmanah putrāya chatur-Vvēda-pāragāya sarvva-śāstra-viśāradāya
- 12 śrī-Era-Drōpaśarmmanō [*] Karma-rāshtra-vishaya-nivāsi-kutumbīnāḥ(naḥ)*
- bhavad-vishayē⁷ sarvvān=i-
- 13 ttham=ājñāpayati [||*] Jyauṣthyām paurnnamāsyām samkrānti-kālō bhūmi-
- dāna-nimittē
- 14 Gobbadī-vijñāpanāt=Karma-rāshtrō Penukaparu-nāma-grāmō tasya grā-
- 15 masy-ōttara-pūrvvasyān=dīśi kshētran=dattam=asya kshētrasya pūrvvatō=vadhīh
- Niḍugatṭa-tatā-
- 16 kah [*] dakṣiṇatō=vadhīh Pūsa-Bōla-kshētr-āntah [*] paśchimatō=vadhīh dego . . .
17. [na]ku pōvu panthāh [*] uttaratō=vadhīh Mashakh-āvadhih [*] [to]mdha-kshētrāḥ
- grāma[sy-ō] .[ta]s=ta-

¹ Ind Ant., Vol. XIII, p 138, text lino 17 f² Ind Ant., Vol. XX, p 418.³ Above, p 228⁴ From ink-impressions supplied by Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri⁵ Read -maṇḍalānām=śvamedh-⁶ Read perhaps =prasanna.⁷ The *ku* of *kutumbīnāḥ* was originally omitted and then entered below the line. A cross behind *ku* marks the place where it is to be inserted. The singular *kutumbīnāḥ* is used instead of the plural *kutumbīnāḥ* also in Ind Ant., Vol. XIII, p 49 and p 275, cf also above, Vol. III, p 19⁸ This locative is quite out of place here⁹ The syllable *śch* of *paśchimatō* had been written twice, but the first *śch* seems to have been struck out by the writer

Second Plate ; Second Side

- 18 śākāḥ tasya-ottar-āparasyān=diśi [*] tasya pūrvvatō-vadhīḥ kūpah [*] dakṣiṇatō-
vadhīḥ [tatāka]h [*] paśchimata
- 19 uttarataś=cha J[e]dda-Bō[a]-kshētr-āntō-vadhīḥ [*] Asya kshētrasya kūpa-dvayam [*]
Tatāka ē-
- 20 kaḥ kūpah [*] Tāla-tatākaśya pūrvvataḥ dakṣiṇ-ārddhē vrīhi-kshētram chatuṣṭaya
parimā-
- 21 nam prāg-apavarggam cha [*] Grāmaśy-ottara-pūrvva-dēśē girāvakāśam¹ [*]
Ētaśchatur²-avadhi-
- 22 paryyantam kshētrān=³dharma-yaśō-bhivṛddhayē sarvva-kara-parihār-ōpētam=
udaka-⁴pū-
- 23 rrvakam brahmadēyīkritya prādām [*] Asya sarvva-kara-parihār-ōpētasya kshētrasya
yō
- 24 bādham karōti sah⁵ Vārapāśyām sahasra-brahmahaty[ā*]-pātaka samyuktō
bhavati [*]
- 25 Yō-smach-chhāsanam=atīkr[ā]mēt=sa pāpah śāri(rī)ran=daṇḍam=arhatī sō-pī
pa[m]cha-mahā-

Third Plate

- 26 pātaka-samyuktō bhavati [*] Bhavanti ch=ātra ślōkāḥ [*] Bh[ū]m[ī]-dānāt=param=
dānan=na bh[ū]tan=na bha-
- 27 viśhyati [*] tasya=aiva haranāt=pāpē(pa)n=na bhūtan=na bhaviśhyati [*] Sva-
dattām=para-dattām vā
- 28 yō rē⁶ harēta vasundharām [*] śhaṣṭim varṣa sahasrāṇi viśthāyām jāyatō
krīmīḥ [* 2*]
- 29 Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=ānupālītā [*] yasya-yasya yadā
- 30 bhūmī=tasya-tasya tadā phalam [* 3*] Ājñaptir=Niravadya-Sakalalōkāśraya-śrī-
Prithuvī-gāmuṇḍī [*]
- 31 Vindhy-ātavi(vi)shv=atōyāsu śushka-kōtara-vāsina[h] [*] krishn-āhayō hi jāyantē
brahmadēy-āpahārakāḥ [* 4*]

No 34 — THE KODAVALI ROCK-INSRIPTION OF CHANDASATI, THE SECOND
YEAR OF REIGN

By H KRISHNA SASTRI, B A, OOTACAMUND.

Going in a north-westerly direction from Pithāpuram, a station on the East Coast Railway, for a distance of about 9 miles along the Sāmalkōta-Kattipūdi road, the village of Kodavali is sighted. It is situated not very far from the right side of the road. Proceeding thence for nearly two miles again in a north-westerly direction one reaches the foot of a range of hills

¹ Read perhaps *giry avakāśam*

² Read *Ētach-chatur*.

³ Read *kshētran*.

⁴ The writer had originally written *rukadaka*, but he has himself cancelled the first *ka* by adding a horizontal line at the top of it

⁵ Read *sa*.

⁶ Cancel this syllable.

i.

1
2
4
6
8
8

10
10
12
14
16

18
20
22
24

ii.

10
12
14
16

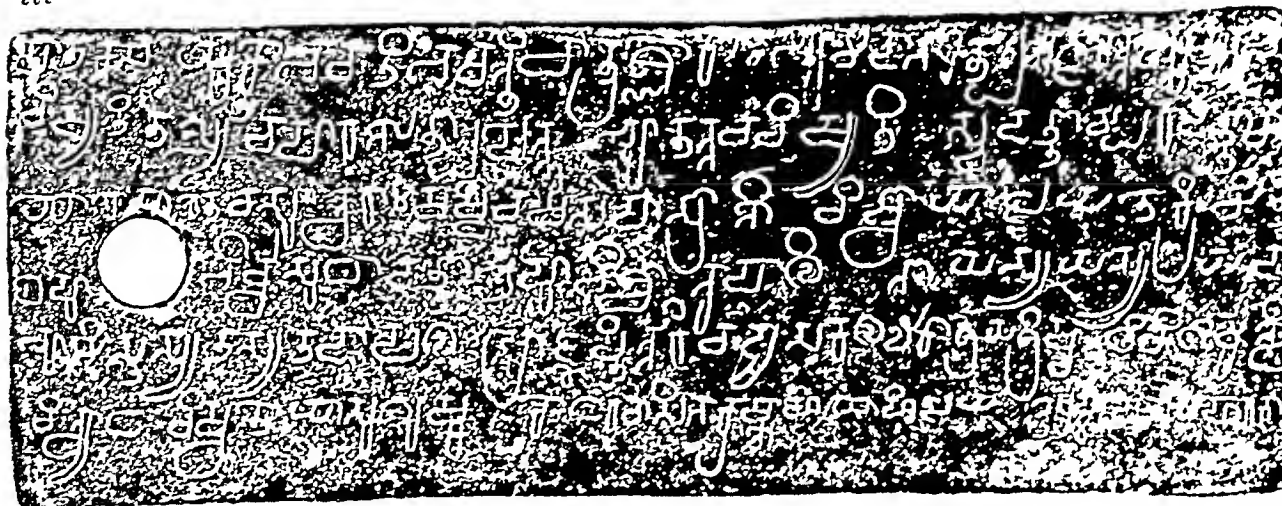
18
20
22
24

iii

18
20
22
24

18
20
22
24

26
28
30



26
28
30

SEAL (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH)



ACTUAL SIZE

covered with thin forest vegetation. From here the place called "Dhanam-dibbā" ¹ — 'the treasure-mound' — is reached by a gravelly foot-path running along the slope of the hill, which appears to have been once provided with steps of rubble stone. Struggling two or three furlongs along this unwelcome path we come to the crown of the hillock and to the mound 'Dhanam-dibbā' on it. Here are found the remains of what looks like a Buddhist stūpa consisting mostly of large-sized bricks and sometimes unhewn stone ². On the southern side of the mound are seen also portions of a structure built of cut and dressed stone. The four rock-cut wells on the south and west sides of the mound, 4 to 5 feet square and 6 to 7 feet deep, are of peculiar interest and seem to have been used once for storing water for the use of the occupants of the Buddhist monastery, as the mound may prove to be when excavations are properly carried out.

On the north wall of one of the wells on the western side of the mound measuring 5' 8½ long by 5' 5½ broad and 7' 2" deep, is engraved in 6 lines the Āndhra inscription, edited below, in Brāhmī characters of about the 3rd century A.D. This inscription which was published in 1908 by Dr. Konow in *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. LXII, p. 591 f. has been noticed as No. 1341 by Dr. Lüders in his *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* in Vol. X, above. As remarked by Dr. Sten Konow in the Director-General of Archaeology's *Annual Survey Report* for 1907-08, p. 225, this is the only lithic record hitherto discovered of the Āndhra king Chadāsāta, who is already known to us from a number of coins found in the Kṛṣṇa and the Godavari districts. My friend Mr. C. R. Krishnamma Acharin, B.A., of the Madras Epigraphical Department has also spent some hours with me in reading the inscription directly from the stone, and the text given below is the joint production of both of us. The accompanying facsimile plate is reproduced from an inked stampage prepared under my direct supervision. The inscription thus deciphered will be seen to differ much from the published text of Dr. Sten Konow. The object of the record, for instance, was not the establishment of the earth dwelling (*bhumi-resa*) of an unnamed minister (*amacha*), but was the establishment of the gift (*dhama*) of a *khamgu* (rock-cut well?) by the minister Sasa of Khaddavali — the ancient form of the present village name Kodavali ³.

The name of the king occurs in l. 3 as Chamdasāti, the ligural *d* being possibly also read as a dental *d*. But it is to be noted that the long vertical stem which is required to distinguish a dental *d* (cf. *di* in l. 4) is missing here, again *da* may be compared with *Khadda* in l. 4. The form *Chadasātisa* ⁴ occurs clearly on one of the coins published by Rapson. So also on the Kodavali rock the *i* of *ti* is faintly seen and is practically certain. Possibly *sāti* is a Piākṛit form of *svāti* and *Chamdasāti* has accordingly to be interpreted as *Chandasvāti*. In the table of later Āndhra kings given opposite p. 218 of his *Early History of India* (third edition) by V. A. Smith, the name-ending *sāti* occurs only in the case of No. 22 Śiva-svāti. But the *Matsya-Purāṇa* gives many other names ending in *svāti* or *svātikarna*, such as Mṛghasvāti, Kuntalasvāti, Sundar-asvātikarna, etc. ⁵. It may be incidentally noted also that the name-ending *svātikarna* is more

¹ Compare Dhanu Bādu near Jaggaṇyapāta, Burgess's "Buddhist Stūpas of Amaravati," p. 107.

² Mr. Rea who discovered it for the first time has referred to it in his report for 1907-08, p. 8. He says that at the foot of the hills are the remains of a fort which, however, I was not able to identify.

³ If, however, the reading सुमिवेस (भूमिवेस) of the learned Doctor is accepted, I would observe a striking coincidence in the term सुमिवेस which occurs twice in the Sundarakūṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa (T. R. K.'s Edition, Chapters XII, 14 and XV, 4) where, in both instances, the commentator Gōvindarāja explains the term as भूमिविवेसः. The context also shows that these underground cellars of Rāvana's Palace and Pleasure garden were primarily meant for hiding objects from the view of the enemy. The same may have been the case with these so-called Rock-cut Wells of the Pithāpāram forest which surely must have formed part of the Dandaka forest and as such must have been once haunted by wicked Rākshasas.

⁴ On a second coin figured as G. P. I. in Pl. VI of the Coins of the Āndhra dynasty by Rapson, the reading is Chamdasāt[ā]sa with an *anusvāra* marked to the left of *cha* as in the Kodavali rock inscription.

⁵ Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 164.

likely to have been the origin of the later Śatakarni than the fanciful *sata-karna* 'the hundred-eared.'¹ But Dr. Konow neither accepts *sāta* as an abbreviation of Śatakarni nor does he read *sāti* (=svāti). He prefers to have the name Chadasāta (=Chamdasāta) without explaining the name-ending *sāta*.

The date of the record in ll 3 and 4 has been read by Dr. Sten Konow as "*savachare 10 3(?) he pa 3 diva dasame*" whereas my reading is "*raji vachhare 2² ma 1 he pa 2 di 1*". The reading *ma 1* after the regnal year is difficult to explain. If this were preceded by *he*, instead of being followed by it, it would have yielded the meaning *hēmantamāsa 1*, as we find in a very large number of similar dates coming from Northern India, but, *he* is required before *pa*; for otherwise the latter could not be explained. Besides, the dated Southern Brāhmī inscriptions as catalogued by Dr. Lüders in his *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* give only the *paksha* of the season and in no case the month (*māsa*) as the northern dates do. I can only suggest that in this record both the *month* and the *paksha* are given and the word *he* which is an abbreviation for the season *hēmantā* is placed after *ma 1* while it should have preceded it, and thus arrive at the probable interpretation of the date as "the first day of the second fortnight of the first month of the winter season". If this interpretation is right, the details of the date would correspond to *Mārgaśīrsha bahula prathamā*, somewhere in December 210 A.D., the second year of Chamda-svāti.

TEXT³

- 1 Sidham⁴ [|*] Rañ[ō] Vāsithi-
- 2 putasa⁵ samī-siri-
- 3 Chamdasāt[ī][sa] [ra]ji-vachhare 2
- 4 ma 1 he pa 2 d[ī] 1 Khadda[va]li-
- 5 amacha-Sa[sa]mī khagu-dhama
- 6 thāpita [|*]

Notes on letters.

L. 1. *si* — The letter *sa* throughout is written with a loop at the left bottom corner whence it is started. This loop, in certain cases, is almost closed, whereas in certain others it is half open. The *si* which begins the inscription is one of the former type, though it is a little deformed looking as though the loop were written twice.

dham — The position of the *anusvāra* attached to *dha* is worthy of notice. It is on the left side of the letter and not on its right top corner.

ñō — The *ō* mark is very faint.

thī — The long *i* is indicated by two horns as in Kshatrapa inscriptions (Bühler's *Tables* III, 9).

L. 2. *ta* — The development of a loop in this letter is to be noted as in the Nasik inscription No. 20. (See Bühler's *Tables* III, 13). Possibly, there was a secondary *ta* below the letter thus making the word *puttasa*.

¹ The word *Nāgavar-Kannar* which occurs in the Tamil poem *Śilappadikāram*, has been translated by some, as, 'the hundred-eared' and taken to be the equivalent of Śatakarni (or Śatakarni).

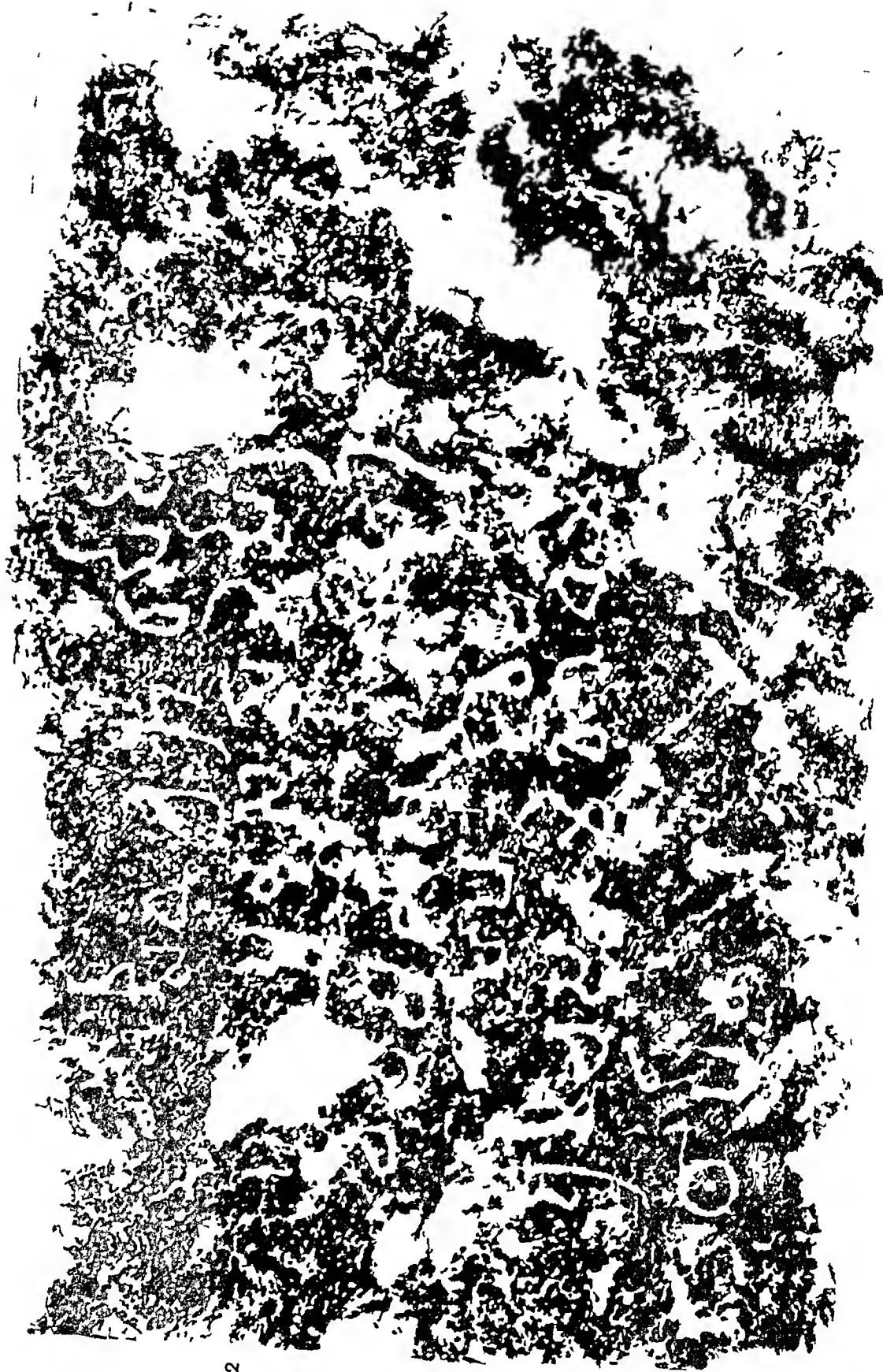
² The three thick horizontal marks one above the other each denoting the numeral 'one' are visible. But as the third topmost mark is above the level of the line and not vertically above the other two, I am inclined to read the symbol as '2' and not '3'.

³ Direct from the stone.

⁴ Spaces are left in the original after the complete words — Sidham, rañō, etc., as shown in the text. After *Sam-siri Chamdasāta* in L. 3 and after *Sasamī* in L. 5, where we should have expected a space, it is wanting. The same system of separating words by spaces is found in the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela, the Mysakoni inscription of Pulamavi (above Vol. XIV, plate facing p. 165) and the Hirahadgalli inscription of Śiva-Skanda-varman, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, plate facing p. 6.

⁵ [The plate gives *sā*—Ed.]

KODAVALI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF CHANDASATI; THE SECOND YEAR OF REIGN



L 3 *Cham*—The *anusvāra* is clearly marked on the left top of the letter as in *dham* in l 1

After Chamdasātisa, Dr Sten Konow read *saiachhare*. But to me it appears as if there is space enough for two letters between the *sa* of *Chamdasātisa* and *vachhare*. Perhaps some word like *raji* has to be read. There are no doubt traces of a *sa* to justify the reading *saiachhare*.

L 4 The first letter is *ma* and not the symbol (∞) for 10 as interpreted by Dr Sten Konow, nor is the following symbol, 3

The ϵ mark of *di* runs into the bottom of *ra* of *raji* in line 3 above, thus making the latter look somewhat deformed and crooked unlike the other *ra*-letters in the inscription

The letter between *dda* and *li* is completely damaged and no traces are seen. It could have been a *ma* or a *va*. As, however, the present village name *Kodavali* to which there is a sure reference here is spelt with a *v*, I would prefer taking the damaged letter as *va* and not a *ma*.

L 5 The letter after *kha* (which Dr Sten Konow read as *ve*) is like a *śu*, but, since what looks like the stroke within does not go right across to meet the opposite side, I read it as *gu*. The meaning in either case is not clear.

TRANSLATION.

Success, In the reign of king Vāsithīputa ¹*Samī-siri-Chamda-sāti*, in the year 2, month 1, the winter fortnight 2 (and) day 1, was established the charity (*i.e.*, the gift) of a *kham-gu*(?) by the minister Sasa (*Śaśa*) of Khaddavali

POSTSCRIPT

Dr Sten Konow to whom I had submitted the galley proof of this paper for remarks has thus kindly written to Mr Hirananda Sastri —

* * * *

L 3 I agree with him that *-sātisa* is possible, but I can not read any such thing as *raji*. The apparent dots to the right of *re* are found in a part of the stone which is left open in the other lines, and I cannot read them as = or ≡. They seem to me to be of the same kind as the other smaller or greater marks found in this part of the stone

L 4 I am quite unable to see a *ma* in the first *akshara*, and I still think that it must be 10. But I accept his reading of the following sign as —. At all events, it is very probable Mr Krishna Sastri has himself pointed to the great difficulty resulting from his reading. So far as I know, there is no instance of the mentioning of the month, when the date is given in seasonal *pakshas*, and it would be absolutely unwarranted. It may also be doubted that the year began in the south with *hēmanta*. The reading of the figure after *pa* as = seems probable, to judge from the plate. After *di* there is hardly room for —, but I admit the possibility of the reading. I have grave doubts about *Khaḍḍavali*, but the coincidence of the modern name is in its favour. The double *ḍḍ* is suspicious.

L 5 I cannot understand how *amachasasami* can mean by the minister Sasa. And it seems to me that the first word ends with *amachasa*. It is possible that the preceding *aksharas* contain the minister's name. The ensuing *akshara* looks to me more like *bhū* than *sa*. With regard to *Khagu* I have little to say. *Kha* is not certain. In favour of *ga* or *gu* speaks the use of *s* for *ś* in *siri*. But the letter looks more like *śa* or *śu*.

The remarks which I have been able to offer are, you will see, rather negative. But I cannot just now give more time to the question, being too much occupied with other work.

* * * *

¹ [See f. n. 5 on the opposite page—Ed.]

No 35—BETMA PLATES OF BHOJADEVA, [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1076

By D B DISKALKAR, M A , RAJKOT

Though the name of the Paramāra king Bhōja of Dhārā is well known to scholars, epigraphical records of his reign are rather rare. So far only two grants of this king have been discovered—one of V S 1078 in Ujjain¹ and the other of V. S 1076 (Māgha, śukla 5) in Bānswārā². The copper-plate grant dealt with here is thus the third known record³ of his reign.

The plates were discovered, about two years ago, by a peasant while ploughing his field near a village called Betmā, sixteen miles to the west of Indore, in Central India. They subsequently came into the possession of Mr. Manekechand Jati of Indore, who takes interest in antiquities. When I had been to Indore sometime ago I found them with him. Through the kindness of the late Rao Bahadur Dr. Prabhakar R. Bhandarkar, Home Member, Holkar State, and of Mr. K. K. Lele, Superintendent, Historical Department, Dhār, I have been able to edit the inscription here for the first time.

The plates, which are two in number, are held together by two thick copper rings in the usual way. They measure 13 inches in length and 8½ inches in breadth and are in an excellent state of preservation. The inscribed side of the second plate bears at its bottom in a rectangular border a flying figure of Garuda as is usually seen in the Paramāra grants. The sign manual of the king is affixed at the end of either plate. It is to be noted that in none of the known grants of Bhōjadēva the name of the writer of the grant is given.

The alphabet is Nāgarī of the 11th century A.D. prevalent in Mālwa, as known to us from the other records of the period, e.g. the Bānswārā plates of the same king. The consonant *ṣ* is expressed by *ṣ* throughout. In fact, there is nothing to distinguish between the letters *व*, *व* and *ध*. *श* is wrongly replaced by *स* in *सिरसा* (l. 1), *कौसिक* (l. 14), *यसस्कराणि* (l. 21) and in *परयसः* (l. 23). Similarly *स* is wrongly replaced by *श* in *शाशनेनो* (l. 16) and in *शक्ला* (l. 25). A consonant following *r* is generally doubled, e.g. in *सर्गाय* (l. 1), *समन्वय्य* (l. 7), *धर्मः* (l. 9), *विनिर्गत* (l. 12), *द्वह्मिन्वेष्टा* (l. 19), etc. *र* at the end of a conjunct consonant is generally expressed in this inscription by the full letter added below the first consonant (e.g. *tra* ll. 8, 14 and 15, *dra* l. 5, *bhra* ll. 8, 9, *gra* l. 9, etc.), and not by a stroke turned to the left as we generally find. The letter *krī* in the two cases where it occurs (ll. 1 and 16) is written imperfectly, the left portion of the letter *ka* being omitted. The document is drawn up in Sanskrit prose mixed with verses.

Except for the following four points, our grant is practically identical with the Bānswārā grant of the same king issued in the same year—

(1) Though the year in both the grants is the same, the months are different. The Betmā grant is dated on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhādrapada, while the Bānswārā grant is dated on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of the month Māgha. It is to be seen, however, which is the earlier of the two grants. If we consider the year as beginning with the month Chaitra, the Betmā grant may be the earlier one. If, however, the year

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 53.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, p. 201, and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, No. 18, p. 181.

³ Mr. K. N. Dikshit informs me that another record of the reign of Bhōja dated Samvat 1091 (1034-5 A.D.) has been traced on an image of Sarasvatī which has found its way to the British Museum. I also find that the Tilakwādā plates of V S 1103 published by the late Mr. Kādākar in the *Proceedings of the First Oriental Conference*, Poona, most probably belong to the reign of this Bhōja. One more copper-plate grant of Bhōjadēva has recently been discovered at Kalyan in the Nāsik District. See *A. S. R.*, 1921-22, p. 118.

began with the month Kārttika, as is the present usage¹ in Mālwa and Gujarāt, then it must be looked upon as the later of the two. We have reasons to hold that the latter supposition is correct for, as has been already pointed out by Prof Kielhorn,¹ in the grant of Bhōjadēva of V. S. 1078, the expression **अष्टसप्तत्यधिकसाहस्रिकसम्बन्धरे माघासिततृतीयायाम्** २० on the third day of the dark half of Māgha in the year 1078, occurs in the middle of the grant and probably gives the date when the donation was made. At the end of the grant the date of its issue is given as the 14th day of the bright half of the month Chaitra of Samvat 1078. If Māgha of 1078 preceded Chaitra of 1078, the year must have commenced from some month previous to Māgha and ended subsequent to Chaitra. We can, therefore, assume that the Samvat year began then as now in the month of Kārttika. The Bānswārā grant which is dated in the month Māgha of V. S. 1076 (Jan. 1020 A.D.) is, therefore, earlier than the Betmā grant which is dated in the month Bhādrapada of the same year, २० 1076 (Sept. 1020 A.D.)

(2) The occasions when the two grants of Bānswārā and Betmā were made are different. In the former grant it is given as **कोकणविजयपर्वणि** while in the latter it is given as **कोकणग्रहणविजयपर्वणि**. Dr Hultzsch, who edited the Bānswārā grant², translated this historically important expression as 'the anniversary of the conquest of Komkana'. But it is to be noted that the period intervening between these two grants, which record almost an identical expression, is only seven months and ten days. Mr D. R. Bhandarkar who edited the same grant³ I think gives a better translation of the expression as "on the festival day (*parvati*) in consequence of the conquest of Komkana". The expression in the Bānswārā grant means that 'Bhōja conquered Komkana' and that in the Betmā grant means perhaps 'that he occupied it'. In the Balagāmve inscription⁴ of the time of the Chālukya Jayasimha, dated Śaka 941 (December 1019 A.D.), it is stated that Jayasimha had 'put to flight the confederacy of Mālava'. From this we can conclude that in the contest for power between the Mālwa Paramāras and the Deccan Chālukyas that was going on for years together, in the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D., both the parties were successful by turns. Soon after his accession, Bhōja must have invaded the Deccan to avenge the execution of his uncle Vākpati-Muñja by the Chālukya king Tailapa, and he probably succeeded in defeating and killing Tailapa's successor, Vikramāditya V.⁵ When Jayasimha came to the throne in 1015 A.D. he must have retaliated by inflicting a crushing defeat on Bhōja and his confederacy sometime before December 1019 A.D. Bhōja apparently did not take long to recover. He invaded the territory of Jayasimha and conquered Komkana, in January 1020 A.D., which was finally annexed to his empire sometime before September 1020 A.D. From the Miraj plates⁶ it seems that Bhōja could not retain his possession for long as Jayasimha reconquered Komkana before the year 1024 A.D. (Śaka 946) and took into his possession 'the wealth of the Lords of the Seven Konkans'.

(3) The grantee in the present inscription is a Brāhmaṇa named Pandita Dēlha, son of Bhatta Thatthasīka of the Kauśika-gōtra with the three *pravaras* Aghamarshaṇa, Viśvāmitra and Kauśika and of the Mādhyandina-śākhā. He hailed from Sthānviśvara, but his ancestors had come from the village Viśālagrāma.

(4) The property granted to the Brāhmaṇa consisted of a village named Nālatadāga, one of the seventeen villages in the Nyāyapadra subdivision.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 361.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 181. [In the words *Kōṣhkan ārhīśvarānīn sarvasvam grīhītā* occurring in the Miraj plates (see *supra*, Vol. XII, p. 313, l. 66) the root *grāh* is used in the sense of taking possession.—Ed.]

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 201.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 17.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 117.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 314.

As regards the identification of the localities mentioned in the grant it is to be said that Sthānviśvara is no doubt the Thānesar of modern times situated in the Karnāl District of the Panjāb. The Nyāyapadma (subdivision) of the grant may be the town Nāpad in the Kaira District, a little to the south-west of Indore, (and the gift village Nālatadāga is probably represented by the modern Nār (Nāl) in the same district. Satrāti approaches very easily to our Saptadaśaka meaning a group of seventeen villages which expression may have been afterwards wrongly construed to denote a village. The only difficulty in this identification is that this place is at a long distance from Betmā where the grant was discovered.

The remaining places I am unable to identify at present.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 श्री² [॥*] ज[य]ति व्योमकेशोसौ³ यः सर्गाय विभर्ति तां । ऐदवीं
सिरसा⁴ लेखां जगद्बीजाङ्कुराकृतिम् ॥[१*] तन्वन्तु वः
- 2 स्मरारातेः कल्याणमनिशं जटाः [॥*] कल्यान्तसमयोद्दामतडिद्वलयपिंगलाः ॥[२*]
परमभट्टारकमहाराजा-
- 3 राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसीयकदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-
- 4 श्रीवा[वप]⁵तिराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसिधुराजदेवपा-
- 5 दानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवः कुशली ॥ न्याय-
पट्टसप्त-
- 6 दशकान्तःपातिनालतडागे समुपगतान्समस्ताराजपुष्पान्त्रा⁶द्वयोत्तरान्प्रतिनिवासि-
पट्टकिलजनपदादौ-
- 7 अ समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितम् ॥ यथास्माभिः स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुं
भगवन्तं भवानोपतिं समभ्यर्च्य
- 8 ससारस्यासारतां दृष्ट्वा वाताम्बुविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरो
विषयोपभोगः ॥
- 9 प्राणास्तृ⁷णायजलविदुसमा नराणां (१) धर्मः सखा परमहो परलोकयानि ॥[३*]
भ्रमत्संसारचक्राय-
- 10 धाराधाराभिमां श्रियं । प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पञ्चात्तापः पर फलम् ॥[४*]
इति जगती विनश्यत्

¹ From the original plates

² Expressed by a symbol

³ If we compare this grant with the other of the same year and with the third of V S 1078 we shall find that the *prishthamātrās* are used anywhere the writer liked

⁴ Read विभर्ति

⁵ Read सिरसा

⁶ Read जगद्बीजाङ्कुरा⁸.

⁷ The left hand portion of the letter *ka* is expressed here only by a point separated from the body of the letter. Cf similar forms in ll 2 and 7 of the Bānswārā grant

⁸ Read भ्राह्मणो

⁹ Read °सृणाय विदुः.

I

१ कुयनिओमकिसायाः अमायविभनगोपदवीसिस्थानेराजराइजाठरातर्तिम् ॥ न ॥ न ॥
 २ अमरायविभनगोपदवीसिस्थानेराजराइजाठरातर्तिम् ॥ न ॥ न ॥
 ३ अमरायविभनगोपदवीसिस्थानेराजराइजाठरातर्तिम् ॥ न ॥ न ॥
 ४ अमरायविभनगोपदवीसिस्थानेराजराइजाठरातर्तिम् ॥ न ॥ न ॥
 ५ अमरायविभनगोपदवीसिस्थानेराजराइजाठरातर्तिम् ॥ न ॥ न ॥
 ६ अमरायविभनगोपदवीसिस्थानेराजराइजाठरातर्तिम् ॥ न ॥ न ॥
 ७ अमरायविभनगोपदवीसिस्थानेराजराइजाठरातर्तिम् ॥ न ॥ न ॥
 ८ अमरायविभनगोपदवीसिस्थानेराजराइजाठरातर्तिम् ॥ न ॥ न ॥
 ९ अमरायविभनगोपदवीसिस्थानेराजराइजाठरातर्तिम् ॥ न ॥ न ॥
 १० अमरायविभनगोपदवीसिस्थानेराजराइजाठरातर्तिम् ॥ न ॥ न ॥
 ११ अमरायविभनगोपदवीसिस्थानेराजराइजाठरातर्तिम् ॥ न ॥ न ॥
 १२ अमरायविभनगोपदवीसिस्थानेराजराइजाठरातर्तिम् ॥ न ॥ न ॥

2

4

6

8

10

12

कोविन्दराजो राजा जयचर्मणः किं वा विभूतौ हित निरिः यत्र पञ्चमार्ग्यदिनशामनादिक

[illegible]

- 11 स्वरूपमाकलयोपरिलिखितग्रामः स्वसोमाटणगोचरयूतिपर्यन्तः सहिरण्यभागभोगः
 12 सोपरिकरः सर्वादायसमेतश्च ² ॥ विशालग्रामविनिर्गतपूर्व[जा]य । स्थान्वीश्व-
 रादागताय³ ।
 13 स्वहस्तोयं श्रीभोजदेवस्य [1⁴]

Second Plate

- 14 'कौमिकसगोत्राय । अघमर्षणविश्वामित्रकौसिके'तिनिः⁵प्रवराय । माध्यदिनशा-
 खाय । भट्ट-
 15 ठट्टसिकसुताय । पंडितदेवहाय । कौकणग्रहणविजयपर्वणि । मातापित्रो-
 रात्मनश्च पुण्यय-
 16 शोभित्वये । अष्टष्टफलमं[गो]क्त्य चद्रार्कागर्णवक्षितिसमकालं यावत्परया
 भक्त्या 'शाशनेनोदक-
 17 पूर्वं प्रतिपादित इति ॥ तन्मत्वा यथा दीयमानभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिक-
 माज्ञाश्रवणविधेयै-
 18 भूत्वा सर्व्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्य⁷ । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बुद्ध्वा⁸ अस्मदंशजैरर्थै⁹-
 रपि भाविभो-
 19 कृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मा¹⁰दायोयमनुमन्तव्यः पालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं च ॥ 'बहुभिर्व्वसुधा
 भुक्ता राजभिः
 20 सगरादिभिर्यं(भिः । य)स्ययस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥[५^{*}] यानीह
 दत्तानि पुरा नरेद्रैर्दानानि
 21 धर्मार्थयसस्त¹²राणि ।(1) निर्माल्यवान्ति¹³प्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु
 पुनराददीत ॥[६^{*}] अस्मत्कु-
 22 लक्रमसुदारसुदाहरद्विरख्यैश्च¹⁴ दानसिद्धमभ्यनुमोदनीय ।[1] लक्ष्म्यास्तडिच्छालज-
 बुद्धदचच्च¹⁵-

¹ The vowel mark *ū* is added to *र* below it as is done for instance in the case of कृ

² It will be seen that these strokes as many others following this are unnecessarily engraved

³ This line is continued on the second plate

⁴ Read °विप्रवराय

⁵ Read समुपनेतव्य

⁶ Read °रन्वैरपि

⁷ Read धर्मदायो [not necessary —Ed]

⁸ Read यशस्वराणि

⁹ Read °वान् [वान्ति is also correct, see above, Vol. XI, p 183, and Ind. Ant., Vol. XLII p 202 —Ed]

¹⁰ Read °रन्वैश्च

¹¹ Read बहुभिः°

¹² Read °स्तडिच्छालजबुद्धदचच्च°

- 23 लायाः दानं फल परयसः¹ परिपालन च ।[७*] सर्वानितान्भाविनः
पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भू-
- 24 यो याचते रामभद्रः ।[१] सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पाल-
नीयो भवद्भिः ॥[८*]
- 25 इति कमलदलांबु² विंदुलोला त्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च । ³शकलमिद-
मुदाह-
- 26 तं च बुद्ध्या⁴ न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः[*] ॥ ८* ॥ इति ॥
सर्वत् १०७६ भाद्रपद शु दि १५ स्वय-
- 27 मात्रा ॥ मङ्गल महाश्रीः ॥ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीभोजदेवस्य ॥[*]

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Ōm Victorious is this Vyōmakēśa (Śiva) who for the purpose of creation bears on his head the digit of the moon, which appears like the shoot from which the world sprang

(L 2) May the matted hair, of the Enemy of Cupid, brown like the circle of the dreadful lightning of the time of final dissolution, always extend your welfare!

(Ll 3-6) The illustrious Bhōjadēva, the great monarch, the overlord of great kings, the lord paramount, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious Sindhurājadēva, the great monarch, the overlord of great kings, the lord paramount, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Vākpatirājadēva, the great monarch, the overlord of great kings, the lord paramount, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Siyakadēva, the great monarch, the overlord of great kings, the lord paramount,—issues, in good health, commands to all the officials of the Government, the inhabitants headed by the Brāhmanas, the Patels, and (other) townsmen, and others, assembled at Nālatadāga, included in the group of Nyāyapadra Seventeen, (thus) —

(L 7) Be it known to you that we, seeing the worthlessness of the wordly life,

(L 8) (that) the sovereignty over the earth is as shifting as the clouds wafted on the wind, the enjoyment of objects is pleasing only for a moment, the life of a man is like a drop of water (hanging) on the point of a blade of grass, and *Dharma* alone is the real companion in the journey to the next world,

(L 9) (and that) those who do not give away their acquired wealth which is (as it were) standing on the edge of the circumference of the revolving wheel of the wordly life have repentance as their only reward,

(Ll 10—16) thus ascertaining the momentary nature of the wordly life and choosing to abide by the unknown rewards for meritorious deeds, we have, on the joyful occasion (of celebrating) the subjugation of Konkana, with a view to increasing the religious merit and fame of our parents and of ourselves, the above-said village has been bestowed upon Pandita Dōlha, son of Bhatta Thatthasika of the Kausika-gōtra with the three *pravaras*—(viz) Aghamarshana, Viśvāmitra and Kausika and of the Mādhyandina-sākhā, who had come from Sthānviśvara, (but) whose ancestors had migrated from Viśālāgrāma with its regular boundaries including the pasture lands for grazing cattle, with the land revenue and (other) cash income,

¹ Read परयस°

² Read सकल°

³ Read °दलांबु°

⁴ Read बुद्ध्या°

with the sundry taxes and with all (such) rights, by this charter, with the utmost devotion and by pouring libations of water—to last as long as the sun and the moon and the earth endure

(L 17) Knowing this and in obedience to (our) orders you should give to this (Brāhmaṇa) the land revenue and other income and everything due to him

(L 18) Similarly, considering that the merit of such a charitable deed is common (to all) the succeeding kings, whether of our family or of any other, should acquiesce in the charitable grant given by us and uphold it For it is said—

[Ll 19-25 contain four of the customary benedictory verses]

(L 26) In the year 1078 on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada (This is) our own order

(L 27) Good luck (and) great prosperity ! The sign manual of Śrī—Bhōjadēva

NO 36 —UNPUBLISHED VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CHAITYA CAVE AT KARLE

By MADHO SARUP VATS, M A

In the beginning of November 1923, the Chowkidar of the caves at Kārle while washing pillars and figures in the Chaitya hall, came across some new inscriptions and brought them to the notice of the Assistant Engineer, Bombay Road Subdivision That officer communicated the news of the discovery through the Executive Engineer, Poona District, to the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, who secured good impressions of all of them These inscriptions are twelve in number and generally in a very good state of preservation, though all of them are not equally well inscribed, as is the case with some of the Kārle inscriptions so ably handled by M. Senart.¹ About the letters it might be remarked that they are of the slightly cursive variety adopted in the Nāsik inscription, No 20 (Bühler's *Tafel*, III, col XIII), with the tailed *ka*, the hooked *da* and the crude *ma* Though some of the technical terms used in these records are rather obscure and the places mentioned in them, viz Gōṇēkākā, Umēhanākata and Dhēnukākata, have not been located with certainty, yet they are of special interest, for they help us in showing the extent of the outlying parts from which the caves attracted donating pilgrims

My reading of these inscriptions is based on the impressions reproduced below My inscription No VII is identical with No VII of Senart, but the other eleven are entirely different, and to these latter a fragment of another inscription found near the caves has also been added. Pillars in the right and left rows have been numbered with reference to their position toward the visitor

No I Fifth pillar, right row

TEXT

1 Umēhanākata Yavanasa

2 Vitasa[m*]gatānam(1) dānam thabhō

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol VII, p. 47 ff

Remarks

(1) 'Vitasangata' means an 'assembly of actors' but appears to be a proper name here. The use of the plural "Vitasangatānam" with the singular "Yavanasa" is explained by M. Senart¹ in translating his No. 7.

TRANSLATION

(This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Vitasangata from Umēhanākata

No. II. Eighth pillar, right row

TEXT

- 1 Gōnēkākasa Dhamula-upāsakaṇ(1)
- 2 dāyadha[ṇ]ma(2) thambō(3)

Remarks

- (1) The *anusāra* is redundant
- (2) Mark the crude outline of 'da' and 'ma' in this
- (3) 'Vō' seems to have been carved out for 'bhō'

This record does not appear to have been engraved by a practised hand, and compares very unfavourably with the other records in point of neatness and fixity of outline

TRANSLATION.

(This) pillar (is) the pious gift of the lay worshipper Dhamula of Gōnēkaka

No. III. Eleventh pillar, right row

TEXT

- 1 Dhēnukākata
- 2 Vāniya-gāma-
- 3 sa thabhō dānam

TRANSLATION.

(This) pillar (is) the gift of the "Community of Traders" from Dhēnukākata

No. IV. Thirteenth pillar, right row

TEXT

- 1 Dhēnukākata Ya[va]nasa(1) Dhamadha-
- 2 yānam thabhō dānam

Remark

(1) The right side of the loop of 'va' in 'Yavanasa' is broken, but its outline is clearly perceptible from the reverse side of the impression

TRANSLATION

(This) pillar (is) the gift of the Yavana Dhamadhaya from Dhēnukākata

No. V. Fourteenth pillar, right row

TEXT

- 1 Dhēnukākata Rōhamitēna Chu[ṇi]
- 2 pētukasa(1) Aglasa athā-(2)
- 3 ya thabhō kāmō

¹ *Ep Ind*, Vol. VII, pp. 53-54

01ff6vllx0x0
 110x11

01ff6vllx0x0
 110x11

VI

VI

VI

VII

VII

Remarks.

(1) ' *Chulapētukasa* ' agrees with ' *Agilasa* ', and seems to be an epithet describing *Agila* though its meaning is not clear

Upper part of the perpendicular stroke of ' *la* ' is broken, but its outline is visible from relief on reverse of the impression

(2) It appears that the lower horizontal stroke of ' *tha* ' to the right was in process of engraving when the engraver discovered that he was placing it much lower than its proper position, and consequently left it unfinished and crude


TRANSLATION

(*This*) pillar was caused to be made by Rōhamita from Dhēnukākata, for the sake of *Agila*, a resident of *Chulapētu*(?)

No. VI Fifteenth pillar, right row

TEXT

1 Dhēnukākata Chulayakhan[ām]

2 [Ya]vanasa thabhō dāna 

TRANSLATION

(*This*) pillar (*is*) the gift of the Yavana Chulayakha from Dhēnukākata

No VII Fourth pillar, left row

TEXT

1 Dhēnukākata Yavanasa

2 Sihadhayāna[m*] thambhō dānam

N B —This inscription is identical with No 7 of M Senait, carved on the top of the third pillar in the left row, and he renders it thus —

TRANSLATION

' (*This*) pillar (*is*) the gift of the Yavana Sihadhaya from Dhēnukākata '.

No VIII. Sixth pillar, left row

TEXT

1 Dhēnukākata Sōmilana-

2 kasa dāna thabhō

TRANSLATION

(*This*) pillar (*is*) the gift of Sōmilanaka from Dhēnukākata.

No IX. Eighth pillar, left row

TEXT

1. Dhēnukākata Gōla-vāriya-(1)

2 saputasa Isalakasa[m](2) thabhō(3)

3 [dā]nam(4)

Remarks.

(1) '*Gōla-vānya*' might mean a 'trader in myrrh', but appears to mean the 'trader *Gōla*' here

(2) Read *Isalakasa*, the *anusvāra* is superfluous

(3) The *anusvāra* in *thambhō* is perhaps to be seen from relief on reverse of the impression, but is not certain

(4) In line 3 it appears as if '*da*' was being inscribed and then left and carved out again immediately after.

TRANSLATION.

(*This*) pillar (*is*) the gift of *Isalaka*, son of the trader *Gōla*, from *Dhēnukākata*

No X Ninth pillar, left row

TEXT

1. *Dhēnukākata* *Yavanasa*
- 2 *Yasavadhanāna*[m]
- 3 *thabhō dāna*[m*]

TRANSLATION

(*This*) pillar (*is*) the gift of the *Yavana* *Yasavadhana* from *Dhēnukākata*

No XI Tenth pillar, left row

TEXT

[*Dh*]ēnukākata [*Ma*]ha[*ma*]tā(1) *ghariniya*

Remark

(1) The outline of the 3rd letter in this word is not clear, it may be '*ma*' or '*va*'

TRANSLATION

(Of) *Mahamatā*, wife of . from *Dhēnukākata*

No XII. Thirteenth pillar, left row

TEXT

- 1 *Dhēnukātā*(1) *gahapati*[nō] *Āsēkasa natiyō*
- 2 *Dhamada*(ē)vayā *dānam*
- 3 *thabhō*

Remark.

(1) Read *Dhēnukākata*, '*ka*' is left out through oversight on the part of the engraver

TRANSLATION

(*This*) pillar (*is*) the gift of *Dharmadēvī*, a relation of the householder *Āsēka* from *Dhēnukākata*.

XI.



XII





XIII.



No XIII An inscribed piece of stone found near the caves

TEXT

. [kha]sa Śēga(1) putras

Remark

(1) These two letters forming a proper name are not quite clear. The outline of the first is misleading, but careful scrutiny of relief on reverse of the impression leads me to think that it is either 'sē' or 'gē' while the second appears to be 'ga', the accretion of an altogether new outline proceeding from its top along the left being merely a development of the crack in stone.

TRANSLATION

Of . . . Kha the son of Śēga?

No 37 —INSCRIPTION ON A VISHNU IMAGE FROM DEOPANI

By K. N. Dikshit, M.A.

This inscription of four lines occurs on the side of a stone image of Vishnu, which was found, along with another partially broken and obliterated image of Durgā, in the jungle close to the Deopani river (Sibsāgar District, Assam) between the 26th and 27th miles on the Golaghat-Dimapur road. As the locality is frequented by wild elephants, to whom the present damaged condition of the images is due, the Vishnu image has been removed by me to Gauhati and deposited for safe custody in the rooms of the Kāmrup Anusandhān Samiti. The place was visited by Dr. Bloch in 1904-05, who describes the image as follows in the *Annual Report of the Eastern Circle* — 'The second or smaller image 2 feet 6 inches high is a standing Vishnu or Nārāyana with two hands only (the other two hands on the proper right have been lost) wearing the usual crown and having the Śrīvatsa mark on his breast. On the left outer face is an inscription in four lines, the end of which is broken. The broken piece could not be found.' About the inscription, he further writes 'The inscription consists of three verses of Sanskrit poetry, evidently full of orthographical and grammatical blunders and for this reason difficult to read. The first two verses seem to be in honour of Śiva and the third refers to the putting up of a statue of Nārāyana by some person whose name was on the missing piece of stone. It is of no historical interest. Judging from the characters, it belongs to about the 12th century A.D.' As Dr. Bloch's estimate of the age of the inscription is rather wide of the mark, sufficient attention was not drawn to the importance of this image. The characters are similar to the inscription of Harjjara on a rock on the bank of the Brahmaputra near Tezpur, which is dated in the year 510 of the Gupta Era. The present inscription can be safely attributed to the 9th century A.D. on palaeographical grounds, and as the statue is the only early example of an inscribed image yet known in Upper Assam, it is a landmark in the history of Art in Assam. On grounds of style and execution, the image could easily have been ascribed to the late Gupta or early Pāla period in Bengal. Attention may be drawn to the thick lower lip, the expression of the face, the ear-ornament, the band around the crown, the Brahmanical thread and the close-fitting garment, the style of the Gadā and the Vanamālā, and the Kaustubha and Śrīvatsa symbols, which are all indications of an earlier age not far removed from the late Gupta period. It is worthy of note that the position of Deopani is intermediate between Dimapur and Kasonari Patihar where still exist the remains of the peculiar culture associated with the Kacharis in the shape of monoliths described as 'sword-blade,' 'chess man,' 'V shaped' and 'buffalo-horned columns.'

The characters are acute-angled and belong to the Eastern variety prevalent in the ninth century A. D. over the larger portion of Northern India.

The inscription, as was pointed out by the late Dr. Bloch long ago, is full of orthographical blunders and was apparently written very carelessly. A number of letters have been lost at the end of each line, except the fourth. Calculating on the basis of completing the first two *ślohas*, we find that at least 15 letters must have been lost in the first line and 11 in the second. Owing to the incompleteness of the record and inaccuracy of the scribe, it is not possible to give a connected account of the contents of the inscription. The opening benedictory verse must be taken as referring to Śiva, as it mentions the serpent-girdle, bull emblem and the moon. The purport of the second verse, which probably commences in the second line and ends in the third, is very obscure. The end of the last line seems to refer to a stone image of the divine Nārāyaṇa. The text is edited from two impressions prepared at my instance.

TEXT.

- 1 Ōm¹ [I*] Hava²ntu tōchh³yam uragūndra-sūtram vṛsha dhvajam sōma-jaga(t)-
prakāśam | ma
- 2 Bhagav⁴atis=tu Śūrjja || Satv⁵as=tu Dēvi bhuvi ⁶mārtti-lōkē
snānē
- 3 nka-sūdro dvija-varnna⁷-nāri-sēvyas=tu dēvi bhagavatis=tu Śūrjja || pi * * *
- 4 nā[ma]pa dhava⁸dī (?) | Bhagavatō Nārāyaṇa [syn*] śailī pratima⁹ bhaktyantam¹⁰ ||

No. 38 — POLONNARUVA INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYABAHU I.

BY S. PARANAVITANA, OOTACAMUND.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a stone slab lying to the west of *Vihāra* No. 1, about 50 feet north-east of the Latāmandāpaya in Polonnaruva, the mediæval capital of the kings of Ceylon. It was first discovered and brought to notice by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., the late Archæological Commissioner of Ceylon, who sent inked estampages of it, for examination, to the Government Epigraphist for India. Mr. H. Krishna Sastri in his *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for the year 1913, has discussed the historical importance of this record. An account of the inscription, with a translation of it, has also been published by Mr. H. C. P. Bell in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of Ceylon* for the year 1911-12. The text of the inscription has recently been published in the *South-Indian Inscriptions (Texts)*, Vol. IV (No. 1396). The present article is prepared with the help of an impression preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, and of another kindly supplied by the Archæological Commissioner of Ceylon. I am much indebted to Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri and

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

² Correct *bhavantu* or *Bhavam tri*. The metre seems to be *upajāti* although the first *akṣara* of the second line does not conform to the scanning. [What is meant here is probably *Bhavam Tri* (*Tri*) *nētram* — Ed.]

³ Possibly this is to be corrected '*lōkyām*' or '*lōrhyam*'.

⁴ This expression is repeated at the end of the third verse, in line 3. The correct reading is possibly '*Bhagavati tu Sūryah*' or '*Bhagavāms=tu Sūryah*'.

⁵ The metre is probably *upajāti*, but the fifth *akṣara* is short instead of long. [The original reads *Satv āstu* — Ed.]

⁶ Apparently *marīyalōlē* is intended.

⁷ [The original has *varnna* — Ed.]

⁸ *va* is written below the line.

⁹ Correct *Pratimā*.

¹⁰ Correct *bhaktānām* (?) [The original reads *bhaktiānnāh* — Ed.]

DEOPANI VISHNU-IMAGE INSCRIPTION.



Photo-engraved & printed by Survey of India, Calcutta, 1923.

SCALE. 6.

H. KRISHNA SASTRI



IMAGE OF VISHNU AT DEOPANI, DISTRICT SIBSAGAR, ASSAM
From a photograph

Mr K V Subrahmanya Aiyar for many suggestions, and for the kind encouragement given to me in preparing this paper

The slab on which the inscription is engraved measures 8' 2" by 2' 6" There are 49 lines of writing on it The stone had been planed and ruled before the letters were engraved The writing, which has been well executed, is in a fairly good state of preservation—the average size of the letters being about 1 inch in height The characters used in the record are Grantha and Tamil They agree, on the whole, with those of the Tamil inscriptions of the contemporary Chōla kings on the mainland of South India The following facts, however, are noteworthy The *pulli* or *virāma* sign, which is generally not used in most of the Tamil inscriptions in the South India of the mediæval age, is here invariably indicated by a small vertical stroke, written over the letter, e.g. in *iaḥ vanda* (l 7) The *anuvāra* is generally written over the letter, at its top The first five lines consist of a Sanskrit verse in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, and the rest of the inscription is in Tamil prose, where, however, there is a great admixture of Sanskrit words In the Sanskrit portion the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed in one place, i.e. *°kārshīt+śī* (l 2) It is interesting to note that, in the Tamil passage, the following old Sinhalese words are used with Tamil inflexions in some cases —

L 16 *Senevirat* (Skt *Sēnāpati rāja*), Commander-in-Chief

L 17 *Pulanari* (Skt *Pulastī-nagara*), the name of a city

L 20 *daladā* (Skt *daṁṣhtrā dhātu*), Tooth Rehe

L 27 *Mugalan* (Skt *Maudgalyāyana*), the name of a Buddhist monk

No date is given in the inscription, but it mentions king Vijayabāhu I, and states that he reigned for 55 years and celebrated his 73rd birthday festival According to the *Mahāvamsa*, the duration of his reign was only 55 years Therefore, it is evident that this record was inscribed after his death According to the chronology adopted by Wijesinha, the translator of the *Mahāvamsa*, Vijayabāhu reigned from A D 1065 to 1120¹

The inscription opens with an eulogistic account of king *srī—Sanghabōdhivarman alias Vijayabāhudēva* It says that he belonged to the Solar race and that he had to conquer many enemies before he entered Anurādhapura, where he was crowned king of Ceylon, at the instance of the *Sangha* (i.e. the Buddhist monks), for the protection of the religion of the Buddha It is also stated that he invited monks from Arumana,² and purified the *sangha* of the three *nikāyas* (fraternities),³ to whom he gave three *tulābhāras* (i.e. weight of gold equal to that of his own person) Having brought the whole of the island of Ceylon under his dominion, he reigned for

¹ According to the latest version of this part of the chronology of Ceylon, the dates, connected with the principal events of Vijayabāhu's career, are as follows —

His birth, in A D 1040

He freed Rōhana of enemies and assumed the title of Vijayabāhu, when he was seventeen years old, in A D 1058

In the 16th year of his Rōhana rule, i.e. the 33rd year of his age, he entered Anurādhapura and became the ruler of all Ceylon, in A D 1076 His death, after the 73rd birthday which was the 56th year of his Rōhana rule or the 41st year of his Polonnaruwa rule, in A D 1114

Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol II, p 207

² Arumana (Sinhalese Aramana) is a corruption of the Pāli word Rāmañña, which was the name by which Lower Burma was known in ancient times Rev Feulkes tries to locate the Aramana country on the Coromandel Coast, somewhere between the Chōla and the Kalinga countries, in the dominions of the old Pallavas (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol XVII, p 126)

³ The three *nikāyas* or fraternities, into which the Buddhist Church in Ceylon was divided, were the Mahāvihāra, Abhayagiri, and Jētavana sects

55 years, and passed his 73rd birthday (*tirunaḥshatram*)¹. It next mentions the building of a shrine for the Tooth Relic of Buddha in the monastery of Uturolmula which was a part of the Abhayagiri-vihāra by a General named Dēva, at the command of the king. We are next introduced to the royal preceptor Vyāraṁ Mugalan, who is described to have been well versed in all the sciences and scriptures, and who was a high dignitary of the Buddhist Church in Ceylon at this period. This hierarch, as our inscription informs us, convened a meeting of the chief ministers of the state, and inviting the Vēlaikkāra forees to their presence, exhorted them to protect the temple of the Tooth. The Vēlaikkāras, who consisted of the three divisions of the Mahā-tantra, the Valaṇṇiyar, and the Nagarattār, agreed to do so, and re-named the temple as *Mūṇṇu-lai-tiru-Vēlaikkāraṁ-Daladūy-perum-pallī*, and concerted the necessary arrangements for the protection of the shrine. They bound themselves not only to protect the temple, its lands, its serfs, property, etc., but also to keep it in proper repair and to do everything necessary for its proper maintenance. The inscription also gives a list of the various tribes which formed the Vēlaikkāras and ends with an imprecation on those who act against the rules laid down therein.

The account given in this inscription of king śrī-Sanghabōdhi Vijayabāhu agrees in every detail with that given in the *Mahāvamsa* of Vijayabāhu I. So there is no doubt about the identity of the king mentioned in our record. The statement that he had to conquer many enemies before he could establish his authority, is, no doubt, a reference to the long wars that he had to wage against the Chōla invaders and the petty chieftains of Ceylon who ruled in the southern part of the island. Perhaps it might not be out of place, in this connection, to give a brief account of the state of the country before the accession of Vijayabāhu to the throne, and a short sketch of his career, as stated in the *Mahāvamsa* (Chapters LVIII to LX). At the beginning of the eleventh century, in the reign of Rājarāja I, the Chōlas invaded Ceylon and annexed the northern part of the island to their dominions, taking Mahinda V, the then king of Ceylon, as a prisoner, to the Chōla country. From this time, up to the end of the reign of the Chōla king Adhiraṇḍra-dēva, Ceylon acknowledged the supremacy of the Chōlas². During this period Ceylon was in a state of utter confusion. The Sinhalese princes, driven to the mountainous districts of the South, were always fighting amongst themselves, when the Chōlas were not at their doors. When the country was in this distracted state, a young seion of the ancient Sinhalese royal family, named Kīrti, raised the standard of war, and after a considerable amount of fighting, made himself the master of the Rōhana country, the southern part of Ceylon, and assumed the title of Vijayabāhu, when he was only seventeen years of age. After making his position secure in the principality of which he was the chief, he started on a campaign to rid the island of foreign domination. The time chosen by him for this enterprise was an opportune one. The campaign of Vijayabāhu against the Chōlas falls into the period immediately before the accession of Kulōttunga I to the

¹ *Tirunaḥshatram* means the 'sacred asterism'. It seems as if the Sinhalese kings of old celebrated a special festival annually, on the day of the constellation under which they were born. I am informed by Mr K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, Superintendent for Epigraphy, that such a custom still prevails in the royal family of Travancore, and that the princes of Travancore are named after the constellations under which they are born. The *Mahāvamsa* also gives instances in which persons were named after the constellation of their birth, e.g. Tishya and Pushya. [The *janma nāma* or birth name of a Hindu child is given after the *janma-nakṣatra* or the constellation of nativity.—Ed.]

² Inscriptions of Rājarāja I are found in Ceylon, and in one of the records of the Tanjore temple it is stated that the income of several villages in Ceylon was dedicated to that shrine. Rājendra-Chōla I also says in his inscriptions that he conquered the whole island. Rājādhiraṇḍra I and Rājendradēva, the successors of Rājendra-Chōla I, both conducted campaigns in Ceylon, in which several princes of the island are said to have perished. An inscription of Adhiraṇḍra is also found at Polonnaruwa. No inscription, however, of any Chōla successor of Adhiraṇḍra is found on the island of Ceylon.

Chōla throne This was a period of Civil War in the Chōla country, and, consequently, the Chōlas were not able to send sufficient forces to Ceylon to quell the rising there against their authority In one of the inscriptions of Kulōttunga at Tirukkalukkuṇṇam,¹ he says that he sent several expeditions to Ceylon, but does not mention any definite results gained by them These were most probably, the armies which, according to the *Mahāvamsa*, were sent by the Chōla king to fight against Vijayabāhu After a long and protracted campaign, Vijayabāhu succeeded in driving the Chōlas out of Ceylon, and made himself the master of the whole island

During the Chōla occupation, the Buddhist religion had suffered greatly In fact, when Vijayabāhu came to the throne, he found that there were no ordained monks in the island, who would help him in the work of reviving the religion of the land Therefore, he sent an embassy to the king of Aramana, requesting him to send properly ordained monks to Ceylon The king of Aramana at this time was Anuruddha, from whom Vijayabāhu received substantial support in his struggle against the Chōlas The Burmese king sent several properly ordained monks to the island, and they revived the Buddhist Church in Ceylon, and helped Vijayabāhu to restore Buddhism to its pristine glory and splendour Our inscription alludes to this event, and, moreover, states that he purified the *saṅgha* of the three *nīkāyas* (fraternities), and gave three *tulābhāras* to them The Ceylon chronicles do not mention this fact, though they give a long account of the king's benefactions to the religious establishments, and his various works of public utility

The Commander-in-Chief Dēva, who, at the instance of the king, built a shrine for the Tooth Relic, is not known to us from other sources The monastery of Uturolmula, within the precincts of which the Temple of the Tooth Relic was built, and which was itself a part of the Abhayagiri-vihāra² at Polonnaruva, must be the same as the monastery of Uttarōla which was built by Māna, one of the predecessors of Vijayabāhu I, for his elder brother who had entered the priesthood³ It is also stated in the *Mahāvamsa* that the king entrusted the guard of the Tooth Relic to him The Buddhist monk Mugalan, who took an active part in getting the consent of the *Vēlaikkāras* to protect the temple, is not mentioned, so far as I know, in any of the Ceylon chronicles

The next point to be discussed is, who these *Vēlaikkāras* were, and what their position was in Ceylon, at the time when this inscription was set up The *Vēlaikkāras* are mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* as having formed a part of the army of the Sinhalese kings of this period It is stated that towards the latter part of Vijayabāhu's reign, there was a revolt of these troops when he was making preparations for undertaking an expedition to South India against the Chōla king This rising of the *Vēlaikkāras* was put down with considerable difficulty, and as a consequence of it, the projected campaign against the Chōlas had to be given up⁴ Later on, in the reign of Vijayabāhu's grandson, Gajabāhu II, they again figure in the history of Ceylon There⁵, it is said, that Gajabāhu's rival, Parākramabāhu I, tried to win them over to his side A few years later, we find the *Vēlaikkāras* in alliance with the Kēralas and the people of Rōhaṇa, rising in rebellion against the authority of Parākramabāhu I⁶ These accounts, coupled with the fact that their aid was considered effective for the protection of one of the most cherished national treasures of the Sinhalese people, go to prove that the *Vēlaikkāras* were, at this period, a very powerful community

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XXI, p 282

² This *viḥāra* was distinct from the monastery of the same name at the old capital, Anurādhapura.

³ *Mahāvamsa*, Chapter LVII

⁴ *Ibid.*, Chapter LX.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Chapter LXIII

⁶ *Ibid.*, Chapter LXXIV.

The inscriptions of the Chōla kings Rājārāja I and Rājendra Chōla I, on the walls of the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Tanjore, make mention of several Vēlaikkāra regiments. The origin of the word *vēlaikkāra* has not yet been conclusively proved. Different scholars have given different interpretations of the word. Dr. Hultzsch has rendered *vēlaikkāra-padaigal* as 'the troop of servants'.¹ The late Rai Bahadur Venkayya was of opinion that it was a corruption of the word *vēlaikkāra*, and comments as follows — "At any rate, the origin of the term is obscure, and must be left to future research. It is possible they were no mercenaries in the Chōla country at the beginning of the 11th century. If a conjecture may be offered, I would say they were perhaps volunteers who enlisted themselves when the occasion (*vilai*) for their services arose. In later times when their services were not required in the Tamil Country, they probably migrated to Ceylon, during the period of interregnum, when there were frequent Chōla invasions against the island. Eventually they probably developed into mercenaries."² Mr. Krishna Sastri, in his remarks upon this inscription, says of the Vēlaikkāras, "Whatever the Vēlaikkāras may have been in their religious creed, it is clear from what is stated in the inscription that they included all working classes, and were apparently of Indian origin who immigrated into Ceylon with the merchants whom they served."³ The late Mr. Gopinatha Rao's opinion as to who the Vēlaikkāras were was quite different from any of the views set forth above. He says that they were not mercenaries but "persons who had pledged themselves to do certain duties, failing which, they would voluntarily undergo certain penalties, which, in most cases, was death." He has quoted two passages from Tamil literature, one from the commentary of Periyavācchēhapillai on Nammālvār's *Tirumoli* which explains the word *pū-vēlaikkāra* as "those who, when they see the king being without flower(-garlands) at the time when he ought to wear them, had vowed to stab themselves and die." The other extract is from the commentary of the *Śivachanabhāṣanam*, where the Vēlaikkāras are said to be "the servants of the king who chastise those who prove traitorous to him."⁴

In this inscription they are termed 'the Vēlaikkāras of the three hands' (*mūṇṇu-lai*). In No. 602 of 1912, another inscription from Ceylon, *mūṇṇu-lai tiru vēlaikkāra* appears as the surname of a certain Adhikarana Sāranan, and in No. 610 of the same year, also from Ceylon, *mūṇṇu-lai* is referred to as the name by which a particular community was known.⁵ In an inscription of the time of Kulōttunga-Chōladēva, in the Bhaktavatsalēśvara temple at Shōrmīdēvī, *mūṇṇu-lai-mahāsēnai* are represented as protecting certain charitable endowments made to that temple.⁶ A Tamil inscription at Dangūr, in Mysore, too, refers to the Vēlaikkāras of the right hand. It seems from our inscription as if the three divisions or 'hands' to which the Vēlaikkāras were divided, consisted of the Mahātāntra, the Valaṇṇiyar, and the Nagarattār. Out of these terms, Mahātāntra is not found elsewhere, and its sense is not clear. Probably it was used here with a Buddhist significance. The terms Valaṇṇiyar and Nagarattār are of frequent use in the South Indian inscriptions of this period. They are there represented to have been a wealthy and influential body of merchants. In Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions* there are three records from Balligamī, which refer to the corporation of merchants known as the Valaṇṇiyar. In one of them the members are styled "protectors of the *vīra-banaṇṇa* rights."⁷ In the second they are called

¹ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol II, p. 97.

² *Ibid.*, Vol II, Introduction, p. 10.

³ *Epigraphical Report of Madras for 1913*, p. 102.

⁴ The above is from an article by the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao, a reprint of which was found among some of his papers which are in the library of the Government Epigraphist for India. I have not been able to find out the journal to which the article was contributed.

⁵ *Ep. Rep.* for 1913, p. 101.

⁶ No. 189 of the *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1895*.

⁷ *Mysore Archaeological Report for 1920*, p. 31.

⁸ *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 73.

banajigas,¹ whilst the third inscription calls the members of the guild "the protectors of the *vira-banañja dharma*"² Two inscriptions from Shikarpūr Taluq (Nos 94 and 118), published in the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol VII,³ describe these merchants in great detail. An inscription has been found at Ānaulundāva, a village near Polonnaruva, which begins with almost the same phrases as are used in describing the Valaṇṇiyar merchants in the Kanarese inscriptions from Mysore. This inscription being only a fragment, the word *valaṇṇiyar* does not actually occur in it, but the phraseology used in it shows, beyond doubt, that it must have been a record of the same Corporation of Merchants.⁴ In the inscription No 555 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1923, mention is made of the Valaṇṇiyar of South Ceylon (*Ten-Ilangai-valaṇṇiyar*). They are there represented as making donations to a Viṣṇu temple.⁵ As regards the derivation of this word, the late Mr Venkayya says — "In Kanarese *banajiga* is still used to denote a class of merchants. In Telugu the word *baḷiga* or *baḷiḷiga* has the same meaning. It is therefore probable that the words *valaṇṇiyam*, *valaṇṇiyar*, *balanji*, *banañji*, *banajiga* and *baḷiga* are cognate, and derived from the Sanskrit *vaṇij*"⁶ The Nagarattārs, who are mentioned in this inscription along with the Valaṇṇiyars, were also an influential community of merchants, who, at the time that we are speaking of, had their mercantile establishments not only all over South India and Ceylon, but also in Burma and other parts of Further India.⁷ The Nagarattārs comprised within their ranks another class of merchants called the Nānādēśī. An inscription of Queen Līlāvati of Ceylon, who reigned in the first decade of the 13th century, mentions the Nānādēśī merchants as having made some donations to an alms-house at Anurādhapura.⁸ As the Valaṇṇiyars are said to have been the leaders (*mūḍāḍar*) of the Vēlaikkāra troops, it might be conjectured that the latter migrated to Ceylon with the Valaṇṇiyar whom they served. The Valaṇṇiyars and the Nagarattārs are at present represented by the Banajiga and Nagaratta communities of the Kanarese country.⁹

The different sub sects, into which the Vēlaikkāras were further divided, were the Valangai, Idangai, Śīrudanam, Pillālgaldanam, Vadugar, Malaiyālar, Parivārakkondam, and others. Out of these Valangai and Idangai mean the 'Right hand' and the 'Left hand' castes respectively. From an early time the inhabitants of South India were thus divided. The Madras *Epigraphical Report* for 1913 contains the following interesting account as regards the origin of the Idangai — "While in order to kill demons (that disturbed) the sacrifices of the sage Kāśyapa, we were made to appear from the *agni-kunda* (i.e. the sacrificial fire pit), and while we were protecting the said sacrifice, Chakravartin Arindama honoured the officiating sage priests by carrying them in a car, and led them to a Brāhmana Colony (newly founded by himself). On this occasion we were made to take our seats on the backside of the car and to carry the slippers and umbrellas of these sages. Eventually, with these Brāhmana sages, we also were made to settle down in the villages of Tiruvellarai, etc. We received the clan name Idangai, because the sages (while they got down their cars) were supported by us on their left side." In the same inscription it is said that there were ninety-eight sub sects of the Idangai. Their insignia are given thus — "It is also understood that only those, who, during their congregational meetings to settle communal disputes, display the *insignia*(?) of horn, bugle and parasol, shall belong to our class. Those who have

¹ Mysore Inscriptions, p 120

² Ibid, p 123

³ P 114 and p 156

⁴ This inscription runs as follows —

(1) Samasta bhuvānūgra pañca-patī vīra sāsana-mūli (ngita Lakṣmī)

(2) (yā) lakṣaṇa (vakṣa) sthala bhuvana parākrama Śrī Vāsudēva Kundalā mūla (pūrtti nṛ)

Epigraphia Zeylanica Vol. IV, p 236

⁵ A R on Epigraphy for 1923, p 106

⁶ Ep Ind, Vol IV, p 296

⁷ A R on Epigraphy for 1913, p 102

⁸ *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol I, p 179

⁹ A R on Epigraphy for 1913 p 102

to recognise us now and hereafter, in public, must do so from our distinguishing symbols, the feather of the crane and the loose hanging hair”¹

The term *Śirudanam* appears in the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājārāja I and Rājendra-Chōla I, as a title given to military officers. Among the regiments mentioned in the inscriptions of the same place we find two named “*Śirudanattu-vaduga-ḷḷālar* and *Śirudanattu-ḷ alangai-Vēlaikkāra-ppadaṅgal*” The true significance of this term has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Dr Hultsch explains the terms *śirudanam* and *perudanam* as the ‘small treasury’ and the ‘big treasury’, and persons so entitled as officers of the treasury, small or big. The titles are sometimes explained as referring to the followers of the king during his minority and majority. In all probability *śirudanam* and *perudanam* were purely honorary titles conferred on officers, as well as private individuals, according to the status held by them in official position or in society.²

The Vadugar (Northerners) might have been immigrants from the Telugu Country. The Malayālar, most probably, were settlers from the Malabar Coast. On the occasion of the rebellion of the people of Rōhama against Parākramabāhu I, as already mentioned, the Kēralas took the side of the insurgents. There are also other references to the Kērala soldiers in the *Mahāvamśa*. The term Malayālar, therefore, must have been applied to the people from the Kērala country.

The inscription is silent as to the reason why the protection of the Vēlaikkāras was sought for the Tooth Relic. If this inscription was engraved only after the death of Vijayabāhu I, it must have been owing to the state of anarchy which prevailed after that event.

Out of the places mentioned in this record, Anurādhapura is the well-known capital of the ancient Sinhalese kings. Arumana has already been identified with Rāmaññadēsa, i.e. Lower Burma. Pulanari, also called Vijayarājapura in the inscription, evidently after King Vijayabāhu I, is the same as Poionnarūwa (Pulastipura³), and was the mediaeval Sinhalese Capital. In Chōla inscriptions found in Ceylon this city is also called Jananāthamangalam. There are extensive ruins of the many monasteries, palaces and other public buildings with which it was adorned in the days of its splendour.

TEXT

- 1 Svasti Śrīh[||*] Lamkāyām Jina-danta-dhātu-bhavanam yad=Dēva-
- 2 sēnādhīpō-kārshīt śrī-Vijayādibāhunṛivar-ādēś[ā]-
- 3 t Pulastēh purē[||*] Vēlaikkāra-samā[hritā]n tad-apī ta-
- 4 t-pariyyanta-dēvālayān Vēlaikkāra-balāni pā-
- 5 ntū⁴ nitarām-ā-kalpa-sandhēr-bhuvī[||*] Namō Buddhāya[||*]
- 6 Śrī-Lamkā-dvipattu Sūrya-vamēattu Ikshvāku[vī]-
- 7 n vaḷi-vanda anēka-śatru-vijayam panm Anur[ā]-
- 8 dhapuram pukku Buddha-śāsanam rakṣhikka vēṇḍi sa-
- 9 mgha-miyōgattāl tiru-mudī-śūdi Arumanattilnī-
- 10 nṛum sangattārai aḷaippittu mūnṛu nīkāya-
- 11 ttu sangha-śuddhi pannuvittu mūnṛu tulābhāram
- 12 mūnṛu nīkāyattukku kuduttu daśa-rāja-dharmattāl
- 13 aṇḍibatt-ayy-āndu Ilāṅgai-muḷudum oru-kudai-nī[la]-
- 14 ṛṛi-ttiruv-irāyañ-cheyd-aruh eḷupattu mūv-āṇḍu tiru-na-
- 15 kṣhatrañ=cheluttina Kō śrī-Sanghabōdhi-vatmar-āna chakravartti-
- 16 gal śrī-Vijayabāhudēvar=anuvāgal Dē[va]-sēnevīrattar-

¹ *A. R. on Epigraphy* for 1913 p. 109

² *Ibid* for 1913, p. 97

³ This is a name in which at least we see the Puranic allusion to Pulastī Brahmā, an ancestor of Ravana, the giant king of Ceylon.

⁴ *S. I. I. Texts* Vol. IV, No. 1396 reads *yāntu*

17 kku miyōgittu-Ppulanariy-āna Vijayarājapurattu eḍup-
 18 pitta Mūlasthūnam-āgiya Abhayagiri-mahā-vihārattu agr-ā-
 19 yatanam-āna¹ Uttorulmūlaiyil mūv-ulagukkuñ-chukāmami-
 20 y-āgiya Daladā-Pātra-dhātu-svāmīdōvargalukku nitya=vāsa-bhavana-
 21 m-ina pratham-ābhishēgattukku mangala-griha-n-āna āttāndu-
 22 dōrun-tiru-nayana-mōksham panni aṇjana nīrukkum
 23 kannīlāñ-cheyyum mangala-mahā-śīlāmayā-Buddha-
 24 dēvarukku gandhakutiy-āna Daladāy-pperum-ballī unga-
 25 l rakshay-ūga vēndum-enru sakala-śāstr-āgama-śīl-ā-
 26 chāra-sampannar-āna Rāja-guru Uturulmūlaiyil Vyārinī Mu-
 27 galan Mahāsthavīrar rāj-āmatyarōdun kūda elundaruhi-ī-
 28 rundu engalai alaittu aru-chēchēdamaiyil Mā-tantirāt-
 29 tōn-kūdi engalukku mūtādaigal-āy-ulla Valaṇṇeyaraiyum e-
 30 ngalōdu kūdivarum=Nagarattār-ulittōrai-yum=kūtti Mūnru-
 31 kai tīru-Vēlaikkāra Daladāy-pperum-balliy-enru
 32 tiru-nāmañ-chātti engal-aram-āy engal kaval-āy nīka-
 33 vēndum-enru aran-gāvalukku padai-ppadaiyāl² ōr[ō]-
 34 ēvagaraiyum ōrō vēli nīlamum-ittu=kkuduttu i-p-
 35 palli nōkkina ūrgaḷum parivāramum paṇḍāramum abha-
 36 yam pukkārai-yum pattun-kettun-kākkak=kadavōm=āga-
 37 yam aḷivupattidaṅga³ aḷivu sōndum engal anva-
 38 yam-ulladanai-yum=eññānrum-idukku vēnduvanav-e-
 39 llāñ-cheyvōm=āga-yum pannma inda vyavasthai chandr-ā-
 40 dityavarai nīrpad-āga=kkaiy-vinūv-ērri=chchēmbilun=kallī-
 41 lum vettuvittu-kkuduttōm Valangaḷ Idangaḷ Śi-
 42 rudanam Piḷḷaigaldanam Vadugar Malaiyālar Parivārak=
 43 kondam pala-kalanai-yum-ulitta tiru-Vēlaikkāra-
 44 rōm [||*] Ippadī tīrambuvānum tīramba=chcholluvānu-
 45 m tīramba chchammadippānum Mā-tantirattukku=ppilaitta
 46 padai-ppagaiyan pañcha-mahā-pūṭakañ-cheydānum tēvar-
 47 pūdar-mū-tavattōrkku=kkuduttana kollum kodum-
 48 pāviyūm Buddha-Dharmma-Sangha-ratnangalukku=ppilaittā-
 49 num pugun=naragam puguvān [||*] Ara=maravarka [||*] Svasti Śrīh [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Ll 1-5) May the Vēlaikkāra forces well protect, till the juncture of another *kalpa*, on this earth, that shrine of the Tooth Relic of Jina (Buddha), which Dēva, the Commander-in-Chief, had built in the city of Pulastī in Lankā (Ceylon), at the command of the glorious king Vijaya-bāhu, and the other shrines of the gods (*situated*) near that (*shrine*), which the Vēlaikkāras have brought together under their protection. Obsecration to the Buddha.

(Ll 6-24) The glorious king Sanghabōdhivarman *alias* Chakravartin Śrī-Vijayabāhu-dēva, who appeared in the lineage of Ikshvāku of the Solar race in the prosperous island of Lankā, who, having conquered many enemies, entered the city of Anurādhapura, and wore the beautiful crown at the request of the *sangha* for protecting the Order (*i.e.* the religion) of the Buddha, who, inviting monks from Arumana, caused the purification of the *sangha* of the three

¹ S I I (Texts) Vol IV p 492 reads *agravadanam āna*

² *Ibid.* reads *aḷivupattidaṅgaḷ*

³ *Ibid* reads [u]daḥppanaiyāl

fraternities (*niḷāyas*) and gave three *tulābhāras*¹ to the three fraternities, who, bringing the whole of Lankā under the shade of one umbrella, had been pleased to reign for fifty-five years with the ten principles of regal duty² and celebrated seventy-three birthday festivities (*tiru-naḷ shatram*), gave orders to Nuvaragal³ Dēvasenevirattar, and caused to be built within (*the precincts of*) Uttorūlmūla, which was the principal shrine of the great monastery of Abhayagiri the Mūlas-thāna (*i.e.* important seat of monks) in the city of Pulanarī alias Vijayarājapura, the great temple of the Tooth Relic (*dala-dāy-pperumpalli*), the permanent abode of the venerated Tooth Relic and the Bowl Relic (*daladā-pātra dhātu-sūmi-dēvargal*), the crest jewel of the three worlds, an auspicious house for the first inauguration ceremony, a *gandhāḷut*⁴ for the great stone image of Buddhādēva to whom annually is held the festival of opening the eyes and fixing collyrium thereon

(Ll 25-39) As the Mahāsthavira Vyārinī⁵ Mugalan, the royal preceptor, well versed in all the sciences and scriptures, of good conduct and behaviour, who, being gloriously seated in the Uturūlmūla (monastery) along with the ministers of the king was pleased to call us to his presence and said "The great temple of the Tooth Relic should be under your protection," we, of the Mahātantra, having called together the Valaṅṅiyar, who are our leaders and the Nagarattār and others, who always accompany us, gave it the sacred name of "*Mūṇṇu-lai-tiru-ṇṇalāḷ āraṇ Daladāy-pperumpalli*" (*i.e.* the great temple of the Tooth Relic of the Vēlaikkāras of the three hands), and to make it remain as our charity and under our protection, assigned for the protection of this charity one servant and one *ṇṇi* of land (*for his maintenance*), from each regiment, and bound ourselves to protect the villages under the supervision of this temple (*palli*), its servants and treasures, as well as the men seeking its shelter, even though (*we may*) suffer ruin or loss, and to always provide for all the requirements of this (*temple*), so long as our community continues to exist, repairing such parts (*of the temple*) as get dilapidated

(Ll 39-44) In order that the agreement thus given may last as long as the Moon and the Sun (endure), we, the exalted Vēlaikkāras, consisting of the Valangai, Idaugai, Śīrudanam, Pillai-galdanam, Vadugar, Malayālar, Parivārakkondam and various other classes of workmen (*palalalanai*) attested it (*i.e.* the agreement) with our own hands, and caused it to be engraved on copper and stone

(Ll 44-49) Whose acts against this, or acquiesces in doing wrong to this, shall enter the hell wherein fall those enemies of the (*Vēlaikkāra*) regiments, who have wronged the Mahātantra, those who have committed the five great sins,⁶ those heinous sinners who have robbed what have been given to gods, *bhūtas*, and the great ascetics, and those who have wronged the (*three*) gems, (*to wit*), the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Sangha Forget not charity! Hail! Prosperity!

¹ *Tulābhāra* is weighing one's self against gold or other precious substances and giving away the same in charity

² The ten principles of regal duty as explained in Pali books are, charity (*dāna*), piety (*sīla*), liberality (*paricchaya*), rectitude (*ajjāram*), gentleness (*majjava*), religious austerity (*tapam*), freedom from wrath (*akkāḍhā*) humanity (*avihiṃsā*) forbearance (*phant*), and the state of having no enmity (*avirōdhatā*)

³ The correct reading Nuvaragal in place of *anurāgal* is due to Codrington

⁴ *Gandhāḷut* (perfumed chamber) was the name given to the part of the *vihāra* occupied by the Buddha himself, when he was alive

⁵ It is doubtful whether *Vyārinī* formed a part of the name of the monk. No such name is met with anywhere as the name of a Buddhist monk. I am not able to give any other explanation of this word

⁶ The five great sins according to the Buddhists are —(1) the murdering of one's father, (2) the murdering of one's mother, (3) killing an arhat or saint, (4) shedding the blood of a Buddha, (5) causing schism in the Order. According to the Hindu Law-books they are —(1) killing a Brāhmana, (2) drinking intoxicating liquor, (3) theft, (4) committing adultery with the wife of a religious teacher, and (5) associating with any one guilty of these crimes

No 39 —THE JUNAGADH INSCRIPTION OF JIVADAMAN (I).

By R D BANERJI, M A

The inscription which is edited below for the first time, was discovered by some labourers on the top of the citadel of Junāgadh fort during the rainy season of 1919 Mr S Brook-Fox, the then Chief Engineer of the Junāgadh State, removed the stone slab on which it is written to the State Office building and, sending its inked impression, informed the Archaeological Survey Department of its discovery. It is now deposited in the Bahādur Khān-jī Museum, Junāgadh. During my visit in the month of October of the same year I read the inscription from the stone and took its estampages for publication.

The record is incised on a heavy slab of stone, the inscribed surface of which measures 31 inches by 10 inches. At present, it consists of two short lines mutilated both at the beginning and at the end. The first line begins with the word *kshatrapasya* and ends with the numerical symbol for 100. The second line begins with a proper name and ends with the word *putra*. The length of each of these two lines is 30" and the average height of the letters is 2½". Judging, however, from their contents it would appear that originally these lines were considerably longer. The slab bearing the inscription must have been used for building purposes. It was found with its face turned downwards in the debris of an old structure. When I saw it in the State Office at Junāgadh, the letters were full of plaster or mortar made of powdered bricks (*soorkh*) and lime. Possibly, there were several other lines below the second one which were mutilated when the stone was broken up to suit the requirements of the mason.

The characters of the inscription are of the usual type used in Western India in the second century A.D. and akin to the alphabet in which the Āndhau inscriptions of Rudradāman I are written. The lower parts of *ka* and *ra* curve to the left. The three verticals of *ga* are almost equal in height and all instances of the subscript form of this letter are tripartite. *Va* and the lower part of *ma* are rather triangular. Both the verticals of *pa* are of equal height. In the only extant symbol of the palatal *śa* the pendant drops from the right half of the curve instead of from the left, while the angularity is not quite marked. In the letter *sha* the cross bar is joined to the right vertical straight line and not to the left as usual in one case, i.e., in *kshatrapasya*, while in the other, i.e., in *varshē*, it seems to join both the verticals.

The inscription is written in Sanskrit prose. The object of it, however, is not clear on account of its mutilated state. The portion giving the date is unfortunately damaged and nothing is legible at the end of the first line, except the symbol for 100. The record refers itself to the reign of Jivadāman whose exact rank cannot be now ascertained because the portion of the slab, where his titles were in all probability written, is now missing. That he was a Kshatrapa is certain as that title is prefixed to his name. Two Jivadāmans are known to have had any connection with Kāthiāwār. The first prince of that name was the son of Damajadaśrī I and the grandson of Rudradāman I, who is known from his coins to have ruled in Kāthiāwār from the year 100 to 118 or 119 of the Śaka era. The second prince of that name is Svāmī Jivadāman, known to us from the coins of his son, Kshatrapa Rudrasimha II, who was ruling in Śaka 227 and seems to have succeeded to the throne on the extinction of the direct descendants of Chāshṭana or of the Mahākshatrapa Rudrasimha I. On palaeographic grounds, I am of opinion that the inscription under examination pertains to the reign of the Mahākshatrapa Jivadāman I. The second line of this record contains four proper names —[Va]stradatta, Vastunādhika, Vastuśarmma and Rāmaka. The last word of

the second line, if read as *putrā* [*nāni*] would show that the first three persons were the sons of Rāmaka. The inscription must have been incised to commemorate some pious act or the erection of some building by these three brothers.

TEXT

- 1 . [ksha]trapasya Sv[ā]mī Jivadāmasya ētāya pūrvvāya¹ varsh[ē] 100 . .
2 [Va]stradattasya Vāstuna[m]dikasya Vas[tu]śarmmakasya Rāmakasya putr[ā] ...

NOTES

- 1 1 (a) The upper part of the ligature in *ksha* is broken
(b) The cross bar in *sha* in *varshē* is damaged
(c) The last letter looks like *sa* but the downward prolongation of the right vertical makes it certain that this letter is the symbol for 100
1 2 The restoration [Va]stradatta is tentative. The reading may be [Śa]stradatta or [A]stradatta. The form of *Vā* in *Vāstunamdi* is peculiar. The base line is very much curved and the upper horizontal line has disappeared giving place to two curved lines which appear like bifurcations of the vertical.

TRANSLATION.

. of the [Mahā]kshatrapa Svāmī Jivadāman, on the above mentioned, in the year 100 . . . [Va]stradatta, Vāstunamdi (Vāstunandin), Vastuśarmma, the sons of Rāmaka

No 40 —PERUNEYIL RECORD OF KULASEKHARA-KOYILADHIKARI

By A S RAMANATHA AYYAR, B A, MADRAS

This inscription is engraved on a slab set up in the western *prālāra* of the Vishnu temple at Peruneyil, a suburb of Changanāchēri which is a taluk-centre in the Kōttayam Division of the Travancore State. It is in clear-cut and well-preserved Vatteluttu characters, which can, from purely palæographical considerations, be assigned to the 11th century A D or thereabouts. The language of the record is Tamil, sprinkled with a few dialectical peculiarities of the West Coast e.g., *irunn-arul* (l 15), *aruliyār* (l 23), *olla* (l 41), *vannu* (l 58), and *adikkumad=olāññōm* (ll 61-63).

The record which is dated in the 8th year opposite the 2nd year of the reign of a certain king named Kulasekhara-Kōyiladhi-kāṇṇal, presumably of the Chēra dynasty, does not give the exact Kollam year but mentions simply the vague astronomical detail that Jupiter was in Karkataka. But this defect, as will be proved below, is mended by two other inscriptions secured from Quilon² and Tiruvālūr³, both of which are also in the Travancore State. The date portions in these two inscriptions run thus —

- 1 Kollan-tōṇṇy=irunūṇṇ-ēlupatt-ettām=āndaī Kapṇiyil Viyālam pukka Chinna ūāyṇṇ onpadu ſenra nāl irandām=āndaikk=edir padu[nōrā]m=āndaṇṇ=[I]rā[ma]r⁴ Tiruvaḍi Kōyiladhi-kāṇṇal-āyṇṇa śrī-Kulasekhara-chChakkiravattagaḷ Kurakkēṇi-kKollattu Paṇainnāvin kōyilagatt-irunnarula

¹ [This phrase usually follows the date —Ed.]

² *Trav Archl Series*, Vol V, p 44. No 54 of App B of *Archæological Survey Report* (Travancore) for 1919-20

³ *Ibid*, Vol IV, p 145. See p 47 of the *Archæological Survey Report* (Travancore) for 1919-20.

⁴ This portion is somewhat damaged, an alternative reading of Kō Rāman is also possible.

THE JUNAGADH INSCRIPTION OF JIVADAMAN (I)



HIRANANDA SASTRI

SCALE ABOUT A QUARTER

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

2 Makarattil Viyāḷan nīṇṇa Kulasekhara-pPerumāl=irāchchīyam vānna randām=āndaikk=edīrām=āndu

Of these, the latter is dated in the year opposite the 2nd year of the reign of Kulasekhara-pPerumāl when Jupiter stood in Makara, and the first epigraph, which is dated on the 9th day of Chingam in the Kollam year 278 (=August 1102 A D) when Jupiter stood in Kanyā, purports to have been issued in the reign of Irāmar-Tiruvadī Kōyiladhikāriḡal=āyina Kulasekhara-Chakravartīḡal in the second year opposite to the year *padī*, the second part of which admits of the possible reading *nōrā* Jupiter, which was in Makara in the 2nd+1st year (expired) of the reign of Kulasekhara-pPerumāl according to the Tiruvālūr record, would have journeyed on to Karkataka six years later. This was actually the planet's position in the 2nd+8th year of Kulasekhara-Kōyiladhikāriḡal as recorded in the Peruneyil inscription. Consequently, the two kings Kulasekhara-pPerumāl and Kulasekhara-Kōyiladhikāriḡal mentioned in these two epigraphs appear to be identical. Again, it is clear that two years later, i.e., in the 2nd+11th year, Jupiter would be occupying the Kanyā-rāśi. In the regnal year of king Kulasekhara-Chakravartīḡal which has been read as 2nd+11th in the Quilon record Jupiter was actually in Kanni (Kanyā). This proves beyond doubt that the three kings referred to in the epigraphs from Tiruvālūr, Quilon and Peruneyil are identical, and it follows also that king Kulasekhara may have ascended the Chēra throne between the months Dhanus and Karkataka of the Kollam year 265, i.e., between January and July 1090 A D.

The title Kōyiladhikāri assumed by the king deserves some notice. *Kōyil* either means 'a temple' or 'a palace' and *adhikāri* is a 'controller'. It is possible that the management of the palace was left in the hands of an important officer, sometimes the young crown-prince himself, who was consequently called the Kōyiladhikāri, and so Dr Gundert has translated this term as the Palace-Major¹, but as the kings of Kēraḷa were known to have specially interested themselves in temple affairs, it appears more probable that even during the life-time of a reigning sovereign, the supervision of the temple demesne was vested in the crown-prince² so as to give him the proper preliminary training in administrative work, and that he was given the title of Kōyiladhikāri³. Vijayarāgadēva who figures as such in the Kōttayam plates of the Chēra king Sthānu-Ravi probably held a similar position and his presence was considered essential for the transaction recorded in that copper-plate charter. He could not have been a mere official unconnected with the royal household, for, we find him given the title 'Chēramāṇār' in a Tiruvorriyūr epigraph⁴ of 936 A D, and he had himself married a Kēraḷa princess Kīḷanadīḡal daughter of Kulasekharadēva⁵.

In the Quilon record under reference, the king is introduced by the expression 'Irāmar-Tiruvadī Kōyiladhikāriḡal=āyina Kulasekhara-chChakravartīḡal' which can be understood in one of two ways. The ordinary interpretation will be to consider that Kulasekhara-Chakravartī was the Kōyiladhikāri of another senior king Rāmar-Tiruvadī, but as the title 'Chakravartin' affixed to his name denotes that he was the reigning king, the simultaneous use

¹ *Trav Archl Series*, Vol II, p 83

² *Malabar Quarterly Review*, Vol VIII, p. 117

³ *Ibid.*, Vol VIII, p 116. 'Nambūdiri Brahmans who held sway over temples possessing immense wealth and landed property invoked the assistance of Sāmanta-kshatriyas and these managed the Devasvams under the title of Kōyiladhikāriḡal (Temple Managers)—*Land Tenure of Travancore*. Although this Kōyiladhikāram was also wielded by private managers (*Trav Archl Series*, II, p 44) in the case of small individual temples the general control together with the specific title must have been in the possession of a member of the royal family, the crown prince, in all probability.

⁴ *Trav Archl Series*, Vol III, p 77 et seq and *S I I* Vol III, p 236

⁵ *Trav Archl Series*, Vol IV, p 144.—Kulasekharadēvar maḡaḷār-Vijayarāgadēvar-dīviyār Kīḷanadīḡal

of the other title Kōyiladhikārī which would indicate a subordinate position to Rāmar-Tiruvāḍi, appears to be inconsistent. Rāmar-Tiruvāḍi to whom Kulaśekhara was the Kōyiladhikārī (or Agent-in-chief) may be taken to refer to god Rāmēśvara of the Quilon temple, 'Tiruvāḍi' being a respectful term applied alike to gods, kings, queens and saints.¹ Or again, Rāmar-Tiruvāḍi Kōyiladhikārīgāḷ may be taken as the proper name of the king and Kulaśekhara as his regal title. If, however, Rāmar-Tiruvāḍi represents a senior king whose Kōyiladhikārī was Kulaśekhara at that time, then we have to understand that though the latter has styled himself as an independent king in the more northern localities in the 4th and 9th years of his reign, he acknowledged a suzerain in Rāmar-Tiruvāḍi in the somewhat later Quilon epigraph. Future researches alone can decide this point one way or the other, but it looks probable that Kulaśekhara of the three records was a Chēra or Cochin king and that Quilon was his southern outpost where in the palace called Paṇaṅgāvu² he had encamped on the 9th Chingam of Kollam 278. It may be noted that the Cochin rājas even now style themselves as Kōyiladhikārīgāḷ in documents pertaining to the landed property of temples, their full title being 'Perumbaḍappu Gaṇ-gādhara Vira-Kēraḷa Tirukkōyiladhikārīgāḷ'.³

The king of this record being assigned to the end of the 11th century A.D., he must be different from Kulaśekhara, the author of the *Mukundamālā* (a devotional poem considered to be the work of the Vaiṣṇava royal-saint Kulaśekhara-Ālvār), and the patron of the author of the four *yamaka-kāvya*s⁴ entitled the *Yudhishtīraviyaya*, the *Tripuradahana*, the *Śaurika-thōdaya* and the *Nalōdaya*, and from another Kulaśekhara, the royal author of the two Sanskrit dramas, the *Tapatīsamvāraṇa* and the *Subhadraḍhanañjaya*, and of the undiscovered prose work, the *Āścharyamañjarī*.⁵

The object of the record was to state that the king who was seated in (the hall called) Nediyatali (at his capital?) in company with the presidents of the four assemblies and (the president of) Tirukkunṇappōḷai, issued, after due consultation with his ministers, an order granting the annual income of 40 *lalam* of paddy and the tax (?) called *aranda* from the village of Peruneydal for the expenses of feeding certain Brāhmins and for expounding the *Mahābhārata* in that temple. The recipients of the gift were the *ūr* (i.e. the members of the village assembly) and the *poḍuvāl* (i.e. officers supervising charitable endowments). This order was conveyed by Rāman-Tāyan of Kāmakānappallī and Nārāyaṇa-Nārāyaṇa of Kadambanādu to the *kudipati* (headmen or chieftains) of the two villages of Kāpālmangalam and Muttūru, who thereupon met in the temple of Peruneydal and, agreeing to refrain from collecting the *aranda* in obedience to the royal mandate, had this stipulation engraved on a slab of stone and got it set up in the temple compound.

The record is important in that it gives us, though perhaps imperfectly, a glimpse into the official routine of the 12th century in Kēraḷa where, more than in any other place, temple administration was entirely in the hands of *yōgams*⁶ (corporations), which were wielding independent power in matters pertaining to temple politics, and which were presided over by the king.

¹ *Trans. Arch. Series* Vol. III, p. 3

² *Ibid.* Vol. IV, p. 9. This palace of Paṇaṅgāvu was in existence at the time of the Vēṇādu ruler Śrīval-labhaśhōḍai (Kollam 149)

³ *Cochin State Manual*, p. 39, and *Malabar Quarterly Review*, Vol. VIII, p. 117

⁴ *J. R. A. S.*, April 1925, pp. 263-75

⁵ *Summary of Papers* of the All India Oriental Conference, Third Session, pp. 109-15

⁶ *Malabar Quarterly Review*, VIII, p. 110

Nēḍiyatali according to the *Kēralōṭipatti* was one of the four assembly halls in the capital town, where the councils (*yōgams*) elected their kings (*raṁshā puruṣhas*) under the leadership of their presidents called the *Taliyāḍirīmār* or *Taliyālvāns*¹. It is not apparent why the royal writ relating to the Peruneyil temple emanated from the Nēḍiyatali Assembly Hall instead of from the Mēṛṛali representing Mūlikkaḷam, which might be expected to have exercised its jurisdiction over Peruneydal, as it had done in the case of the Tiruvānvandūr and Tirukkākkarai temples.

Patī or *kudīpati* is the term which has been applied to chieftains in the Kōttayam plates² of Sthānu-Ravi — Punnaittalai-ppati and Pūlaikkudi-ppati, who were petty chieftains controlling restricted areas. *Dēṣavāḷis* or officers in charge of *dēṣas* or villages would be their equals in status. *Arandaḷ*³ which literally means 'misery', here appears to signify some kind of tax in money or in kind leviable by the village officers on behalf of the king.

Of the places named in the record, Kadambanādu⁴ and Ilandurutti are the localities from where the *taliyāḍiris* or presidents of the Nēḍiyatali assembly are said to have been selected. Kāpālimangalam and Kāmakkānappaḷḷi are mentioned in the Tiruvalla plates⁵ and Muttūru⁶ may be the same as the modern Muttūru in the Tiruvalla taluk. Tirukkuprappuḷa seems to be identical with the village of the same name near Kārttiṭṭaippaḷḷi (Quilon Dn) and belonging to the Eḍappaḷḷi chief.⁷

Nēḍiyatali and Mēṛṛali⁸ occurring in several other records at Tirukkākkarai may, in all probability, refer to these two assemblies in addition to being specific villages answering to these names.

¹ *Taḷi* means 'a temple' but here refers to the meeting halls (within temples?) where certain assemblies met. Compare v 69 of the *Śūlasandēśa* of Lakṣmīdēśa (circa 12th cent A D) where the Chōra capital Mahōdayapura, has been described as having *taḷis*, presided over by all powerful presidents.

वाचा वेदा भवति नृपतिर्नायकी राज्यलक्ष्म्या
ग्रामान् षष्टि चतुर इह ये ग्राह्यचेष्टा नयन्ति ।
शस्त्रे ग्राह्येपि च भृगुनिमै शश्वदुद्गासते या
विप्रवृद्धैर्क्षिपुलमठवर्षावलीषु स्थलीषु ॥

² *Trav Archl Series*, Vol II, p 80

³ Compare 'arandaḷ keduttu varan tarum=vaḷ ena'—*Śilappadigāram* (*Uraiperukatturai*, 3)

⁴ *Trav State Manual*, Vol I, p 220

⁵ *Trav Archl Series*, Vol II, p 166

⁶ Muttūru-kūṛṭṭam was the name of an ancient territorial division and it was situated somewhere in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom (*Puṛaṇa* v 24), but it had nothing to do with the village in this record. Compare v 125 of the *Unnūḷisandēśam*, where this village has been referred to :—

Muttūṛṇiḥchennaiya puḷayam pīṇḍittēchchu Gangā-
m uttīya tvaṁ viravodu saḁhō Nālukōḍikku chella

⁷ In the island of Vaipoon, there is another Iṇḍagunnappaḷa whose famous Subrahmanya temple was, prior to its absorption by the Cochin Durbar, under the management of the Raja of Paravūr and an influential *sankētam* wielding high sacerdotal power (*Cochin State Manual*, p 373). Tirukkuprappōḷayam being used in the neuter gender can have nothing to do with the chief Yakkaṇ Kuprappōḷayam figuring in the Tirukkākkarai records of the 10th century A D.

⁸ *Trav Archl Series*, Vol III, pp 165-8, and 172 3

TEXT ¹*First side*

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] ²Irā-
- 2 māndaī=kkedī e-
- 3 ttām=āndu ³Kulaī-
- 4 śēkara-Kōyiladī-
- 5 kāṛgaḷ tīruv-ā-
- 6 chchīyāñ=chellā-
- 7 nīnra Karkkatakat-
- 8 tū V. yāḷattī-
- 9 I⁴ Vīrichchika-
- 10 nāyīrru nālu-
- 11 tāḷiyāyūn=Tīru-
- 12 kkunrappōḷaī ⁵-
- 13 yūn=kūttiko-
- 14 ndu Neḍiyatalī
- 15 irunn-arulī Peru-
- 16 neydaḷ-āttai-
- 17 kōḷāl ⁶nālppa-
- 18 dīn-kalan-nel-
- 19 lum Peruneyda-
- 20 l-arandāyūm a-
- 21 ttīl⁷-pērāy tī-
- 22 rukkaī nanaichch=a-
- 23 ruhyār [||*] Āttai-
- 24 kōḷ namakkāramum
- 25 Mābāratamun=tī-
- 26 ruvullam pan-
- 27 nīy-aruliyār a-
- 28 maichchulluṟu[t⁸]tī-
- 29 y ⁹Kulaśēkara-Kō-
- 30 yiladikāṛgaḷ [||*]

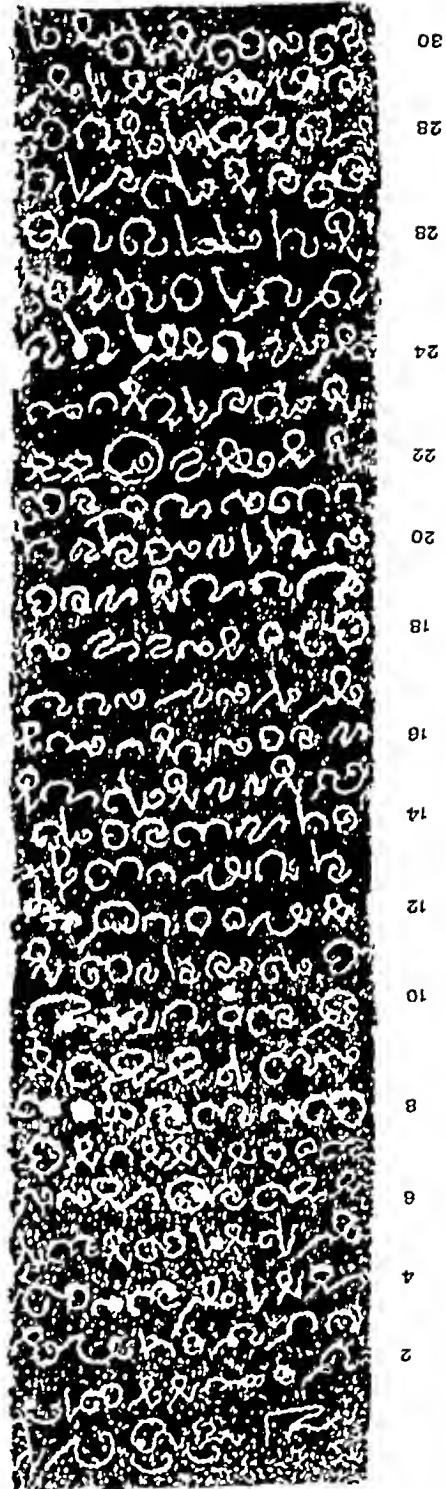
Second side

- 31 Āttaikkōḷ
- 32 nūrpādīn-kala-
- 33 mum arandāyū-
- 34 m Peruneydaḷ-
- 35 ūrum poduv-ā
- 36 lum attīl pē.⁷
- 37 āy kōnd[ā]r [||*] Kōyī-
- 38 laḍikkāṟgī-
- 39 l Kāpālīmānna-
- 40 lattum Muttū-
- 41 rrum olla
- 42 kuḍi-patīk-
- 43 ku tīrumuga-
- 44 n=tīruvullam-
- 45 paṇṇī⁸=Kkāma-
- 46 kkānappallī
- 47 Irāman-Tāya-
- 48 num Kadamman-
- 49 nāttu Nārāya-
- 50 na[n*]-Nārāyananum
- 51 ūr-ppoduv-ā-
- 52 lun=kūḍi tīru-
- 53 m[u]gam patiy-uṟu-
- 54 ttī⁹ Irandūr-
- 55 kkudī-patīyū-
- 56 m Perunevdaḷ
- 57 m[u]kkālva¹⁰-
- 58 tēattu vānnu

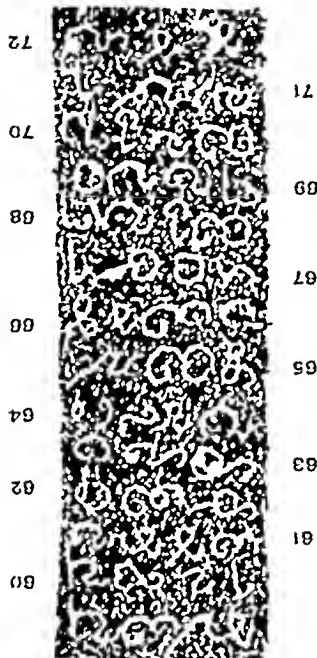
¹ From ink impressions prepared by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, B.A., M.R.A.S.² Read *irā*^o³ Read *Kulaśēkhara*^o⁴ The usual form will be *Karkatakalathil Vēḷāḷan nīnra*, the double locative is uncommon.⁵ The correct accusative will be *Tīruchunrappōḷaiyāyūm*⁶ *Nālppadīn* is the Malayalam form of *nārpādīn* (l. 32).⁷ Read *aṭṭip*^o⁸ *Paṇṇī* would be more appropriate.⁹ *Patī uṟṟūḷa* would be more grammatical or *patī-uṟṟūḷiyār*, a finite verb, may have been used, as the sentence following mentions a separate item of fact *Patī-uṟṟūḷi* though a finite verb in modern Malayalam could not have been in vogue at the time of the present record, as declensional endings have been used in *aruliyār*, *koṇḍār* and *koṇḍūtār*¹⁰ Before *va*, a letter has been entered and erased

PERUNEYIL RECORD OF KULASEKHARA-KOYILADHIKARI

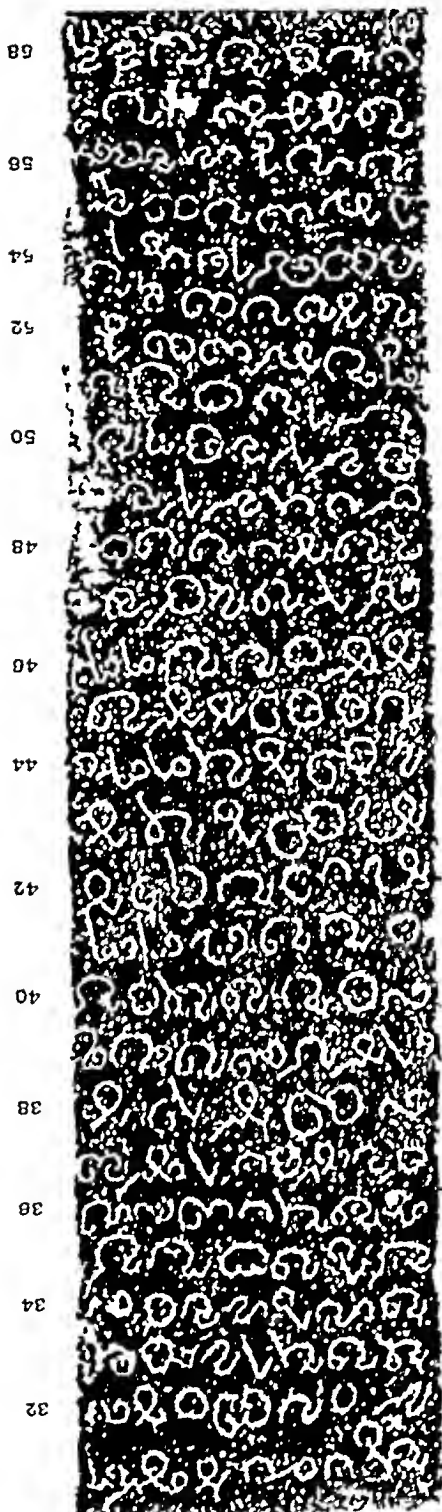
First Side



Third Side



Second Side





Third side

59 kūdi a-	66 ttī=kko-
60 randai 'a-	67 duttār
61 dikkuma-	68 tīruvul-
62 d=olhū-	69 lam-pan-
63 nōm=en-	70 n.y=arai-
64 ru kal=e-	71 yar(ya) mār-
65 ludi nā-	73 ggāmē [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail ' Prosperity ' !

In the month of Vriśchika, of the eighth year current opposite to the second year of (his) prosperous reign, when Jupiter was in Karkataka, Kulasēkhara-Kōyiladhikārī was pleased to be present at Nediyatali taking (with him) the four talis² and Tirukkunrappōlai, and was pleased to grant as an *allippēru* with libation of water, (*tirukkar-nanarchch-aruliyūr*³) the annual income of forty *lalam* of paddy (accruing) from Peruneydal and the *arandai* of Peruneydal. After informing the ministry, Kulasēkhara-Kōyiladhikāṅgal was also pleased to order the feeding⁴ (of persons) and (the reading of) the *Mahābhārata*⁵ (in the temple) from (this) annual income.

(The members of) the village of Peruneydal and the *poduvāl*⁶ received as *allippēru* this annual income⁷ of forty *lalam* and *arandai*.

The Kōyiladhikāṅgal having issued the royal order to the chieftains of the inhabitants of Kāpālmangalam and Muttūru, and Rāman Tāyan of Kāmakkānappaḷi and Nārāyanan of Kadambanādu, as well as, the *ūr-poduvāl*, having together carried (this) royal order to the chieftains, the chieftains of the inhabitants of these two villages came to the temple of Peruneydal and caused the fact that they, as stated in the royal order, ceased to levy⁸ the *arandai*, to be engraved on stone and had it set up.

¹ It cannot be ascertained whether there is any mistake in this word here. If 'mere collection' is implied, the word used is rather rare. Another word '*adul kuadu*' is defined by Mr. Nagam Ayya in his *Tamil State Manual* as a fee due to the Sirkar from the heir on his succession to the *virutti* holding, for the grant of the Royal *neet*. Dr. Gundert explains it as 'the rights retained by the original proprietor from the purchaser'.

² See note 1, p. 343, above.

³ *Tirukkar nanarchch-aruliyūr* means 'was pleased to wet his auspicious (royal) hands,' i.e., 'was pleased to give away with a libation of water' (*allippēru, uḍaḍānam*).

⁴ *Āmalāḥaram* (Skt. *namasāḥaram*) is an arrangement which consists of feeding Brāhmins in the temple premises with the food that had been previously offered to the god as *nivēdanam*, for the merit of, and with the donations made by some individual, either royal or private.

⁵ The reading of the *Mahābhārata* was a favourite form in which temple charities were utilised.

⁶ *Poduvāl*, corresponding to *madhyasthas* of Tamil inscriptions, represents persons who had the supervision of charitable institutions. They were sub-divided into *aga*⁷ and *pura-poduvāl*.

⁷ In the expression *āḥai lōḷ*, *āḥai*=annual, and *lōḷ* (the substantive of *lōḷ*=to receive) the receipt, so the annual income (in kind) from the lands is meant.

⁸ *Adikkamudu* seems to mean 'realisation (of the tax)'.

No. 41 —THE GARAVAPADU GRANT OF GANAPATIDEVA, ŚAKA 1182

By C R KRISHNAMACHARLU, B A., OOTACAMUND

This grant is engraved on three copper-plates which were forwarded to the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, in the year 1916, by M R Ry M Ramakrishnakavi, M A, late of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, who had obtained them on loan from M R Ry T Achyuta Rao Pantulu, M A, Deputy Inspector of Schools. No definite information as to their discovery is available. Their contents have been reviewed in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for the year 1916-17.¹ The plates have since been acquired for the Madras Museum and deposited there.

The plates are oblong in shape and are held together by a copper ring, the ends of which are rivetted into the back of a circular seal. They measure 9½" by 5½" and are about ¼" in thickness. The ring and the seal have a diameter of 3½" and 2" respectively. The ring had not been cut when the plates came up for examination. They contain four faces of writing in all, the first and the last plates being engraved on their inner sides only. The entire set with ring and seal weighs 274 tolas. On the seal, on a counter-sunk surface, are engraved in relief (1) the symbols of the Crescent and the Sun at the top; below these (2) a boar² facing the proper left with a dagger placed in its front with the point upwards, and (3) a cow facing the proper left at the bottom.

The inscription is composed in the Sanskrit language and written in the Telugu characters of the period to which it belongs. The invocatory and narrative portion of the record (lines 1 to 45) consists of 21 verses. This is followed, in lines 45 to 63, by the categorical enumeration of the donees with their *gōtras* and their shares. Lines 63 to 65 give the boundaries of the gift village. These are followed, in lines 65 and 66, by the usual minatory verse beginning with 'सदत्ता' and the closing benediction 'संगममहाश्रीश्रीश्री'. On the whole, the inscription is engraved very carefully. The position of the *anusvāra* is not uniform. In some cases it is placed at the proper left top corner of the letter to which it belongs as in the later Chālukyan records, while in a few others it is placed by the side of the letter as at the present day. The *anusvāra* takes the place of the nasal before all consonants. But in some places it does not; e.g. *dāsanti* in line 1 and *nirvvelāyanti* in line 2. The consonant following the *rēpha* is doubled. The doubling of the letter *na* is effected by adding a subscript *n* to *na*, e.g., *varṇna* in line 23; *visīrṇna* in line 26, etc.

The word *velī* used for *velā* in verse 1 suggests the influence of the vernacular pronunciation which has a tendency to substitute *la* for the Sanskrit *la*. The expression 'Garavapādākhyē' in verse 21 seems to have been employed inadvertently as in Telugu, the correct form *Garavapādākhyē* being somewhat difficult to pronounce.³

The composition is marked by force and fluency of style. The author's diction in some places reminds us of that of some great poets. Our mind is drawn to the beautiful expression of Kālidāsa 'सौदामन्या कनकनिकषक्षिप्रया' in the *Mēghadūta*, by his phrase 'सौदामन्या कनकनिकषच्छायया' employed in verse 6⁴.

¹ Appendix A, No 4 and page 122, paragraph 30.

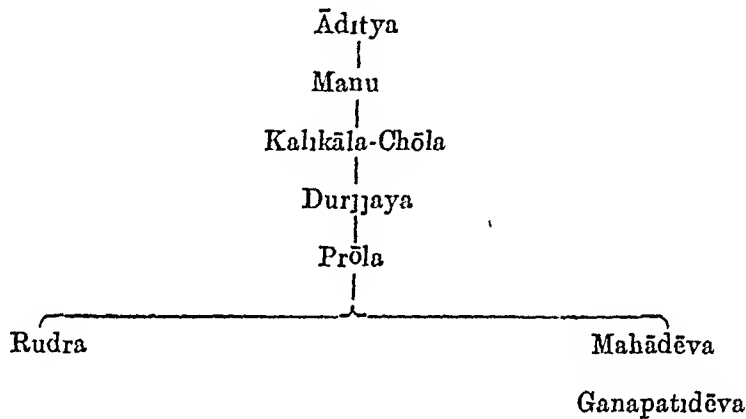
² No 328 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1905 belonging to King Pratāparudra of this family has the figure of a boar carved above it. The Boar emblem of the Kākatīyas has been noticed by Prof Hultzsch (above, Vol. XII, p 189). See also copper plate No 17 of *Nellore Inscriptions* in which the 'Boar' emblem is carved.

³ [The name can very well be *Garavapāda* or *opādā*, as given in the inscription, unless the subscript *v* was left out by the engraver.—Ed.]

⁴ [He might have taken it from the *Mēghadūta* itself.—Ed.]

This inscription is the second copper-plate record, hitherto found, of the Kākatiya dynasty. The one already discovered also belongs to the time of King Ganapati and is published in the *Nellore Inscriptions* ¹. It is dated in the Śaka year 1176 corresponding to the cycle year Ānanda and is thus six years earlier than the grant under notice.

In verses 1 to 6 are praised in order Viṅnarāja (i.e., Vināyaka), Varāha, Sarasvatī,² the moon-crest of Śambhu, the Lord of Ambikā (i.e., Śiva), and Viṣṇu. Verse 7 gives the description of the Lotus coming out of the navel of Viṣṇu from which was born the four-faced Brahmā (verse 8). Verses 9 and 10 state that from his eye came Āditya (i.e., Sun) and from him came Manu who was a king that regulated the castes (*varnas*) and (*their*) duties (*dharmas*) etc. The genealogy from Āditya given in the record is as follows —



Kalikāla-Chōla is stated to have gone to the Dakṣiṇāpatha in the course of a hunting expedition (verse 11). Alighting there upon a famous town called 'Kākati' he pitched his extensive camp near it (verse 12). King Durjaya who had the epithet *Rana-durjaya* (invincible in war) was the next notable member of this family by whom the line of the Kākati kings was first established (verse 13). Then is mentioned (verse 14) King Prōla i.e., Prōla II according to the genealogy of the Mōtupalli record of Ganapatidēva ⁴. His son was Rudra (verse 15) who was succeeded by his younger brother Mahādēva whose elephants made a breach in the ramparts of the residence of the Sāvuna (king)⁵ (verse 16). His son was King Ganapatidēva whose

¹ Copper plate No 17.

² The expression actually used is '*Śarasvatīlīyam tējah*' by which it is clear the author is glorifying the goddess Sarasvatī.

³ A Copper plate grant of about the 7th century A.D. (No 6 of Appendix A to the *Epigraphical Report* for 1916-17) mentions Mahārāja Rana-durjaya as the founder of the family to which king Pṛthivī Mahārāja of the record belonged. He belonged to the Kāśyapa *gōtra*. It may be recalled here that Kalikāla Chōla and his descendants claimed to belong to this *gōtra* and that the long inscription at Malkapuram refers to the Kākatiyas as Durjaya-Kṣatriyas (*Epigraphical Report* for 1916-17, page 122, para 32).

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, page 189. Prof. Hultzsch remarks here that 'the first king of this dynasty, Prōla I is not mentioned in any other Kākatiya inscription'. It may, however, be noted that he is the earlier of the two 'Prōlas' mentioned in No 107 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1902. From No 204 of 1905 it is seen that Prōla II had two other sons, viz., Harihara and Ganapati, not generally known. Of these Ganapati probably died at an early age.

⁵ This must be the Dēvagrī Yādava king Bhūllama who reigned from A.D. 1187 to 1191 or Jaitugi I who reigned from A.D. 1191 to 1210 (*Bom. Gaz.*, Volume I, Part 2, page 519). Mahādēva's latest year would be A.D. 1197 or 1198.

exploits were great (verse 17) His minister was Dēvarāja¹ who was famed for his wide charities (verse 18) He had four sons through his wife Lakshmī, they were respectively called Rāma, Tikka,² Mamchaya and Bētaya (verse 19) In the Śaka year 1182, corresponding to the cyclic year Raudra, in the month Chaitra, on the day of the Solar eclipse in the dark fortnight, Tikka, the second of the said four sons, granted the village of Garavapādu as an *agrahāra*, to fifty Brahmans of several *gōtras*³ learned in the Vēdas (verses 20 and 21) The date, according to the late Dewan Bahadur J. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Ephemeris*, corresponds to Monday (not given in the inscription) April 12, A. D. 1260 On this day there was a Solar eclipse as stated in the inscription

The statement that Karikāla-Chōla fixed his capital at Kākatī in Dakṣiṇāpatha is not found in any other known record of this dynasty, though Kulikāla (or Karikāla)-Chōla as an ancestor of the family is mentioned in some In a few records, however, 'Kākatī' is referred to as a place with which its early members were connected An unpublished epigraph⁴ refers to Kākatī as the 'family city' (*kulapura*) of this dynasty Another such epigraph⁵ refers itself to king 'Ganapatidēva of Kākatīyapura'

A chief named Kākartya Gundyana is mentioned in an unpublished copper-plate grant⁶ belonging to about A. D. 945 as a subordinate of the Eastern Chālukya king Amma II The family to which the chief belonged is called Sāmantavoddi The epithet 'Kākartya', which is evidently a variant of 'Kākatya', must, therefore, refer to a place to which the chief belonged. It is thus almost certain that 'Kākatī' was an ancient place and the family name Kākatī, Kākatya, Kāketa or Kākatīya was based upon the original connection of its members with a town of that name and not upon the worship of any family deity as suggested by Kumārasvāmin⁸ [Burnell quoted by Fleet — Ed.] the learned commentator of the *Pratāparudriya*. If the latter

¹ Dēvarāja was not the only minister of the king for we are told that a certain Śivadēvayya was his Chief Minister (*Lives of Telugu Poets* by Viresalingam, Old Edition, page 36) who was looked upon as no less than a god Śivadēvayya must have been identical with the great Śaiva teacher Viśvēśvara-Śiva-Āsika, the pontiff of the Gōlakīmaṭha and the *rāja-guru* of three kings among whom was King Ganapati (*Epigraphical Report* for 1917, page 123).

² The commander Tikka has to be distinguished from his two contemporaries of this name viz., (i) the great poet Tikka who wrote the latter fifteen *pari* as of the *Telugu Mahābhārata* and who is stated to have gone as an ambassador to the Court of Ganapati from king Manumasiddhi of Nellūru (Nellore) whose minister he was and (ii) the warrior Tikka, the cousin of the poet, who was the commander of the armies of Manumasiddhi Siddha, the father of the last was minister under king Tikka, the father of Manumasiddhi (*Lives of Telugu Poets* pages 33 to 39) The name Tikka, it may be noted, is a contracted form of 'Tiruk-Kālati' a Prakṛit form of 'Sri-Kālahastī' The name was taken after that of the popular god Sri Kālahastīśvara at Kālahastī, Chittoor District, Madras Presidency See *Nellore Inscriptions*, A 7, G 45, G 60, etc

³ Though verse 20 of the inscription states that the village was granted to 'fifty' Brahmans, actually only forty-nine Brahmans received shares The fiftieth share was granted to Vallabha of Śrikākolānu viz., Śrikākulam in the Divi taluk of the Kistna district This is the god of the place who is known also by the name 'Śrikākulāśvara' and has been popular from early times (see Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1893, Nos 136 172) While making grants of *agrahāras* it was customary for ancient kings to provide shares for the local deities and for the Vēdas chiefly Rik and Yajus (above, Vol XVI, p 253, text line 273 and p 263) The first eleven recipients of shares are of the Yaska-gōtra which is very rarely met with in these days Yaska, the author of the *Nirukta*, was of this gōtra His patronymic is Paingi in the *Anukramanī* of the *Ātrēyī-sāhā* (Weber *Indische Studien*, I 71, n, 3396, *Vedic Index* by Macdonell and Keith, Vol II, page 23) The *Muni* Yaska is mentioned in the *Āśvalāyana-Śrautasūtra* (*Uttarārṇha*) along with Vādhūla, Mauna, Mauka, Śārkarākṣhi, Śārshti, Sāvarni, Śālankāyana, Jamurī and Daivantiyāyana, most of whom were founders of gōtras.

⁴ No 204 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1905

⁵ No 111 of 1902

⁶ No. 1 of Appendix A to the *Epigraphical Report* for 1916-17

⁷ *Ibid*, page 117 f

⁸ *Ind. Ant*, Vol. XI, p 12.

were the case the deity would have been invoked or praised at least in a few of the innumerable records of this family. And even if there was such a deity known or familiar to the commentator it must have been called so after the place 'Kākatī' ¹. There are many instances of the presiding goddess Durgā of a village being called after the village ².

Kānker, the head-quarters of the state of that name, situated immediately to the north of the Bastar State in the Central Provinces was formerly called Kākera, Kākaira and Kākara ³. Since epigraphs refer to Kākatī as a *pura* (i.e., city) as noticed above, it is very likely that Kānker, as suggested by its ancient names, was identical with Kākatī. The forms 'Kākatī', 'Kākatya,' etc might have, in local pronunciation, taken the forms Kākera (cf. the form Kāketa). The connection of the Kākatī kings with Kalkāla-Chōla, who is well-known to South Indian history as a king of about the 6th century A.D., and the story that he fixed his capital at the town of Kākatī and the appearance, in the adjoining state of Bastar, of an early (Śaka 983) Chōla Chief Chamdrāditya-Mahārāja ⁴ who calls himself, like the Kākatīyas, a descendant of Kalkāla-Chōla, point to the possibility of the said identity. The advent, again, of Annamarāja, the brother of Kāktī (i.e. Kākatī) Pratāparudra into Bastar, the present ruling family of which is Kākatīya—though curiously enough Sōmavamsī—must have been only a return to the inherited family territory lying here or such territory reconquered and recovered now ⁵.

Among the boundaries of the gift village no village or town is mentioned to help us in its identification. There are villages of the name 'Gārapādu' in the Guntur and the Sattenapalle taluks of the Guntur district and in the Nuzvid taluk of the Kistna district. From the reported fact of the discovery of the plates near Ellore in the latter district it may have to be identified with the village of Gārapādu in the Nuzvid taluk ⁶.

TEXT ⁷

[Metres Vv 1, 3 *Śaigdhārā*, v 2 *Svāgatā*, v 4, *Indrarajā*, vv 5, 18 and 20 *Śārdūlavik-rīṇitam*, v 6 *Mandākīrāntā*, vv 7-8 *Upajāti*, v 9 *Hārīmā*, vv 10, 12-14 and v. 21 *Anushtubh*, v 11 *Pushpitāgrā*, vv. 15-17 *Mālinī*, and v 19 *Upēndrarajā*]

First Plate ⁸

1 °लक्ष्मीं हस्ते दिशन्ति प्रमदमुपहरत्यविवेकादुकूलामु-

2 र्वीं निर्व्वेशयन्ति प्रतिदिशमचलां कीर्त्तिमानर्त्तयति । किञ्चान्यद्य-

3 द्यदिष्टं निदधति निखिलं तत्तदग्रे समग्रं नित्यं निर्व्वर्त्यमाना. कुशल-

¹ In almost all earlier inscriptions the family name is given as 'Kākatī' (see Nos 213, 244 and 288 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1893)

² [and vice versa — Ed.]

³ Vide Nos 252 and 253 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1908 and Nos 124, 128, 169, 228 and 229 of the *Lists of Inscriptions of Central Provinces and Berar* by Hiralal

⁴ No 198 of the *Lists of Inscriptions of Central Provinces and Berar* and No 231 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1908

⁵ [It is doubtful if philology can allow of such a derivation. Besides, history or rather tradition, goes against it in as much as the Kākatīyas are said to be the descendants of the Pīṇava Arjuna and of the Lunar race whereas Kalkāla-Chōla and Ganapatideva belong to the solar race — Ed.]

⁶ [Line 64 of the text would show that it stood on the Bhāgīrathī N.P.C.]

⁷ From ink impressions kindly lent by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras

⁸ Thus side of the plate is marked close to the ring hole with the Telugu-Kannara numerical figure for 1

⁹ The line commences with a spiral which may stand either for *Om* or for *Śrī*. The latter is more probable since even to day the orthodox practice in the Telugu country is to commence any writing with the letter *Śrī* or an ornamental flourish representing it [See above Vol xvii, p 352 fn — Ed.]

- 4 ¹कुलशहा विघ्नराजप्रणामाः ॥ [१*] भूतये भवतु वक्ष वराहो-भू-
 5 भूभुवःस्वरधिदेवतमेकं । एकदापि यजनप्रवणानां भूपतित्वम्-
 6 पपादयते यः ॥ [२*] तेजस्सारस्वताख्यं हृदयसरसिजे वः
 7 ²प्रकाशेच शीतज्योतिर्मृक्तासुधांभोनिदि³गगनधुनीचदनान-
 8 ⁴दनीयं । यस्मिन् सवित्समुद्रे स्फुरति किमपरं निभर्भरन्निस्सरं-
 9 ति स्फायन्मा[धु]र्यधुर्याः परिमळितदिशः श्लोककल्लोललेखाः ॥ [३*]
 10 अन्न[ग]तद्विचयसंविभागामराहुदंष्ट्रापरिभूतिभूमिं । अ-
 11 [सु]क्तमौग्धां मुकुटेन शमोस्त्रंभावितां ध्यायत चंद्रलेखां ॥ [४*] तं सं-
 12 ⁵भायरां विकासह[च]रं⁶ सर्वेपि दर्व्वोकिरालकारांगमनंगदप्यदमन
 13 शोचंद्र[चू]डामणिं । इ[च्छ]ा यस्य चराचरच्छलभवद्देविध्यलोकत-
 14 [यो]मृष्टिस्थित्युप[सं]हृतिक्रममयक्रोडाकृताम्नेडना ॥ [५*] लक्ष्म्या च-

Second Plate, First Side

- 15 अत्कनकनिक[प]च्छायया चारुवक्षास्त्रीदामन्या गतचपलतासौम्य-
 16 ⁷एवांबुवाहः । निर्मर्याद्विपरयहयोद्विक्त⁸ताटक्समृ[ध्वै]⁹ भू[ल्यै] नि-
 17 त्यं भवतु पुरुषः पु[ड]रीकेक्षणो वः ॥ [६*] अनातपायत्तनि[ज]प्रबोध¹⁰मचं-
 18 द्विकासंपदधीननिद्र । सिद्धचतो विष्टपमाविरासोदमुख्य नाभेररविंदमेकं ॥
 [७*] त-
 19 [स्मा]त्सरोजादुदभूत्स्वयंभूस्तत्साम्यरम्यैर्व्वदनैश्चतुर्भिः । दिशश्चतस्रो यु-
 20 [ग]पद्विद्वन् त[ध्वै]व¹⁰सांगं चतुरोपि वेदान् ॥ [८*] अजनि नयनात्तस्या-
 दित्यस्त्रिलोक-
 21 विभूषण तिमिर[प]टलद्रोहिज्योतिःपरिष्कृतमंडलः । कमलमिव यः का-
 22 ल्ये लोकं विकासयते परैरखिलममलैरष्टभिर्हिंदलैरभितो वृतं ॥ [९*]
 तस्मात्समनुरभू-
 23 द्राजा ¹¹वर्णधर्मनियामकः । श्लाघनीयः चित्तिभृतां देवानामिव वा-
 24 सव' ॥ [१०] तदभिजनजनिस्ततो [ध]रित्रीमणि[प]दिमां कलिकाल-
 चोळदेवः [१*]
 25 दिशि दिशि मृगयाच्छलेन खेलन्नुपगतवानथ दक्षिणापध¹² सः ॥ [११*]
 पुर स

¹Read कुलगृह

²Read प्रकाशेत

³Read 'भावयता'

⁴Read 'सृष्टे'

⁵Read तथैव [and सांगार्य'—Ed.]

⁶Read 'पय'

⁷Read 'निधि'

⁸Read 'देवांबु'.

⁹Read 'वपुश्चन्द्रि'

¹⁰Read 'न्द'

¹¹Read 'द्विक्त'.

¹²Read वर्ण^c [or वर्ण^c—Ed.]

1

2
 4
 6
 8
 10
 12
 14

1
 2
 3
 4
 5
 6
 7
 8
 9
 10
 11
 12
 13
 14

na

16
 18
 20
 22
 24
 26
 28
 30
 32

1
 2
 3
 4
 5
 6
 7
 8
 9
 10
 11
 12
 13
 14
 15
 16
 17
 18
 19
 20
 21
 22
 23
 24
 25
 26
 27
 28
 29
 30
 31
 32

34

36

38

40

42

44

46

48

34
36
38
40
42
44
46
48

50

52

54

56

58

60

62

64

66

50
52
54
56
58
60
62
64
66

- 26 काकतिरिति प्रख्यातं तत्र भूपतिः । प्राप्या[त्स]नस्तद्विस्तीर्ण^१ स्तंभावास्म-
कल्पय-
27 त् ॥ [१२*] आसीत्तदन्वये रा[जा] दुर्जयो रणदुर्जयः । घटुप्रभं वद-
त्यस्य वं-
28 श्यान् काकतिभूमृतः ॥ [१३*] तत्संततो समुदभूपोलराजाभिधो मृगः ।
29 प्रणामविमुखारातिराजन्यगजकेसरो ॥ [१४*] अलमकृत तद्दोयो नंदनस्य-
30 तति तां शमितसकललोकोपद्रवो रुद्रदेवः विद्रुधदरतिमंतर्थात्प्रत-
31 धौर्वतापः प्रतिनृपजलराशीनंजसा संजहार ॥ [१५*] अश्लिषदखिलसु-
र्वीचक्रमा-
32 चक्रवालात्तदनु तदनुजन्मा श्रीमहादेवराजः । यदिभरदनवि[द्वः]
33 ^२से[व्य]णावासवप्रः शरवणा(ण)भवभिन्नं निष्कृते क्रौचमद्रिं ॥ [१६*] अथ गणप-

Second Plate, Second Side^३.

- 34 तिदेवस्तस्य पुत्रो धरित्रीमुदवहदुरगेंद्रास्तुदायामवाहुः ।
35 भुवन(भुव)मनितरभूपायत्तसुक्तातपनां व्यधुरतिरथशतैर्यस्य त्री-
36 रायितानि ॥ [१७*] तस्यासीदथ देवराजसचिवो विसंभभूर्भूषलेर्विद्याशासु-
37 खगीतकोर्त्तिविभव[ज्यो]क्ताविलासाश्रयः । यो दानांभुमहाममाङ्गसह-
38 रोनिर्हृतविद्वज्जनस्फूर्जद्गमदुर्गतत्वशमलः सर्वश्रियामाश्र-
39 यः ॥ [१८*] जगत्त्रय^४वाणप्रराय[ण*]स्य भु[जे]ः समावा मधुसूदवस्य ।
40 लक्ष्म्यामभूवन्नथ तस्य रामस्तिष्ठाभिधो मंचयवेतयाख्यौ ॥ [१९*]
41 आकान्दे हयदिकरेशमणिते वर्मे च रौद्राभिदे^५ चैत्रे मासि
42 सितेतरे शुभदिने सूर्योपरागे सुधोः । श्रीमान् तिकचमू-
43 र्यतिः प्रविततं शैवग्रहारं शुभं विप्रेभ्यः फलशालिशालिस्त्रिभुव-
44 पंचाशते प्राददात् ॥ [२०*] अस्मिन् गरवपाडाख्ये^६ आग्निनाममन्त्रज्ञानां ।
45 नामगोत्राणि निश्च्यंतं विदुषां वेदवेदिनां ॥ [२१*] श्रीमनाथार्यो
46 द्विभागो । जनार्दनार्यः एकभागी । नामनार्यः एकभागी । वासनार्यः
एकभा-

^१ Read °क्षीर्ण° [or °क्षीरण —Ed]

^२ Read सेवणा°

^३ This side of the plate is marked with the Telugu-Kannada numerical symbol for 2.

^४ Read जगत्त्रय°

^५ Read रौद्राभिधे

^६ Read °पाडाख्ये.

47 गी । कामनार्यः एकभागी । मैलारार्यो द्विभागी । सोमनार्यः
एक-

48 भागी । केशवार्यः एकभागी । मा[त]वार्यः एकभागी । दामोदरार्यः[:]

Third Plate ¹

49 एकभागी । मारनार्यः एकभागी । एते यस्करगोत्राः ॥ केशवार्यो
द्विभागी । चो-

50 डनार्यः एकभागी । नागनार्यः एकभागी ॥ (1) केशवार्यः एकभागी ।
ए००पोतार्यः-

51 [:] एकभागी । प्रोलनार्यः एकभागी । [1] नर[सिं]हार्यः एकभागी ।
प्रोलनार्यः एकभागी [1*] आ-

52 दित्यार्यः एकभागी । भास्करार्यः ए[क*]भागी । पोतनार्यः एकभागी ।
एते हरितगोत्राः [1*]

53 पोतनार्यो द्विभागी । चा[व]नार्यः एकभागी । अप्यनार्यः एकभागी ।
प्रोलनार्यः

54 एकभागी । कामनार्यः एकभागी । प्रोलनार्यः एकभागी । मामेनार्यः
एकभा-

55 गी । प्रोलनार्यः एकभागी । सूरनार्यः एकभागी । एते श्रोवत्सगोत्राः ॥
सूर-

56 नार्यः एकभागी । गौतमगोत्रः ॥ अंनेनार्यः एकभागी । आत्रेयगोत्रः ॥
मारना-

57 र्यः एकभागी । वाधूलगोत्रः ² नदनार्यः एकभागी । गार्ध्यगोत्रः ³ ॥
पोत-

58 नार्यः एकभागी । वोडनार्यः एकभागी । मैलारार्यः एकभागी ।
[एते*] काश्य-

59 पगोत्राः ॥ प्रोलनार्यः एकभागी । कोल्लनार्यः एकभागी । प्रोलनार्यः

60 एकभागी । कीमनार्यः एकभागी । चौवनार्यः एकभागी । एते
भारद्वाजगोत्राः ॥

61 प्रोलनार्यः एकभागी । कीमनार्यः एकभागी । कीमनार्यः द्विभागी ।
गोवर्धना-

¹ The plate is marked with the Telugu numerical figure for 3 near the ring hole

² [Danda is unnecessary —Ed]

³ Read गार्ध्यगोत्रः.

- 62 र्यः एकभागी । केशवार्यः एकभागी । ने[ड]नार्यः एकभागी ।¹
एते कौशिकगोताः ॥ श्रीका-
- 63 कीलनिवस्तभस्य एको भागः ॥ अस्य ग्रामस्य सीमानः । पूर्वतः²
जङ्गुलकुट । आग्नेय्यां
- 64 बेलगकुट । दक्षिणतः ।³ नेलगुंतमध्यसु । 'नैरित्यपश्चिमवायव्यतः । भीमर[थी] ।⁴
उत्तर-
- 65 तः ।⁵ पायु[पु]ष्ट । ईशान्यतः मूरपुष्ट ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत
वसुं-
- 66 घरां । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते किमिः⁶ ॥ [२२*] मंगळ-
महाश्रीश्रीश्रीः ॥

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) Salutations to Vighnarāja, offered every day, being the family home of prosperity, bestow wealth on hand, convey great pleasure, cause the enjoyment of the earth which wears the silk garment of the sea-coast, set a-danceing everlasting fame in every quarter of the globe and also place before (us), exhaustively, everything that is desired !

(V. 2) May that Varāha (i e, the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu), the sole presiding deity of (the three worlds) Bhūh, Bhuvah and Svah, who bestows royalty even on those that were once devoted to sacrifice¹, be for your prosperity (i e, bless you)!

(V 3) May that Lustre of Learning, slune in the lotus of your heart, which is delightfully enjoyable like the Cool-rayed (Moon), the pearl, the nectar-sea, the celestial river and the sandal! And what more? While this sea of knowledge heaves up, series of the waves of verses flow forth unceasingly, laden with increasing sweetness, perfuming the quarters

(V 4) Meditate upon that streak of the Moon which has not shaken off its coyness (i e, remains tender), which is honoured by the crown of Śambhu, which knows not the vicissitudes of growth and decay and which is not subject to humiliation by the fangs of Rāhu !

(V 5) Worship you all the Companion of Ambikā, the glorious Moon-crested One (i e, Śiva), whose body is adorned with snakes, who destroyed the pride of Ananga (i e, Cupid) and whose volition is (the cause of) the repeated sport consisting of the order of creation, protection and destruction of the three worlds (with their) duality born of the apparent (phenomena of) the movable and the immovable !

(V. 6). May the Lotus-eyed Purusha (i e, Vishṇu) whose chest is beautiful with (the goddess) Lakshmī of sparkling hue like that of the golden streak on the touchstone (and who is) compar-

¹ [Rules of sandhi are not observed in this list —Ed]

² Read पूर्वत.

³ [The *danḍa* is to be omitted —Ed]

⁴ Read नेकुंत्व° ⁵ [Read कृमि —Ed]

⁶ The reference here might be to the story of Varāha Vishṇu having raised to royalty the Dēvas, who were devoted to sacrifices, having vanquished the Asura Hiraṇyāksha. Or it may be to the fact of His bestowing royal glory upon the descendants of the Munis, Mānavya and his son Hārīta, i e, the Chāṇukyas, who had the Boar emblem, probably on this account. [अयि would show that there is no such reference. The idea seems to be that Varāha bestows royalty even on those who worship him only once —Ed]

able to the cloud (lit. with lighting), that is void of fickleness and handsome, be ever for (i e., grant) that prosperity of limitless increase such as overflows with elephants, chariots and horses !

(V 7) From the navel of this (*Vishnu*) who desired to create the world there appeared a lotus, which did not depend upon the Sun for its awakening (i e., blossoming) and which did not depend upon the splendours of the moon-light for its sleep (i e., closure)

(V 8) From that lotus arose the Self-born (*Brahmā*) simultaneously determining the four quarters with the four faces beautiful like itself (i e., the lotus) and even so (i e., simultaneously) revealing the four Vēdas with their branches (*angas*)

(V 9) Of his eye was born the Sun, the ornament of the three worlds, whose round form is adorned with the light which is hostile to the mass of darkness and who opens (i e., awakens), at the morn, the entire world (*which is*) like a lotus closed in all round by the eight petals, viz, the eight quarters

(V 10) From him was born the king Manu, the regulator of castes and (*their*) duties, who was praiseworthy among the lords of the earth like Vāsava (i e., Indra) among the Dēvas

(V 11) Then (i e., in course of time) ruled this earth *Kalikālā-Chōladēva*, who had his birth in that noble race (*of Manu*) Sporting, for the sake of hunt, in the several quarters, he reached *Dakṣiṇāpatha*

(V 12) Reaching there the well-known town called *Kākatī*, the king fixed his extensive camp at that extensive place

(V 13) In his family was born King *Durjaya*, unconquerable in war (*rana-durjaya*), whose foundation (*people*) say that the *Kākatī* kings, born in his race, were

(V 14) In his line was born the king called *Prōlarāja*, who was a lion to the elephants, viz, the hostile kings disinclined to do homage (*to him*)

(V 15) (*Then*) adorned that race, his son *Hudradēva*, who removed all sufferings on earth and the sea-fire of whose prowess, causing internal (i e., mental) distress, quickly consumed the oceans of hostile kings

(V 16) Then, his younger brother, the glorious *Mahādēvarāja* ruled the entire circle of the earth right up to the *Chakravāla* mountain, the residential rampart of the *Sēvuna* (*king*) breached by the tusks of whose elephants, eclipses the *Krauñcha* mountain cleft by *Śaravāṇa-bhava* (i e., *Kumāra*)

(V 17) Then bore (i e., ruled) the earth, his son, *Ganapatidēva*, who had arms long enough to give pain to the Lord of serpents (i e., *Ādiśēsha*) and the exploits of him, who had the strength of an *akratha* (i e., super-chariot-warrior), rendered the earth (*with its royal*) pearl umbrella subject to (*the authority of*) no other king

(V 18) Now, that king had a minister (*named*) *Dēvarāja* who possessed his confidence, who was the repository of the glory of the moon-shine of great fame, sung by the mouths of the several quarters of the globe and who removed the dirt, which was the insurmountable poverty of learned men, with the waves of the big streams of water (*poured out on the occasions*) of gifts and who was the refuge of all (kinds of) prosperity.

(V 19) To him were born, through (*his wife*) *Lakṣmī* (*four sons*) viz, *Rāma*, *Tikka*, *Marichaya* and *Bētaya*, resembling the (*four*) arms of *Madhusūdana* (i e., *Vishṇu*) who is occupied with the protection of the three worlds.

(V 20). In the *Śakā* year counted by two, the elephants of the quarters (i e., eight) and *Itas* (i e., eleven), i e., 1182, in the (*cyclic*) year called *Raudra*; in the month *Chaitra*, on the auspicious day (*in the*) dark (*fortnight*) on (*the occasion of*) the solar eclipse, the wise and the illustrious general *Tikka*, of those (*four brothers*), gave, to fifty¹

¹ See f. n. 3 on p 348 above.

Brahmans, an extensive and prosperous *agrahāra* (i.e., Brahman village) possessing fruitful paddy (-fields)

(V 21) (Hereunder) are written the names and the *gōtras* of the learned Brahmans versed in the Vēdas and holding shares in this (*agrahāra*) called Garavapādu¹

No	Name	Share or shares	Gōtra	No	Name	Share or shares	Gōtra
1	Sōmanāthāryya .	2	Yaska	26	Prōlanāryya	1	Śrīvatsa
2	Janārdanāryya	1		27	Kāmanāryya	1	
3	Nāmanāryya	1		28	Prōlanāryya	1	
4	Vāmanāryya	1		29	Māmēnāryya	1	
5	Kāmanāryya	1		30	Prōlanāryya	1	
6	Maṇārāryya	2		31	Sūranāryya	1	Gautama
7	Sōmanāthāryya .	1		32	Sūranāryya	1	
8	Kēśavāryya	1		33	Amnēnāryya	1	
9	Mātavāryya (Mādhavāryya?)	1		34	Māranāryya	1	Vādhūla
10	Dāmōdarāryya	1	Hanta	35	Namdanāryya ^a	1	Gārgya
11	Māranāryya	1		36	Pōtanāryya	1	Kāśyapa
12	Kēśavāryya	2		37	Bōddanāryya	1	
13	Chōdanāryya	1		38	Maṇārāryya .	1	
14	Nāganāryya	1		39	Prōlanāryya	1	Bhāradvāja
15	Kēśavāryya	1		40	Kōllanāryya	1	
16	Ērapōtāryya	1		41	Prōlanāryya	1	
17	Prōlanāryya ²	1		42	Kōmmanāryya	1	Kauśika
18	Narasimhāryya	1		43	Chauvanāryya	1	
19	Prōlanāryya	1		44	Prōlanāryya	1	
20	Ādityāryya .	1	Śrīvatsa	45	Kōmmanāryya	1	
21	Bhāskarāryya	1		46	Kōmmanāryya	2	
22	Pōtanāryya	1		47	Gōvarddhanāryya	1	
23	Pōtanāryya	2		48	Kēśavāryya	1	
24	Chāvanāryya	1		49	Mēdanāryya	1	
25	Appanāryya	1		50	Vallabha of Śrikākōlanu	1	This is a god

¹[The plate gives Garavapāda (or °pādā See f n 5 on p 346 above) —Ed]

²[Prōla (or Pōla) seems to be connected with Pōlēri or Pōlōramma which is a corruption of Prōlēlamma 'the goddess that presides over the city' The elision of r accounts for forms like Pōla, Pōlēri and Pōlēmēri, etc —K V S]

^aRead Nandanāryya

Ll. 62f. The boundaries of this village (are) —

On the east Ūḍḍugulakunṭa¹,

On the south-east Vēlagakunṭa¹ ;

On the south . the centre of Nēlagunṭa¹ ;

On the south-west, west and north-west (*the stream*) Bhīmarathī ,

On the north Pāyurūputta²,

On the north-east Mūraputta²

[V 22 is the usual minatory verse warning one against the sin of revoking gifts of land made by oneself or by others]

(L. 65) May there be three-fold prosperity, auspicious and great '

¹ This must have been a pond

² This must have been an ant hill

INDEX¹.

A		PAGE		PAGE
<i>a</i> , accusative plural ending in,	182		<i>agrahāra</i> ,	216, 223, 231, 234, 235
<i>a</i> , initial form of—,	146		Āhavamalla, <i>epithet of Sōmēśvara I</i> ,	27, 46, 174
<i>ā</i> , used for <i>yā</i> ,	219		Āhavamalla (Sōmēśvara I), <i>Chālukya l</i> ,	25, 54, 55 n, 173, 176
Abhaya, <i>Chōla k</i> ,	28, 29		Āhavamallakula-Kāla, <i>title of Vira-Rājendra</i> ,	54
Abhaya, <i>sur of Kulōttunga II (?)</i> ,	68		Aichadēva, <i>m</i> ,	294
Abhayagiri, <i>Buddhist sect</i> ,	331 n		Aichula, <i>m</i> ,	294
Abhayagirimahāvihāra,	337		Aihole inscription,	92
Abhayagiri vihāra,	332, 333		Aimpanaichehēri, <i>s a</i> Aimbunaichehēri, <i>part of</i> <i>Loṅgeṣṣeram</i> ,	119
Abhayagiri monastery,	338		Aimpapaichehēri (Aimbunaichehēri), <i>vi</i> ,	116, 122, 124
<i>abhiṣṭaramāna</i> , <i>official</i> ,	306		Aichha(ġavara) Nākamayya <i>s a</i> Nākamayya,	185, 186, 188
Achchavanna Chadangavi, <i>m</i> ,	122, 124		Ajjava, <i>family</i> ,	183, 184, 187, 192, 198 & n
Achchipōti, <i>queen</i> ,	309, 310		ājñā (executor),	309, 310, 311
Achyutapuram plates of Indravarman,	308		ājnapati (executor),	4, 7, 11, 14, 57, 58, 60, 118, 228, 233, 235, 259, 314, 316
<i>aḍḍa chinna</i> , <i>coin</i> ,	173, 175, 176		Akalankap, <i>Chōla k</i> ,	29
Adhikarana Sāraṇan, <i>m</i> ,	334		Akalavarsha, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa l</i> ,	244, 252
<i>adhīśvara</i> , <i>official</i> ,	249		Alkatangēra-bhāvi, <i>well</i> ,	171
Adhirājendra, <i>Chōla l</i> ,	30, 332 n		Ākshapāda or Nyāya, <i>school</i> ,	176 n
Adhirājendradēva, <i>Chōla l</i> ,	332		ākshapatalika, <i>official</i> ,	221, 226
Adigal Gandan Mārambāvai, probably <i>queen of</i> <i>Nandivarman III</i> ,	118		aksha(s)-lin	298
Āditya, <i>m</i> ,	213, 214, 217		ākshas hla,	285, 295, 296
Āditya alias Kōdandarāma, <i>Chōla k</i> ,	27		akshasālin, <i>goldsmith</i> ,	312, 313
Āditya or Ādityavarman, <i>Chōla l</i> ,	23, 42, 52		ākshayanī dharman,	61, 63 n.
Āditya I, <i>Chōla l</i> ,	23, 24, 118		Alakā or Alakāpurī, <i>city of Kubēra</i> ,	174, 177, 197, 198
Āditya-Bhōgika, <i>m</i> ,	308, 310, 311		Ājālara Nāgadēvayya, <i>m</i> ,	192, 195
Āditya Mañchin, <i>m</i> ,	308		Alamanda plates of the year 304,	311, 312
Ādityāryya, <i>m</i> ,	352, 355		Ālambākkam, <i>s. a</i> Ālappākkam,	118
Āditya-Sūna, <i>k</i> ,	81		Ālambākkam, <i>vi</i> ,	119
Ādityēśvara, <i>s a</i> Kōdandarāmēśvara,	23, 24		Alamvimahāpura,	219, 221, 223
<i>ādya pūṣha</i> ,	241		Ālanguḍi, <i>vi</i> ,	166
Agastya, <i>sage</i> ,	109, 113, 212, 217		Ālanguḍi <i>sthala</i> , <i>di</i> ,	165, 167
Agastyēśvara, <i>god</i> ,	216, 218		Alāpa, <i>di</i> ,	219, 223
Agastvēśvara, <i>te</i> ,	170, 212, 213		Ālapāka Bōl,	2, 4
Aghōra (Śiva),	197, 199		Ālapagrāma, <i>vi</i> ,	300
Agla, <i>m</i> ,	326, 327		Alāpa patāla, <i>di</i> ,	221
agnihōtra, <i>rite</i> ,	238, 250, 257		Ālappākam, <i>vi</i> ,	123, 124
Agnisarmma tTiruvēdi (Tiruvēdin), <i>m</i> ,	122, 124		Ālappāka-Vijayapallulān, <i>m</i> ,	116, 118, 121
Agnisarmman, <i>m</i> ,	59, 60			

¹ Mr G S Ramanathan, B A, of my office has proved very useful in the preparation of this index.

N B—The figures refer to pages, *n* after a figure, to footnotes, and *add.* to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used —*ch* = chief, *co* = country, *di* = district or division, *do* = date, *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *l* = king, *m* = man, *mo* = mountain, *ri* = river, *s a* = same as, *sth* = summit, *te* = temple, *vi* = village or town, *w* = woman, *W* = Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
Alexander, <i>Macedonian k</i> ,	282	Ānaulundāva, <i>v</i> ,	335
Alhvalam, <i>vi</i> ,	119	Anbil plates or grant (of Sundara-Chōja),	15 n, 26
Allāla-Bhaṭṭa, <i>m</i> ,	161, 163, 164	Āṇḍaja, <i>family</i> ,	292
alphabets—		Āṇḍavamēa, <i>family</i> ,	290
Brāhmī,	158, 159, 317	Āṇḍika, <i>s a</i> Addanka ?,	228
Grantha,	5, 21, 22, 115, 331	Āṇḍika, <i>v</i> ,	228, 232, 234
Gupta Brāhmī,	18	Andhakēśvara, <i>god</i> ,	189
Kannada or Kanarese, 138, 171, 178, 182, 189,		Andhakēśvara, <i>s a</i> Madanēśvara,	189
196, 199, 201, 205, 206, 207, 208, 212		Andhakēśvara (Bhīmēśvara), <i>te</i> ,	170, 171
Kharoṣṭhī,	16, 20, 262	Andhāsura (Andhāsura), <i>god</i> , 185, 186, 188, 189,	
Nāgarī,	74, 100, 128, 219, 224, 284, 320	190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 205, 206	
Nandī Nāgarī,	138, 160, 165	Andhāsura, <i>s a</i> Andhakēśvara, <i>te</i> ,	170
Old Kanarese,	172	Āndhan inscriptions of Rudradāman I,	339
Pallava-Grantha,	146	Āndhra, <i>co</i> ,	104, 105, 108, 112
Tamīl,	5, 21, 22, 115, 138, 331	āndhraka,	306
Telugu,	227, 346	Ānduliyā (Andoolca), <i>vi</i> ,	62
Telugu-Kannada,	165	Āṇḍīras or Āṇḍīras, <i>sage</i> , 6, 10, 13, 116, 120, 123, 150,	151
Vaṭṭeḷuttu,	340	Āṇḍīyavaṇṇam,	70
Āmalapautika-grāma, <i>vi</i> ,	62, 63	Ānmanathguru or Āṇmaṇathguru, <i>vi</i> ,	228, 232,
Amarāvatī pillar inscription,	148	234, 235	
Amarēśa or 'ēvara (Indra),	41	'Annadā maṅgala, <i>work</i> ,	62
amātya, <i>official</i> ,	306	Annamarāja, <i>Kālatiya prince</i> ,	349
Ambarīsha, <i>myth k</i> ,	76, 78	Āṇḍīgeri inscription,	201 n
Amma (II) or Ammarāja II, <i>Chōlukya k</i> , 227,		An <i>si</i> (Parthia), <i>co</i> ,	276, 278
231, 232, 233 & n, 234 & n, 315, 348		āntahpurika, <i>official</i> ,	221, 226
Ammarāja (I), <i>Chōlukya k</i> ,	229	Anturīgām, <i>vi</i> ,	302
Amṇānāryya, <i>m</i> ,	352, 355	Anturīgām plates of Yaśabhañjadēva,	283, 284, 302
Amōghakalāśa, <i>sur. of Vidyādharabhañjadē-</i>		Āntrolī Chhārōlī copper plate grant of Kakka of	
<i>va</i> ,	285, 286, 287, 297	Saka 679,	238
Amōghavarsha I, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k</i> , 105, 235, 237,		Anupama, <i>sur. of Gōvinda III</i> ,	247, 254
238, 240, 241 & n, 242, 246, 247, 248, 249,		anupavaras—	
251, 253, 254, 255, 256		Ashtakavat,	297
Amōghavarshadēva, <i>s a</i> Amōghavarsha I,	257	Aurva,	294
Āmōhūnī votive tablet of the year 72,	272	Bhārgava,	295
Amudāsāgara or Amudāsāgarāmunī, <i>author and</i>		Bhārgavavat,	294
<i>Jaina teacher</i> ,	64, 65, 67, 68, 69	Chyavanavat,	294
Amvasarasārā (= Ambasarabhuṭṭa (?)), <i>vi</i> ,	300	Jāmadagni,	294
Anādiyuvan (Śiva),	140	Rōhitavat,	297
Ananga (Cupid),	350, 353	Viśvāmītravat,	294, 297
Anantakaṇṭha-panḍita, <i>m</i> ,	299	Anurādhapura, <i>vi</i> ,	331, 333 n, 335, 336, 337
Anantapālārāsa, <i>m</i> ,	189, 191, 193	Anuruddha, <i>Aramana k</i> ,	333
Anantavarman, <i>Ganga k</i> ,	312	anusēnāpati, <i>official</i> ,	157
Anapāya, <i>Chōja k</i> ,	68	anuvāra, <i>symbol</i> , 32 n, 33 n, 34 n, 36 n, 41 n, 46 n	
Anapāya, <i>sur. of Kulōttunga II (?)</i> ,	68	anuvāra, unnecessary insertion of—,	32 n
Ānartta, <i>co</i> ,	101, 104, 108, 112	anuvāra, replaced by guttural nasal,	87
ānati (āyāpāṭi),	7, 8, 11, 14, 116, 121, 123, 259		

N B —The figures refer to pages, n. after a figure, to footnotes, and add to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used —ch = chief, co = country, di = district or division, do = ditto, dy = dynasty, E = Eastern, k = king, m = man, mo = mountain, ri = river, s a = same as, sur = surname, t = temple, vi = village or town, w = woman, W. = Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
<i>anusvāra</i> , replaced by dental nasal,	100	<i>Asurārī</i> (Vishṇu),	49
<i>anusvāra</i> , used for nasals,	160, 346	<i>aśvādhyakṣa</i> , official,	156
<i>anusvāra</i> , wrongly used for final <i>n</i> ,	87	<i>Asvalāyana śrautasūtra</i> , work,	348 n.
<i>anusvāra</i> , consonants doubled after,	138	<i>aśvamēdha</i> , sacrifice,	50, 222, 228, 259
<i>anuttara</i> , penance,	131, 136	<i>aśvārōha</i> , official ?,	156
<i>anuvāra</i> ,	199 & n	<i>Aśvatthāman</i> , epic hero,	6, 10, 13, 150, 151
<i>Aparājita</i> , <i>Pallava</i> <i>k</i> ,	24	<i>Aṭhamallika</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>Aṭhamallik</i> ,	289
<i>Āpastamba-dharmasūtra</i> , work,	314 n	<i>Aṭhamallik</i> or <i>Aṭhamallik</i> State,	288 n, 289
<i>Apilōmulēri</i> , <i>v</i> ,	360	<i>atithisantarpaṇa</i> ,	250, 257
<i>Appanāryya</i> , <i>m</i> ,	352, 355	<i>atithitarpaṇa</i> ,	238
<i>Appar</i> , <i>Śāna</i> <i>saṁt</i> ,	162	<i>Atri</i> , sage,	131 & n, 136
<i>Āra</i> inscription of the year 41,	264, 269	<i>āṣṭaklōḥ</i> , annual income,	344, 345 n
<i>ārādhyā</i> , title,	205, 206 & n	<i>āṣṭpēru</i> ,	344, 345 & n.
<i>arandā</i> , tax,	342, 343, 345	<i>Āttarāya</i> , used for <i>Ātrēya</i> ,	122
<i>Aramana</i> or <i>Arumana</i> = <i>Rāmañña</i> , 331, 333, 336, 337		<i>Atyantakāma</i> , epithet of <i>Rājāsīmha</i> II,	149, 151, 152
<i>arai</i> or <i>aray</i> <i>ōlai</i> , report,	11, 14, 119, 124	<i>Audumbarika</i> <i>vishaya</i> , <i>d</i> ,	62, 63
<i>Aroher</i> Type of Gupta coins,	79	<i>Aurva</i> , sage,	133, 137
<i>Arghyatīrtha</i> ,	179, 181	<i>Avalōkītēśvara</i> , <i>Bōdhisattva</i> ,	74
<i>Arichit</i> (<i>Ariśil</i>), <i>r</i> ,	7, 10, 13	<i>Avanjanāśraya</i> , epithet of <i>Pulakēśirāja</i> ,	93
<i>Arindama</i> , <i>Chōḷa</i> <i>k</i> ,	24, 27, 43, 53	<i>Avanjanāśraya</i> <i>Pulakēśirāja</i> , <i>Chālukya</i> <i>k</i> ,	93
<i>Ariśil</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>Arichit</i> ,	7	<i>Avanivarman</i> II, <i>Surāshṭra</i> <i>ch</i> ,	106
<i>Arjuna</i> , epic hero,	53, 152, 217	<i>Avanti</i> , <i>co</i> ,	102, 103, 239, 240
<i>Arka</i> ,	28	<i>Avantivarman</i> , <i>Maulharī</i> <i>k</i> ,	82
<i>Arthasāstra</i> , work,	156	<i>Avasthī</i> <i>Śrī</i> <i>Mālhē</i> , <i>m</i> ,	225, 226
<i>Arumolīdṣva</i> - <i>vaḷanādu</i> , <i>d</i> ,	119	<i>Āvatṭamba</i> , used for <i>Āpastamba</i> ,	124
<i>Arundhatī</i> , <i>w</i> ,	209, 211, 215, 217	<i>āvom</i> ,	207
<i>Ārūru</i> <i>chāvadī</i> , <i>d</i> ,	163, 165	<i>Āy</i> , <i>dy</i> ,	21
<i>aṣu</i> <i>vana</i> ,	177 & n, 178, 185, 188	<i>Āy</i> , tribe,	161
<i>Aruvā</i> <i>nādu</i> , <i>d</i> ,	8 & n, 11, 14	<i>āyāna</i> ,	173, 174, 176 n
<i>Aruvā</i> - <i>vadatalai</i> <i>nādu</i> , <i>d</i> ,	8 n	<i>Āyuh</i> , myth <i>k</i> ,	132, 136, 161
<i>Ārvala</i> - <i>kūṣṭram</i> , <i>d</i> ,	123	<i>Āyumitra</i> , <i>ch</i> ,	18
<i>Ārvalam</i> <i>s a</i> <i>Alivalam</i> ,	119	<i>Azes</i> , <i>k</i> ,	270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 277, 279, 280
<i>Ārya</i> <i>Pātālamalla</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>Pātālamalla</i>	241, 247, 255	<i>Azes</i> <i>Azihises</i> ,	274
<i>Āryavarman</i> , <i>Ganga</i> <i>k</i> ,	149	<i>Azihises</i> ,	273, 274
<i>Āryāvarta</i> , <i>co</i> ,	22, 26, 39, 51		
<i>Āryyāhū</i> (?), family (?),	3, 4		
<i>Asādha</i> , <i>m</i> ,	156, 157		
<i>Asanapura</i> , <i>v</i> ,	55 & n, 56, 57		
<i>asārōha</i> (= <i>aśvārōha</i>), official,	157		
<i>Āścharyamañjarī</i> work,	342		
<i>Āśēka</i> , <i>m</i> ,	328		
<i>Aśṭakulasīmha</i> , title of <i>Vīra</i> <i>Rājendra</i> ,	48, 54		
<i>Aśṭāugalakṣmī</i> ,	298		
<i>Aśōka</i> or <i>Aśōkavarman</i> , myth <i>k</i> ,	147, 150, 151		
<i>Aśōka</i> , <i>Maurya</i> <i>Emperor</i> ,	281		
<i>aśōka</i> tree,	65		

B

<i>Bāchu</i> <i>Seṭṭi</i> , <i>m</i> ,	206
<i>Badagāchī</i> (<i>Burgachee</i>), <i>v</i> ,	62
<i>Badakshūn</i> , <i>v</i> ,	282
<i>Bādāmī</i> , caves at—,	242
<i>Bādāmī</i> , <i>v</i> ,	93, 238
<i>Bāgwān</i> , <i>v</i> ,	62
<i>Bahādur Khān</i> <i>u</i> <i>Museum</i> ,	239
<i>Bāhubalin</i> , <i>m</i> ,	201 & n, 202, 204

N B—The figures refer to pages, *n* after a figure, to footnotes, and *add* to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used —*ch* = chief, *co* = country, *d* = district or division, *do* = ditto; *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *k* = king, *m* = man, *mo* = mountain, *r* = river, *s a* = same as, *sur* = surname; *te* = temple; *v* = village or town, *w* = woman. *W* = Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
Bābulī, <i>vi</i> ,	302	Bāuka, <i>Pratihāra l</i> , 87, 88, 89 & <i>n</i> , 94, 95, 96, 97, 98,	99, 102, 103, 106
Bāhūr, <i>vi</i> ,	6, 8, 9	<i>beḷe</i> ,	192, 195
Bailaman (<i>Valla mandala</i> ?),	93	Bēlūr, <i>s a</i> Vēlāpura,	241
Bālachandra-Bhaṭṭāraḥadēva, <i>m</i> ,	173, 175, 177	Belvala <i>di</i> ,	174, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181,
Bālāditya, <i>Magadha k</i> ,	82, 83, 84 & <i>n</i>	183, 184, 186, 189, 190, 191, 194, 196, 197,	198, 201, 203, 205
Bālāditya, <i>poet</i> ,	114	Belvala three hundred, <i>di</i> ,	193 <i>n</i> .
Balagāṃve inscription of the time of Chālukya		Belvalav-erāḍ-aṇu nūru,	191, 193 & <i>n</i>
Jayasimha,	321	Benares, <i>vi</i> ,	181, 218
Balajā, <i>u</i> ?,	268	Benares inscription of Pantha,	125
Balāka palvala, <i>pond</i> ,	259, 260	Bendaki, <i>vi</i> ,	302
Balanandi, <i>w</i> ,	268	Bengal Asiatic Society's copper plate of Vināya-	
Balasvāmin, <i>m</i> ,	268, 282	ka-pāla,	101
Bali, <i>demon l</i> ,	32, 48, 112 <i>n</i>	Bēṭaya, <i>Kōkatiya prince</i> ,	348, 351, 354
<i>bali</i> ,	76, 78 & <i>n</i> , 238, 250, 257	Beṭmā, <i>vi</i> ,	320, 322 & <i>add</i>
<i>bali</i> ,	189, 131	Betwā, <i>ri</i> ,	125
Ballāścna, <i>Bengal l</i> ,	130	Bhadra, <i>queen of Harichandra Rōhilla-</i>	
Balligam, <i>vi</i> ,	334	<i>dhi</i> ,	88, 90, 95, 97, 98
Balsir plates,	93	Bhadram[ēgha], <i>l</i> ,	160
Bāmadīya ? <i>m</i> ,	156, 157 & <i>n</i>	Bhadraśrēnya, <i>Kaḷachur l</i> ,	129
Bāmanghātī, <i>di</i> ,	300, 301	<i>bhāga bhōga kara</i> ,	222, 224, 226
Bāmanghātī, <i>vi</i> ,	300, 301	Bhāgale, <i>w</i> ,	206, 208, 210, 212, 213
Bāmanghātī grant of Rājabhañjadēva,	283, 300	Bhāgalpur copper plate of Nārayanapāla,	104 <i>n</i> .
Bāmanghātī grant of Ranabhañjadēva,	283, 300	Bhāgenabbe, <i>w</i> ,	173, 174, 176
Bāmra, <i>family</i> ,	288 <i>n</i>	Bhagīratha, <i>myth l</i> ,	22, 26, 36
Bāmra, <i>estate</i> ,	288	Bhāgīrathī (Ganges), <i>ri</i> ,	36, 62, 96, 98, 305
Bāna, <i>family</i> ,	7	Bhāgiyabbe, <i>w</i> ,	173, 176, 178
Bānabhaṭṭa, <i>author</i> ,	92	Bhairava <i>Śaiva school</i> ,	176 <i>n</i>
Banaṇḡa = Vajraṇḡyār,	335	Bhaktavatsalēśvara temple,	334
Banavāsi, <i>di</i> ,	208	<i>bhāmdāgārīka</i> , <i>official</i> ,	156, 157, 221, 226
Bangāsi, <i>ri</i> ,	85	<i>bhānaeu</i> ,	189
Bānswārā, <i>vi</i> ,	320	Bhandī, <i>clan</i> ,	93, 101, 108, 111
Bānswārā plates (of Bhōjadēva),	320, 321, 322 <i>n</i>	Bhañja, <i>dy</i> , 282, 285, 286, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292,	293, 295, 297
Baramba, <i>estate</i> ,	288 <i>n</i>	Bhānu, <i>m</i> ,	126, 127
Bargō, <i>vi</i> ,	220	Bhānuchandra, <i>m</i> ,	308
Baripadā, <i>vi</i> ,	289, 300, 301	Bhānu Gupta, <i>Gupta l</i> ,	81, 82 & <i>n</i> , 83
Baroda plates of Karharāja,	104 <i>n</i> , 105 <i>n</i> , 239	Bharadvāja, <i>sage</i> , 6, 10, 13, 116, 120, 123, 150, 151	
Berus (Broach),	93	Bharani svāmin, <i>m</i> ,	63, 64
Basārḥ (Varāḥ), <i>vi</i> ,	242	Bharata, <i>epic hero</i> ,	22, 26, 37, 50
Basava (Chenna Basava), <i>minister</i> ,	150	Bhārata, <i>epic</i> ,	214, 216
Baudh State,	288, 300, 302	Bharatachandra Raya, <i>Bengal poet</i> ,	62
Baudh, <i>vi</i> ,	292, 300	Bhārgava (Paraśurāma),	305
Baudh grant of Kanakabhañjadēva,	291, 302	Bharsar, <i>vi</i> ,	81
Baudh grant of Ranabhañjadēva of the 26th			
year,	283, 300		
Baudh grant of Raṇabhañjadēva of the 54th			
year,	283		

N. B.—The figures refer to pages, *n.* after a figure, to footnotes, and *add* to the additions on pp. vi to x. The following other abbreviations are used —*ch* = chief, *co* = country, *di* = district or division, *do* = ditto; *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *l* = king, *m* = man, *mo* = mountain, *ri* = river, *s a* = same as, *sur* = surname; *t* = temple, *vi* = village or town; *w* = woman, *W.* = Western

	PAGE		PAGE
Bhāskara, school of—,	176 n	Bhōja, <i>Pratihāra</i> l, 80 90 & n, 93, 94, 95, 98, 100,	
Bhāskarāryya, m,	352, 355	. 106 & n, 107, 109, 110, 113 & n,	
bhaṭa,	250, 256, 294, 296, 306	114, 125, 239	
Bhaṭa Nirōla,	302	Bhōjadēva, s a Bhōja,	106
Bhaṭa Nirōla=Nirā,	303	Bhr̥gu, sage,	137 n
bhaṭa,	299	Bhūakūpa,	95, 96, 98
Bhatta, m,	238, 249, 256	Bhūdā, queen of Śivarāja (II),	134, 137
bhatta, title,	285, 287, 306	bhukti, territorial division,	78 n.
Bhaṭṭa Brahmanvīra-svāmī, m,	61, 63	bhūmi-chchhādra nyāya	250, 257 n, 306
Bhāṭṭachārya, samaya or school,	176 n	Bhūpati, epithet of Kakka,	90
Bhāṭṭadhannēka, m,	110, 114	Bhūṭadatta, Pallava k,	147, 150, 151
Bhāṭṭagunḍa, m,	227, 233, 235	Bhuvanāikamalla (Sōmāśvara II), <i>Chālukya</i> l,	189, 191, 194
Bhaṭṭakāśavadāva, m,	297	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris,	5
Bhaṭṭara kola (Bhaṭṭa s lake),	179	Biya or Bijjala, ch,	201, 203, 205
Bhaṭṭapurandara, m,	297	Bijjala, Bijjana or Bijjanadēva, ch,	213, 215, 218
Bhaṭṭarudada(°draṭa), m,	296	Biladuri, author,	93, 102 & n, 103
Bhattas' lake,	181	Binkā, vi,	302
Bhaṭṭasumangala, m,	285, 295	Binkā, s a Vinītapura,	
Bhaṭṭa Unmīlana svāmī, m,	63, 64	Boar, emblem on seal,	160, 346 & n
Bhaṭṭa grāma, vi,	250, 256	Boar (image of Vishnu),	82
Bhaṭṭi, clan,	96, 98	Bōddanāryya, m,	352, 355
Bhaṭṭika, epithet of Dēvarāja,	96	Bodda Paṭṭi, vi,	302
Bhaṭṭika Dēvarāja, s a Dēvarāja ?, ch,	93, 98	Bōdh Gayā, vi,	17
Bhūllāditya, <i>Pratihāra</i> l,	88, 90, 96, 98	Bōdh Gayā inscription of Mahānāman of the	
Bhūllama, Yādava k,	347 n	Gupta year 269,	125
Bhūllamāla, vi,	92 n	Bōdhi tree,	17
Bhūlluka, s a Bhūllāditya,	88	—Bōl	1, 2, 4 n, 314 n
Bhūlmāl or Bhūnmāl, vi,	239	Bonai, state,	288 n
Bhīma, epic hero,	217 n	Bonulā, vi,	303
Bhīma, Pallava prince,	116	Bōsiga, s a Gangara Bōsi,	200, 201
Bhīma (I), <i>Chālukya</i> l,	2, 227, 231, 233 & n	bow and carp fish crest,	23
Bhīma (II), <i>Chālukya</i> k,	227, 231, 233	Bōya,	2
Bhīmarathī, ri,	353, 356	Bōyalu,	2
Bhīmaṭa (I), <i>Kalachuri</i> k,	129, 133, 137	boyana,	266, 282
Bhīmaṭa (II), <i>Kalachuri</i> k,	129, 134, 137	brahmādēya, 11, 14, 15, 23, 47, 54, 116, 119 122,	123, 124
Bhīmāśvara, te,	170, 171, 199, 206	Brāhmanapālani, canal ?	311
bhīshaj, official,	221, 226	Brāhmaṇavastī viśaya=Bāmanghāṭi sub divi-	
Bhishma, epic hero,	205 n	sion,	301
Bhitarī pillar inscription,	242	Brāhmaṇavastī, vi,	301
Bhitarī seal,	83	Brāhmaṇavastī=Brāhmaṇavās,	301
Bhōgabhaṭa, <i>Pratihāra</i> prince,	88, 95, 98	brāhmanōttarān,	306
Bhōgabhūm,	28	Brahmapurī,	175, 177 & n, 185, 188
bhōga bhōgin, used for bhāga bhōgin,	297	Brahmaputra, ri,	329
Bhōgika=Bhōi, palanleen-bearer,	308 n	Bṛhadiśvara temple,	334
Bhōja, Bhōjadēva or Bhōjarāja, <i>Paramāra</i> k,	66, 320 & n, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325		

N B—The figures refer to pages, n after a figure, to footnotes, and add to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used —ch = chief, co = country, di = district or division, do = ditto, dy = dynasty, E = Eastern, l = king, m. = man, mo = mountain, ri = river, s a = same as, sur = surname, te = temple, vi = village or town, w = woman, W. = Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
Bṛhaspati, <i>sage</i> ,	6, 10, 11, 13, 14, 150, 151	Chamdasāti (Chadasāta), <i>Āndhra k</i> ,	317, 318, 319
Bṛhaspatisava, <i>sacrifice</i> ,	155	Chamdrāditya Mahārāja, <i>Chōla ch</i> ,	349
British Museum,	320 n	Chāmunda-Rāja, <i>Ganga ch</i> ,	66
Broach, <i>u</i> ,	91	Chānakya, <i>m</i> ,	209, 211, 214
Buchkalā inscription of Nāgabhaṭa of V S 872,	100, 105 n	Chandāla,	303
Būdana Gutti,	185	<i>chandāvura</i> or <i>chamāvura</i> ,	189, 195
Būdana-Mone,	185	Chandēl, <i>dy</i> ,	224
Buddha, 128, 130, 135, 266, 267, 336, 337, 338		Chandra, <i>l</i> ,	86
Buddhavarman, <i>Pallava l</i> , 147, 148, 149, 150, 151		Chandradēva, <i>Kanauj l</i> ,	223, 225
Buddhist, <i>śamaya</i> (school),	176 n	Chandragupta, <i>Kōsala l</i> ,	240, 245, 253
Budha, <i>myth l</i> ,	132, 136, 161	Chandra-Gupta, <i>Gupta l</i> ,	79
Budha (Mercury), <i>planet</i> ,	82	Chandra-Gupta II, <i>Gupta k</i> ,	81, 86, 242
Budha Gupta, <i>Gupta l</i> ,	81, 82, 83	Chandra-Gupta III, <i>Gupta k</i> ,	84
Buguda plates of Mādhavarman,	290	Chandrāmbhōjavatī, <i>s a</i> . Chandrapushkarinī,	140
Bukka (I), <i>Vijayanagara k</i> ,	138, 140, 144	Chandrapushkarinī, <i>tanl</i> ,	144
Bukkamā, <i>queen of Ietara</i> ,	161	Chandravarman, <i>Pallava k</i> ,	148, 150, 151
Bull emblem,	311	Chandravarman, <i>Pushkaranā l</i> ,	86
Bull standard on coins,	79, 80, 81	Chandrāvatī, <i>v</i> ,	219 n
Būragutti,	190, 193, 196	Chandrāvatī plate of Chandradēva of V S 1148,	219 n
C		Chanduka, <i>Pratihāra l</i> ,	88, 94, 96, 98
Cape Komaria, <i>s a</i> Kanyākumārī,	21	Chāpa, <i>dy</i> ,	92 n
carp fish crest,	23	Chāpa, <i>kingdom</i> ,	92 n
<i>cha</i> , used for <i>ta</i> ,	16	Chāpōthaka, <i>s a</i> Chāpa,	92 n
Chāchika, <i>m</i> ,	285, 287 n, 297	<i>charu</i> ,	76, 78 & n, 238, 250, 257
Chadasāta (Chamdasāta), <i>Āndhra k</i> ,	317, 318, 319	Chāstana, <i>Kshatrapa k</i> ,	339
Chaitra-pavitra rites,	188, 210, 212 & n	<i>chāṣa</i> ,	250, 256, 294, 296, 306
Chakrarāya, <i>m</i> ,	139, 140	Chātsū inscription of Bālāditya,	106, 107 n
Chakravāla, <i>myth mo</i> ,	35, 50, 144, 351, 354	<i>chāṣṭa</i> ,	299
Chakravartin Vijayabāhudēva, <i>name of Vijaya-bāhu I</i> ,	337	<i>chatta-samaya</i> ,	173, 174, 176 & n
Chakrāyudha, <i>Kanauj k</i> , 101, 104, 105, 106, 108, 112 & n, 235, 240, 245, 253		<i>chaturdāsa-gana</i> ,	14 n
Chaligunṭa, <i>pond</i> ,	232, 235	Chaulika (Chōla),	241, 246, 254
Chajikya=Chājukya,	314	<i>chaurōddharanika</i> , <i>official</i> ,	306
Chajil ya, <i>dy</i> ,	315	Chauvanāryya, <i>m</i> ,	352, 355
Chājukya, <i>dy</i> , 1, 3, 4, 25, 31, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 89 n, 91, 92, 93, 174, 175, 176, 177, 179, 181, 183, 185, 186, 188, 189, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 197, 198, 203 n, 204, 228, 238, 239, 243, 252, 259, 260, 321, 353 n		Chāvanāryya, <i>m</i> ,	352, 355
Chājukya, Eastern—, <i>dy</i> ,	2, 314	<i>chaitra-pavitra</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>chaitra-pavitra</i> ,	185
Chājukya-Bhīma (I), <i>Chājukya l</i> ,	229, 230	Chēdi, <i>dy</i> ,	73, 281
		Chendalūr, <i>v</i> ,	228
		Chendalūr plates (of Kumāravishnu II),	148
		Chendalūr plates of Sarvalōkāstraya (Mangiyu-varāja),	314
		Cherdisarman, <i>m</i> ,	1, 2, 4
		Chengauāchēri, <i>v</i> ,	340
		Chēras, <i>people</i> ,	29
		Chēra, <i>co</i> ,	28, 341, 343 n

N. B.—The figures refer to pages, *n* after a figure, to footnotes, and *add* to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used —*ch*. = chief, *co* = country, *di* = district or division, *do* = ditto, *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *l*. = king, *m*. = man, *mo* = mountain, *ri* = river, *s a*. = same as, *sur*. = surname, *te*. = temple, *u*. = village or town, *w*. = woman, *W*. = Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
Chēra, dy ,	23, 340	Conjeeveram, vi ,	146
Chēra, l ,	28, 29, 30, 68, 161	Conjeeveram plates of Krishnadēvarāya,	162, 163
Chēramānār, title,	341	censonants, doubling of—, after r,	236
Cherupūra, vi ,	2, 4	couchant bull, emblem,	116
Cherupūru, s a Cherupūra,	2, 3, 4	crescent, emblem,	55
Choṭṭuppākkaṁ, vi,	11, 12	crescent and star (sun ?), emblem,	58
Chhandas śāstra, work,	67		
Chhandōmañjarī, work,	236	D	
Chhandōmañjarī-parīśishṭu, work,	236	Dabhra sabhā, s a Chidambaram,	47, 54
Chhandōmbudhi, work,	66	Dabhra-Sabhāpati, (Śiva enshrined at Chidam- baram),	25
Chhandōpiśta (Chhandōvichiti), s a Piṅga- lam,	67	Dacca Museum,	75
Chhandōvichiti, work,	66, 67	Dadda, Pratihāra prince,	88, 91, 95, 98
Chharampasāmī (=svāmī), m ,	295	Dadda II, Broach l ,	92
Chhatarpur, vi ,	224, 225	Daddapayya, m ,	171, 172
Chicacole plates of Dēvēndravarmān,	307, 308	Dadhicha, sage,	248, 255
Chicacole plates of Indravarmān,	308	Dāhala, s a Chēdi,	229
Chidambaram temple,	29	Dāhala, co ,	240, 245, 253
Chidambaram, vi ,	25, 27, 68	Dakshinapālī, dī ,	303
Chukkanika,	210, 212	Dakshināpatha, co ,	347, 348, 350, 354
Chukkarasa,	186, 189	Dakshina-Vārāṇas(s)i, s a Pūl,	205
Chipurupalle, s a Cherupūra (?),	2	Daḷadā-Pātra-dhātu svāmīdēvargal, Tooth and Bowl Relics,	337, 338
Chipurupalle plates of Viṣṇuvardhana I,	2 n	Daḷadāypperum-balḷi, te of the Tooth Relic,	337, 338
Chiragōhaka, m ,	156, 157	Damajadaśrī I, Kshatrapa k ,	339
Chirāmbalam (Chidambaram),	54	Dāmōdarāryya, m ,	352, 355
Chitta, m ,	325 add, 326 add	Dāmōdapur, vi ,	75
Chutpāvan Brāhmans,	256 n	Dāmōdapur plates,	62, 76 n, 84
Chitra, myth k ,	23, 27, 40, 51	Dāmuka, m ,	75, 76, 78
Chōda Bēl, m ,	2, 4, 5	Dāuārnavā, Gāṅga k ,	308, 309, 310
Chōdanāryya, m ,	352, 355	Danḍaka forest,	317 n
Chōla, co , 23, 24, 25, 27, 29, 42, 47, 52, 54, 116, 119, 121, 123, 331 n, 332, 333		danda° or dāṇḍa pīṭika, official,	293, 295, 306
Chōla, dy , 7, 21, 22, 23, 26, 31, 41, 65, 68, 78 n , 123, 161, 192, 195, 202, 204, 331, 332, 334		dāṇḍika, official,	306
Chōla, myth k ,	22, 28, 38, 51	Dandin, author,	67
Chōla-maṇḍala, dī , 65, 139, 141, 145, 162, 163, 165, 167, 169		Dangūr, vi ,	334
Chōlas, people,	116, 121, 123, 189	Dantidurgga or °durga, Rāshtrakūṭa k , 89 n , 238, 239, 243, 252	
Chūdāmanī-Nagaṇḍu, work,	64 n	Dantiga, s a Dantivarman (?),	7
chula	326 & add	Dantivarman, Pallava k ,	7, 13, 118
Chūdāmanī, work,	65 & n	Daranikendapōśar, m ,	117
Chulayakha,	327 & add	Dārotā, s a. Kālū,	243
Okullavagga, work,	19	Dāsa, name ending,	75 n.
Churā copper plate,	148	dāsāparādika, official,	306
Chūtāpallava, Pallava k ,	148, 149, 150, 151	Dāsarattha, epic k ,	154
conch, emblem,	224	Dāsāsya (Rāvana),	305

N B—The figures refer to pages, *n* after a figure, to footnotes; and *add* to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used —*ch* = chief, *co* = country, *di* = district or division, *do* = ditto, *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *k* = king, *m* = man, *mo.* = mountain, *r.* = river, *sa* = same as, *sur* = surname; *te* = temple, *vi* = village or town, *w* = woman, *W.* = Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
Dēvayānī, <i>myth queen</i> , . . .	161	Digbhañja, <i>Bhañja I</i> , . . .	287
Dēvēndravarmān, <i>Gāṅga l</i> , . . .	311, 312	Digbhañja I (Śatrubhañja I), <i>Bhañja l</i> , . . .	286
Dewai inscription of the 8th Vaiśākha 200,	280	Digbhañja II, <i>Bhañja l</i> , . . .	286
Dhamadhaya, <i>m</i> , . . .	326	Digbhañjadēva, <i>Bhañja l</i> , . . .	285, 297
Dhamula, <i>m</i> , . . .	326	Dighwā Dubaulī plate of Mahēndrapāla,	87, 101
Dhanam dibbā, remains of Buddhist <i>stupa</i> at—	317	Dilpa, <i>myth l</i> , . . .	22, 26, 37, 50
„ „ Rock cut wells at . . .	317	Dōn Buzurg, <i>vi</i> , . . .	218, 219
Dhanuka, <i>Guhilol prince</i> , . . .	106 n	Dōn Buzurg plates of Gōvīndachandradēva of	
Dhāññakada (Dhāññakāṭṭa), <i>vi</i> , . . .	149	V S 1176,	225
Dhannavallikā, <i>vi</i> , . . .	242, 243, 250, 256	Draumi (Aśvatthāman), . . .	116, 120, 123
Dhannavallikā, <i>s a</i> Dhāññolī,	243	Dravila, <i>co</i> , . . .	246, 254
Dhanva Vishnu, <i>brother of Mahārāja Mtri</i>		Drōna, <i>epic hero</i> , 6, 10, 13, 116, 120, 123, 150,	
<i>Vishnu</i> . . .	82 n, 83		151, 219
Dhārādihara, <i>m</i> , . . .	299	Drōna kā ghar or °garh,	219
Dharaka, <i>m</i> , . . .	159	Drōñīyanashada,	219, 222, 224
Dhārāvārsha, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa l</i> , . . .	252	Durddama, <i>Kalachuri l</i> , . . .	129
Dhārīvarsha (Dhruva), <i>Rāshtrakūṭa l</i> , . . .	237, 239	Durgadēva or Durggadēva, <i>m</i> , . . .	285, 295, 296
Dhārāvārsha, <i>sur of Dhruva</i> , . . .	244	Durgarāja or Durggarāja, <i>m</i> , . . .	228, 231 & n, 234
Dharma, <i>s a</i> Dharmapāla, <i>Pāla l</i> , 106, 109, 113, 240,	215, 253	Durgaśarman, <i>m</i> , . . .	2, 3, 4
<i>dharma chaitra</i> , <i>emblem on set</i> , . . .	304	Durgga, <i>m</i> , . . .	126, 127
Dharmachandra, <i>m</i> , . . .	308, 310, 311	Durjayabhañja, <i>Bhañja l</i> , . . .	286, 291
Dharmadēvi, <i>w</i> , . . .	328	Durjaya Kshatryas, <i>epithet of K kaṭīyas</i>	347 n
Dharmakīrti, <i>author</i> . . .	66	Durjaya, <i>Kākaṭīya l</i> , . . .	347, 351, 354
Dharmanātra, <i>Kalachuri l</i> , . . .	129	Durlabhadēvi, <i>queen of Kalala</i> , . . .	88 & n
Dharmapāla, <i>Pāla l</i> , 89 n, 104, 105, 106 n, 235, 239		Durvīśā, <i>sage</i> , . . .	110 n
Dharmapālādēva, <i>s a</i> Dharmapāla, <i>Pāla l</i> , . . .	306	dūta, <i>official</i> , . . .	221, 226
Dharmapura, <i>di</i> , . . .	302	dūtaka, <i>official</i> , . . .	251, 257, 285, 295, 307
Dharmapuram, <i>vi</i> . . .	228	dūta praviṣṭāṅka, <i>official</i> , . . .	306
Dharmarāja or Yudhiṣṭhira, <i>epic hero</i> ,	28	duvar ja = yuvur ja,	258
Dharmarāja ratha inscriptions,	146		
<i>dharma-śāstra</i> , . . .	25		
<i>dharmamādīkaraṇa</i> , <i>official</i> , . . .	251		
Dharmamāditya, <i>l</i> , . . .	78 n 81, 84, 85		
Dharmakalāśa, wrongly read for Amōghakalā-			
<i>śa</i> , . . .	287		
Dharmapāla, <i>s a</i> Dharmapāla,	305		
<i>dharmamēla</i> , . . .	213 & n, 216, 218		
<i>dhāvula</i> , <i>official</i> , . . .	156, 157		
dh, doubling of —, before y,	1		
Dhēnukikāṭa, . . .	325, 326, 327, 328		
Dhritaka, <i>Pallava l</i> , . . .	147, 150, 151		
Dhṛitipura, <i>vi</i> , . . .	289, 300, 303		
Dhruva, <i>myth l</i> , . . .	210, 212		
Dhruva, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa l</i> , . . .	103, 104 n, 105 n, 238		
Dhruvarāja Indravarmān, <i>Chūlul ya l</i> , . . .	258		
Dhundhu, <i>Asura l</i> , . . .	35, 49		

E

Eastern Chālukya dynasty,	258
Eastern Gāṅga dynasty, . . .	308
eclipses—	
lunar, . . .	192, 195
solar, . . .	309, 310, 348, 351, 354
Edappaḷi, . . .	343
edava, <i>epithet</i> , . . .	196 & n
Edavanahallāda, . . .	193
Ējivati, . . .	159
Ēkadhīra, <i>sur of Nandīvarman II</i> , . . .	117
Ēkadhīramangalam, <i>vi</i> , . . .	117
Ēkākhara, <i>title</i> , . . .	194 & n
Ēkāmbharapuram, <i>vi</i> . . .	166
elari, . . .	189
Elhyṭru, <i>ri</i> , . . .	58, 59, 60

N B—The figures refer to pages, n after a figure, to footnotes, and add to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used —ch = chief, co = country, di = district or division, do = ditto, dy = dynasty, E = Eastern, l = king, m = male, mo = mountain, ri = river, s a = same as, sur = surname, te = temple, vi = village or town, w = woman W = Western

	PAGE		PAGE
Ellamilaṣyitta, epithet,	139	Ganapati, image on seal,	236
Ellorā Dasāvātārā Cavo Temple inscription, 237, 239		Ganapati, Kalatīya I,	347 & n, 349 n.
Enakudi, or Ennakudi, vi,	161, 163, 164	Ganapatidēva, Kalatīya I,	347, 351, 354
Eṇāyiram, vi,	60	Gandīru, vi,	59, 57
Eṇūr, vi,	122, 124	Gandīruvāḷi, di,	55, 56, 57
Era Drōnaśarman, m,	314, 315	Gandharuṣi,	337, 338 & n.
Eran, di,	242	Gandhāra,	16, 273
Erap, vi,	82 & n, 83	Gandhaṭa, see Ganadanda,	286
Eran Boar inscription of Dhanya-Vishnu,	82	Gandhatapāṭi(*),	303
Eran inscription of Gōparāja,	82	Gaṇḍā temple inscription at Mahābalipūram,	146
Ērapōtāryya, m,	352, 355	Ganga or Gāuga, dy, 201, 229, 239, 241, 244, 246,	
eras—		252, 253, 254, 307, 309, 309, 310, 311, 312	
Chālukya Vikrama,	194	Gangā (Gangea), ri, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 50, 51, 54,	
Kanushka,	20	103, 104 n, 114, 180, 186, 219, 223, 225,	
Kollam,	341, 342	226, 239, 241, 252, 290, 305	
Ganga,	312, 313	Gangī dvāra, vi,	96, 98
Gupta,	160	Gangā dvāra, s a Haridvār,	95
Sam or Samvat,	20	Gangai,	53 n
Unknown,	16	Gaugai konda, title of Rājendra Chōla I,	25
Erevitta, m,	171, 172	Gaukondachōlapuram, vi,	24
F		Gangakūṭa, mo,	229
Faridpur plates,	81	Gāngani, vi,	62
five great sins,	338 & n	Ganga-Pallava, family,	241
Four forged grants from Faridpur,	75	Gangara Bōsi (Bōsiga), m,	200
G		Gangavādī di,	241
ga, used for ya,	16	Gangavarṁsa, family,	288 n, 290
Gādhapura, kingdom,	220	Gangāvāḷi, co,	25, 27, 47, 54
Gajabāhu II, Ceylon k,	333	Ganges or Pādmā, ri,	62
Gajapati,	161	Gāngēya,	205 n
gāhapātaya (?), official,	156, 157	ganginikā (gānguā),	61, 62
Gahyasahasā, s a. Ghassās,	256 n	Ganginikā, identified with Jalangi,	62
Gajavēttai Pratāpa-Dēvarāyamahārāya, Vi,		Ganjām, di,	301
jayanagara l,	140	Ganjām plates of Nētibhaṅjadēva,	283, 301
gamagamika, official,	306	Ganjām plates of Vidyādharaḥṇjadēva,	283, 301
Gangā (Ganges), ri,	45, 221	Garakhōnna, vi,	309, 310
Garga Gāmgēya, title,	203	Garavapādu, vi,	348, 351, 355 & n.
Gana,	289	Gardabhilla, Ujjayini l,	274
Ganadanda, title,	289	Garuda standard on coins,	79, 84
Ganadanda, title of Virabhadra,	286	Garuda, figure of,	178, 182, 208, 212, 320
ganadanda-nāyaka, official,	289	Garuda seal,	224, 236, 249, 256
ganadanda-pāla, official,	289	Gatas,	325 & add, 326 & add
Ganadhara,	201, 204	Gāthā saptaśati, work,	242 & n.
garala, official,	156, 157	Gattipūndri, vi,	232, 235
Gānapate, samaya or school,	176 n	Gauda, co,	81, 89, 103, 239, 244
		Gauḍas, people,	94, 96, 98, 106, 306
		Gaulaśarman (Aichadēva), m,	294 & n.

N B—The figures refer to pages, *n* after a figure, to footnotes, and *add* to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used —*ch*, =chief, *co* =country, *di* =district or division, *do* =ditto, *dy* =dynasty; *E* =Eastern, *l* =lang, *m* =male, *mo* =mountain, *ri* =river, *s. a.* =same as, *sur* =surname, *te* =temple, *vi* =village or town, *w* =woman, *W.* =Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
<i>gaulmīla</i> , official,	306	Gorma, <i>ch</i> ,	201, 205
Gautama Buddha,	128	Gormma, <i>s a</i> Gormī,	203
Gāwarwād inscription,	201 <i>n</i>	Gōśahasra, <i>mahādāna</i> ,	162, 163, 165
Gayā,	179, 180, 181, 186	Gōtama, used for Gautama,	124
<i>gh</i> , used for <i>h</i> ,	236	Gōtuputa, <i>m</i> ,	158, 159 & <i>n</i>
Gharika, <i>m</i> ,	156, 157	gōtras—	
Ghaisāsagiri, <i>vi</i> ,	183, 185, 188 & <i>n</i> , 190, 193, 196	Ātrīya,	59, 60, 122, 124, 161, 163, 164, 183, 184, 187, 233, 235, 352, 355
Ghaisās, <i>sur</i> ,	256 & <i>n</i>	Aupamanyava,	306
Ghaligai, <i>vi</i> ,	20	Bhāradvāja, 1, 208, 209, 211, 213, 214, 217, 225, 226, 228, 231, 232, 234, 238, 249, 256, 299, 352, 355	
Ghanavajra Bij[rō]ja, <i>m</i> ,	233, 235 & <i>n</i>	Gārgya,	352 & <i>n</i> , 355
<i>ghajakayar</i> ,	117	Gautama,	122, 124, 352, 355
Ghatiyājī inscription of Kakkuka,	87, 88, 93, 94	Harīra,	352, 355
Ghatiyājī inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka,	94	Hārīta,	57
Ghatiyājī inscriptions,	91	Irādhitara (Rathitara),	122, 124 & <i>add</i>
Ghatōtlachagupta, <i>prince</i>	242	Jātūkarna or Jatākarna,	116, 122, 124
Ghazni, <i>vi</i> ,	278	Kappa or Kāpya,	122, 124
Ghōsha, <i>name ending</i> ,	75 <i>n</i>	Kāyapa,	63, 139, 143, 145, 292, 352, 355
Ghōshapādī, <i>vi</i> ,	62	Kondina or Kaundinya,	116, 124, 314, 315
Ghugrāhīti, <i>vi</i> ,	75	Kauśika,	285, 294, 321, 323, 324, 352, 355
Goa plates of Śaka 532,	258	Mādala or Māthara,	122, 124
Gobhadi, <i>m</i> ,	314, 315	Rauhita,	297
Gōgū Rānaka, <i>m</i> ,	251, 257	Sāndilya,	178, 180, 181, 309, 310
Gōkarna svāmin, <i>god</i> ,	309, 310	Sāndilyāyana,	257, 259, 260
Gōkarṇāśvara, <i>god</i> ,	196	Śrīvatsa,	352, 355
Gōkarnna, <i>tīrtha</i> ,	305	Vachohla or Vatsa, 219, 222, 224, 238, 250, 256, 285, 294, 295	
Gōkarṇāśvara, <i>s a</i> Gōkarṇāśvara,	192	Vaddamukha,	238, 249, 256
Gōla, <i>m</i> ,	327, 328	Vājhūla or Vādūla,	122, 124, 352, 355
Gōlakī-maṭha,	348 <i>n</i>	Yaska,	348 <i>n</i> , 352, 355
Gōlaśarman, <i>m</i> ,	294	Gōvāditya Bhaṭṭa, <i>m</i> ,	238, 250, 256
Gōla Shadangavid, <i>m</i> ,	249, 256	Gōvarddhanīryya, <i>m</i> ,	352, 355
Gōla Shadangavid, <i>s a</i> Gōla Shadangavid,	238	Gōvinda, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa</i> <i>l</i> ,	238, 251
Gōla tānīya,	328	Gōvinda I, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa</i> <i>l</i> ,	237, 238, 243
<i>gōmandī(nḍa)līla</i> , official,	156, 157	Gōvinda II, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa</i> <i>l</i> ,	239
Gōmilaka, <i>m</i> ,	126, 127	Gōvinda III, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa</i> <i>l</i> , 7, 94, 104 & <i>n</i> , 105 & <i>n</i> , 235, 239, 240, 241 & <i>n</i>	
Gommamāya, <i>m</i> ,	178, 180, 181	Gōvinda Bhaṭṭa, <i>m</i> ,	238, 249, 256
Gondophares, <i>l</i> ,	275	Gōvindachandra, <i>Gāhaḍavāla</i> <i>l</i> ,	219, 221, 226
Gōnchāka,	325, 326	Gōvindachandradēva, <i>s a</i> Gōvindachandra,	223, 225
Gōngaṇa (Konkana), <i>people</i> ,	116, 121	Gōvindapur, <i>vi</i> ,	300
Gōpa Chandra, <i>l</i> ,	81, 84	Gōvindapur, identified with Gōpīndra chōraka,	86
Gōpāla, <i>Gauḍa</i> <i>l</i> ,	239, 304	Gōvindarāja, <i>commentator</i> ,	317 <i>n</i>
Gōpalpur, <i>vi</i> ,	18, 19	grāma grāma,	4 <i>n</i>
Gōpālpur, <i>vi</i> ,	73		
Gōparāja, <i>ch</i> ,	82, 83		
Gōpīndra-chōraka, <i>vi</i> ,	77, 79, 86		
Gorava,	180		
Goravas, <i>Śaiva ascetics</i> ,	181 & <i>n</i>		

N B—The figures refer to pages, *n* after a figure, to footnotes, and *add* to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used —*ch* = chief, *co* = country, *di* = district or division, *do* = ditto; *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *l* = king, *m* = male, *mo* = mountain, *ri* = river, *s a* = same as, *sur* = sur name; *te* = temple, *vi* = village or town, *w* = woman, *W* = Western

	PAGE		PAGE
<i>grāma-kūṭa</i> official,	219, 256	Hānśūt plate of the Chahmīnī feudatory Phat	
Gudrahāra, <i>di</i> ,	315	trivaddha II,	163
Gudufara, <i>l</i> ,	262, 263, 270, 272, 273, 275, 279, 282	Haradara <intayya <i>m</i> ,	162, 195
Gudufara, <i>s a</i> Gondophares,	263	Haraha inscription,	82
Gudufara inscription,	278, 279, 280, 281, 282	Harī Bhatṭa, <i>m</i> ,	239, 250, 256
Guhāśa, <i>m</i> ,	291	Harichandra, <i>s a</i> Harichandra Pōhlladdhi	89 & n, 91, 95, 97, 103
Guhila II, <i>Guhilo</i> prince,	107	Harichandra Pōhlladdhi, <i>Prathikāra</i> I,	88, 90,
Gujarāt, <i>di</i> ,	321		91, 92, 93
Gujarāt, <i>s a</i> Gujarit,	91 n	Haridvār, <i>vi</i> ,	95
Gujaratte, <i>s a</i> Gurjaratrī,	91 n	Harigupta, <i>Pallava</i> I,	117, 150, 151
Gumsūr grant of Nētrībhañjadēva	301	Harihara, figure of,	182 n
Gumsūr, <i>vi</i> ,	301	Harihara <i>god</i> ,	183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188
Gunabhara, <i>epithet</i> of Mahēndrararman I,	150	Harihara, <i>Vijayaragara</i> I,	141, 141
Gunadhavala, <i>m</i> ,	251, 257	Harihara (II), <i>Vijayaragara</i> I,	139
Gunakānka (Gunagānka), <i>s a</i> Raktasa Ganga,	66	Hariputra (Arjuna),	214, 217
<i>Gunakānka</i> , <i>word</i> ,	66	Hariputra (Karna),	214, 217
Guṇārṇava, <i>Gāṅga</i> I,	307, 308	Harīśvarman, <i>m</i> ,	297, 309, 310, 311
Gunasaṅgara, <i>author</i> ,	65 & n, 66, 67	Harīchandra, <i>myth</i> I,	22, 26, 36
Gunasaṅgara-Bhatāra, <i>m</i> ,	67 & n	Harisuta (Bhīma),	214, 217 & n
Gundamayya, <i>m</i> ,	228, 231, 234	Harisuta (Yama),	214, 217
Guñjadēvaśarman, <i>m</i> ,	314, 315	Harita, <i>sage</i> ,	353 n
Guntēru, <i>vi</i> ,	235	Hārītiputra, <i>epithet</i> ,	2, 56, 59, 228, 258, 315
Gupta, <i>dy</i> ,	75, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 212, 248, 255	<i>Harinamā</i> , <i>word</i> ,	129 & n, 131 n, 133 n, 136 n
Gurjara or Gūrjjara, <i>co</i> ,	241, 243, 254	<i>Harivamśa</i> (Jaina), <i>word</i> ,	102, 239
Gurjara or Gūrjjara, <i>dy</i> ,	192, 195	Harjjara,	329
Gurjara, <i>people</i> ,	91, 103, 104, 105, 106, 189, 252	Harsha, <i>author</i> ,	130
Gūrjarāshtra, <i>s a</i> Gujarāt, <i>co</i> ,	201	Harsha, <i>l</i> ,	81
Gurjaratrī, <i>province</i> ,	90, 91 & n, 106	<i>Harshacharita</i> , <i>word</i> ,	90
Gurjara, <i>kingdom</i> ,	91, 93, 106, 205	Harsharāja, <i>Guhilo</i> prince,	106
Gurjara, <i>clan</i> ,	90, 91, 92, 93, 239	Harshavardhana, <i>Thānśar</i> I,	92
Gurjara kings of Broach,	91	Hasanābūd, <i>vi</i> ,	160
Gurjara-Pratihāra, <i>clan</i> ,	101, 102, 106	Hashtnagar inscription of the 5th Prōshtha	
Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, <i>genealogy</i> of—,	93, 100	pada 384,	280
Gūrjja rāshtra,	203	Hastigrāma, <i>vi</i> ,	302
Gwāhor, <i>vi</i> ,	99	Hastivarman, <i>Gūhga</i> I,	309
Gwalhor inscription or <i>prasasti</i> of Bhōja, 90 n, 93,	94, 100, 102	<i>has'yadhyaśha</i> , <i>official</i> ,	156, 308, 311
		<i>has'y āśv ūshtra</i> (a(ba)la <i>vyāprita</i> la, <i>official</i> ,	306
		<i>hasuge</i> ,	196, 212, 218
		<i>hāthārōha</i> , (?) <i>official</i> ,	156, 157
		Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravāla,	318 n & add
		<i>hāthavāla</i> , (?) <i>official</i> ,	156, 157
		Hēasi, <i>m</i> ,	156, 157
		Hēlāpura, <i>vi</i> ,	241, 246, 254
		Hēmākūṭa, <i>hill</i> ,	161, 163, 164
		Hēmāśvaratha, <i>mahādāna</i> ,	139, 143, 145
		Hidda epigraph of the year 28,	264

H

<i>h</i> , used for <i>p</i> ,	189
Haihaya, <i>myth</i> <i>k</i> ,	129, 132
Haihaya dynasty of Ratanpur,	289
Hāla, <i>author</i> ,	242 & n
Hālka, <i>m</i> ,	223, 224
Hammakabbe, <i>w</i> ,	173, 174, 176
Harisa, <i>symbol</i> on coin,	80

N B—The figures refer to pages, *n* after a figure, to footnotes, and *add* to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used —*ch* = chief, *co* = country, *di* = district or division, *do* = ditto, *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *k* = king, *m* = male, *mo* = mountain, *ri* = river, *s a* = same as, *sur* = surname, *te* = temple, *vi* = village or town, *w* = woman, *W* = Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
Himāchala, mo ,	243	Indravarmaṇ, Ch'lukya prince,	2, 4
Himādri (Himālaya), mo ,	210	Indravarmaṇ, Gāṅga k.,	307, 308, 309, 310
Himālyā, mo ,	105, 240, 252, 253	i, initial form of—,	146
Himavat (Himālaya),	245, 246	insignia (?) of Iḍaṅgai,	335
Him[i]ngana, m ,	160	Ipūr, vi ,	58
Hindol, state,	288 n	Irādhītara, used for Rathītara,	122
Hirābandh, tank,	152	Iraṣṣunaihehēri, vi ,	8, 11, 12, 14, 15
Hirahadagalli inscription of Sivashandavarman,	318 n	Irāmaṇ-Tāyan, m ,	344
hiramīnya, used for hiraṇya,	138	Irāmar Tiruvadi Kōyiladhikārigal, s. a Kula- śekhara Kōyiladhikārigal,	341
Hiranyagarbhā, mahādāna,	238, 239, 243, 252 & n	Irbba[ī],	34
Hiranyagarbhā, school of—,	176 n	Irbuli, vi ,	257, 259, 260
Hiranyāśi sūtra, work,	124	Irralū[r] Bōya, epithet of Durgasarmaṇ,	2, 4
Hiranyāksha, demon,	353 n.	Isalaka, m ,	327, 328
Hiranyavarman, Pallava l ,	116, 117, 121, 123	Iśvara, Vijayanagara l ,	161
Hüen Tshang (or Tsiang), pilgrim,	20, 91, 92, 95		
Hoolce, s a Hüli,	170 n	J	
kottalu,	183	j, used for y,	219
Kou Han shu, work,	276	j, changed into y,	283
Hüli, (Püli), vi ,	170 & n , 171	Jaehchihkū, w ,	285
Hüna, people,	91, 92, 306	jagada)a,	205
Huns, s a Hüna,	82	jagada)am,	201, 203
Huvishka, Kush na l ,	18	Jagadčkamalla, myth l ,	23, 27, 42, 52
Hydaspes (Jhelum), ri ,	130	Jagadčkamalla (II), Ch'ilukya l ,	173, 290 & n
Hydraotis (Rāvi), ri ,	130	Jagadčkamalladōva, Ch'ilukya k ,	175, 177
		Jagadčkamalla vijayī, epithet of Yaśabhañjadē- va,	290 & n , 298
I		Jagadčkamallavijayī,	298
Idangai, cub sect of Vēlai l'ras,	335, 337, 338	Jagadhara śarmaṇ, m ,	285, 299
Ikshvāku, myth l , 22, 26, 28, 34, 107, 108, 110,	111, 336, 337	Jagati, vi ,	300
Ilā, myth princess,	129, 132, 136	Jagattunga or °dēva, title of Govinda III, 238,	241, 246, 249, 253, 256
Ilām (= Ceylon),	24, 28, 29	Jaiminīya, vēdāntic samaya or school,	176 n
ilām pūtchi, parihāra,	122, 124	Jain, samaya, or school,	176 n.
Ilādurutti,	343	Jaintāmura, vi ,	303
Ilāṅgai(=Ceylon),	336	Jaipur,	288 n.
Ilāgunnappuḷa,	343 n	Jaipur (Northern),	290
Imperial Gupta dynasty,	242	Jaipur (Southern),	290
Imperial Pratihāra dynasty,	87, 89, 90, 94	Jaipuri=Jaipur Zamindari ?,	302
imlta, used for īnda,	138	Jaitugi I, Yūdava k ,	347 n
Indra IV, Rāshtrakūṭa l ,	241	Jajjukādēvi, queen of Nāgabhaṭa,	88, 90, 95, 98
Indra-Bhaṭṭāraka or Indrarāja, s a Indravar- maṇ,	2	Jalangī, vi ,	62
Indrarāja, Ch'ilukya k ,	229	Jaḷayūru, vi ,	58, 59, 60
Indrarāja, ch ,	105	Jamālgarhi inscription of tho 1st Aspaui (?), 359,	280
Indrarāja, Rāshtrakūṭa k , 105 n , 237, 238, 243, 252	89 n	Jamarāpura, vi ,	302
Indrarāja IV, Rāshtrakūṭa k ,	89 n	Jambupadraka (=Jamdā ?), vi ,	300
Indravarmaṇ, Ch'ilukya k ,	1, 2, 3, 4		

^a The figures refer to pages, *n* after a figure, to footnotes, and *add* to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used — *ch* = chief, *co* = country, *d* = district or division, *do* = ditto, *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *k* = king, *m* = male, *mo* = mountain, *r* = river, *s a* = same as, *sur* = surname, *te* = temple, *v* = village or town, *w* = woman, *W* = Western

	PAGE		PAGE
Jamnapur,	300, 301	Jñānaśakti Panditadēva, s a Jñānaśakti,	191, 194
Jamnavageṇa, v,	213, 216, 218	Jōdhpur inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka, 102, 103, 111 n	
Janadēva, m,	294	Jōdhpur State,	91
Jananāthamangalam, s a Pulanari (=modern Polonnaruva),	336	Jōdhpur, v,	87, 91
Jananāthanallūr (Vāyalūr), v,	145	Jōdhpur Pratihāra dynasty,	94
janapada,	289, 293, 295	Jōt (<i>yaṭa</i>), private property,	79 n
Janārdana Kuṇḍa, m,	76, 78	Jōt (<i>yōl rta</i>), land measure,	62 n
Janārdanāryya, m,	351, 355	Jōṭa, shortened form of Jōṭṭa,	79 n
Jāntā, m,	222, 224	Jōṭṭikā,	79 n, 86
Jōṭa, m,	126, 127	Jumna, r,	104 & n, 239, 252
Jatābādī, homestead,	86	Junāgadh State	339
Jatā Budi, w,	86	Junāgadh, v,	339
Jatvakaranna, s a Jātūkarna,	116, 122	Junaid, general,	93, 103
Jayachandra, Kanauj k,	158	Jupiter, planet,	340, 341, 345
Jayanāga, k,	62, 63	Jurz (-Gurjara),	93
Jayangondaśōla-maṇḍalam, d,	64, 69	Jyāmalla, Pallava k,	147 & n, 150, 151
Jayangonda-śōla-maṇḍalam = ancient Tondaimaṇḍalam,		gyēshhādīkharanīa, chief judge,	76, 78
Jayasūha, Ohālukya k,	321		
Jayasūha, Gurjarāshtra (Gurjara) k,	201, 205	K	
Jayasūha, Paramāra k of Mālwa,	201	k, doubling of—,	87
Jayasūha (I) Vallabha, Ohālukya k,	1 n, 55, 56, 57	Kābul, co,	275
Jayasūha (I), Ohālukya k,	229, 313 n, 315	Kābul valley,	278
Jayasūha (II), Ohālukya k,	229, 313 n, 314	Kacharis,	329
Jayasūhadēva, Gurjara k,	203	Kachchippēdu, v,	12, 15, 116, 122, 124
Jayasūha-Vallabha=Jayasūha II,	314, 315	Kachchippēdu, s a Conjeeveram,	9, 119
J[e]ddā-Bōla-kshētra,	314 n, 316	Kadakana kerc, (Kadaku tank),	192, 195
Jētavana, Buddhist sect,	331 n	Kādakka-Muttaraiyar, m,	117
jh, form of—,	189	Kadalibasanta, s a Kodolibosonto,	303
Jharivallikā, v,	238, 250, 256	Kadamba nādu,	342, 343, 344, 345
Jharivallikā, s a Zaroli,	243	Kadambavamsa, family,	288 n
Jhōṭa, Pratihāra k,	88, 96, 98	Kādambari, work,	66, 120 n
Jhōvada (?), m,	294	Kādāram,	25 n, 28, 29, 30
jihvāmūliya, use of—,	1; 307	Kadphises I, Kushāna k,	270, 275, 277
Jīmūtakṛtu, myth k,	130, 248, 255	Kadphises II, Kushāna k,	275, 276
Jīmūtavāham, Bōdhisattva,	130	Kādapatṭi=Pallava,	7
Jina (the Buddha),	129, 337	Kādapatṭi-Tamīla-pūraraiyan, title,	8
Jina, figure of,	172	Kaduvanūr, v,	9
Jinasēna, author,	239	Kahla plate inscription of Sōdhadēva,	129, 136 n
Jivādāman (I), Kshatrapa k,	339, 340	Kailāsa, mo,	48, 135
Jivādatta, m,	75, 76, 78	Kailāsanātha temple inscription,	146
Jivita-Gupta, Gupta k,	82	Kākati, v,	347, 348, 349, 351, 354
Jñānaśakti, Jaina saint, 189, 190, 191, 194, 205, 206, 207		Kākatiya, dy,	346 n, 347 & n
Jñānaśaktidēva, s a Jñānaśakti,	192	Kākandivāda,	58, 59, 60
		Kākartya Gundyana, ck,	348
		Kakka, Pratihāra l,	88, 89, 90, 94, 95, 96, 98, 106

The figures refer to pages, n after a figure, to footnotes, and add to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used —ch. =chief, co =country, d =district or division, do =ditto, dy =dynasty, E =Eastern, l =king, m =male, mo =mountain, r =river, s a =same as, sur =surname, te =temple, v =village or town, w =woman, W =Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
Kakluka, <i>s a</i> Kaku(t)stha, .	100, 111 & n	Kalinganagara, <i>vi</i> , .	309, 310, 311, 312
Kakkuka, <i>Pratiṣṭhāra k</i> , .	88 & n, 89 & n, 90,	<i>Kalingathupparant</i> , <i>work</i> , 25 n, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31,	
	91, 93, 107, 111 & n		31 & n, 49 n, 51 n, 53 n, 54 n
Kakustha (Kakutstha), <i>Pratiṣṭhāra prince</i> , 107, 111 & n		Kali Vishnuvardhana, <i>Chālukya k</i> , .	229
Kaku(t)stha, <i>myth l</i> , .	107 & n, 110	Kalkuṭṭiga-gere (Stonemason's tank), .	179
Kakutstha, <i>epithet of Purañjaya</i> , .	22, 26, 35	Kalluvi, <i>ri</i> , .	242, 250, 256
Kāla (Yama), .	110 n, 192, 195, 230	Kalluvi, <i>s a</i> Kālū, .	243
Kalabhānana (Gaṇapati), .	140	Kālū, <i>ri</i> , .	243
Kālabhartṛ, <i>Pallava l</i> , .	147, 148, 149, 150, 151	Kaḷugumalai, <i>vi</i> , .	67
Kalabhras, <i>people</i> , .	116, 121, 123	Kalvakuru, <i>vi</i> , .	228
Kalachuri, <i>dy</i> , .	128, 129	<i>Kal vesam</i> , .	201, 203
Kalachurya or Kalachurya, <i>dy</i> , 192, 195,		Kalyan, <i>vi</i> , .	320 n
	209, 211, 215, 218	Kalyāna, <i>vi</i> , .	28, 29, 30
Kāladriya Bōlagadi (Bōdagaḍi), <i>ch</i> , .	173, 174, 176	Kalyāṇakalasa, <i>sur of vēṭṭibhaṭṭadēva</i> , .	284,
Kālabasti, <i>vi</i> , .	23		286, 287, 293, 295
Kālalāchārya, <i>m</i> , .	274	Kalyānapura, <i>vi</i> , .	25, 27, 46, 54
Kālakāchāryakathānala, <i>work</i> , .	273, 274, 276	Kalyānu, <i>vi</i> , .	290 n
<i>Lalam</i> , .	29	Kāmakkāṇappaḷḷi, <i>vi</i> , .	342, 343, 344, 345
Kāḷāṇjana (Kāḷāṇjara), <i>vi</i> , 208, 209, 211, 213,		Kāmanāryya, <i>m</i> , .	352, 355
	215, 218	Kāmandaliya nūṭisāra, <i>work</i> , .	112 n, 113 n
Kāḷāṇmukha school, .	176 n, 191, 194, 205, 206	Kāmāri, <i>vi</i> , .	302
Kalappāl, <i>ri</i> , .	68	Kamauli plates, .	222 n
Kaḷaṇṭṭaravār, <i>s a</i> Śīramāṇperumāḷ-Nāyaṇār,	68	Kambaṇ Arāyan, <i>m</i> , .	118
Kaḷas inscription of Śaka 851, .	194 n	Kāmcnāryya, <i>m</i> , .	352, 355
Kalāṇṭṭavalligēri, 174, 176, 178, 183, 184, 185,		Kamṇharadēva, <i>Rāshṭrakūṭa k</i> , .	203
	187 & n, 188 & n, 190, 193, 196, 197, 198,	Kampili, .	28
	199, 210, 212	Kāṇṭṭāgama, <i>work</i> , .	72
Kaḷaṇṭṭā, <i>s a</i> Kalaṇṭṭēvara, .	199	Kāṇṭṭa, <i>epic hero</i> , .	211
Kalaṇṭṭēvara, <i>god</i> , .	197, 198, 199	Kambōja, <i>people</i> , .	305
Kalavali, <i>poem</i> , .	28, 29, 30	Kānāda, <i>śamaya</i> or <i>school</i> , .	176 n
Kaldarra epigraphs, .	262, 263, 279, 280	Kānagōpa, <i>Pallava l</i> , .	149, 150, 151
Kāṇṭṭāsa, <i>poet</i> , .	196, 346	Kanaka, <i>Kaḷachuri k</i> , .	129
Kāṇṭṭāsa (I) (Kāṇṭṭamayya), <i>m</i> , .	213, 215, 217	Kanakabhaṇja or Kanakabhaṇjadēva, <i>Bhaṇja l</i> , .	286, 292
Kāṇṭṭāsa II, <i>m</i> , .	213, 215, 217	Kanakādri, <i>myth mo</i> , .	209, 214
Kalidēva, <i>m</i> , .	173, 176, 178	Kanakamaliāchala, <i>myth mo</i> , .	180
Kalidēvayya-Setṭi, <i>m</i> , .	190, 193, 196	Kanakarāma, <i>m</i> , .	5
Kalighat hoard, .	84	Kanaṇṭṭ, <i>kingdom</i> , .	92, 101, 105
Kalikāla° or Karikāla Chōḷa, <i>myth k</i> , .	347,	Kāñchānā, <i>queen of Lakshmanarājadēva</i> (II), 129,	
	348, 350, 354		134, 137
Kāḷmaṇḍai Chadangavi, <i>m</i> , .	122, 124	Kāñchi (Conjeeveram), <i>vi</i> , 7, 58, 148, 149, 241,	
Kāḷmayya, <i>m</i> , .	208, 209, 211		246, 254
Kāḷinda, <i>Pallava k</i> , .	147, 150, 151	Kāñchipuram, <i>s a</i> Kāñchi, <i>vi</i> , .	117
Kalunga, <i>co</i> , 25, 27, 45, 47, 54, 104, 105, 108,		Kandāṇ Mādavan, <i>m</i> , .	64, 68, 69
	112, 240, 241, 245, 246, 253, 254, 307, 309,	Kandōruvādi or Kāndravādi, <i>s a</i> Gaṇḍēruvāṭi, .	56
	310, 331 n	Kandūru Gana, .	201, 202, 204

° The figures refer to pages, *n* after a figure, to footnotes, and *add* to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used — *ch* = chief, *co* = country, *di* = district or division, *do* = ditto, *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *l* = king, *m* = male, *mo* = mountain, *ri* = river, *s a* = same as, *sur* = surname, *te* = temple, *vi* = village or town, *w* = woman, *W* = Western

	PAGE
Kanhara, <i>s a</i> Kṛishna III, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k</i> , 201, 205	
Kanishka, <i>Kushāna l</i> , 18, 267, 276, 277, 280, 281, 282	
Kanishka casket from Shāh-jī kī dhērī,	16, 18
Kānker State,	349
Kannada,	29
Kannī, <i>s a</i> Kanyā,	341
Kannī kāvalan, <i>title of Pāndya kings</i> ,	21
Kānsōnā, Kānsōnā or Kannasonnaa, <i>s a</i> Karnasuvarnaka,	62
Kantēru, <i>s a</i> Gandēru, <i>vi</i> ,	56
Kapṭhukā Vijayāditya,	230
Kanyā, <i>rūsi</i> ,	341
Kanyā bhatārakī,	55
Kānya° or Kanyakubja (Kanua),	101, 221, 223, 225
Kanyākumārī inscription or <i>grasasti</i> , 23, 24, 25, 26, 31	
Kanyākumārī, <i>vi</i> ,	21
Kanyā-Pidāryār, <i>goddess enshrined at Kanyā-kumārī</i> ,	26
Kao fu (Kābul), <i>co</i> ,	276, 278
Kāpālmangalam, <i>vi</i> ,	342, 343, 344, 345
Kapila, <i>sage</i> ,	36, 50
Kāpila, <i>śamaya</i> or <i>school</i> ,	176 n
Kapsha, <i>s a</i> Kujūla Kadphises,	279, 280, 282
Karahada, <i>dī</i> ,	238, 249, 256
Kārākhandī, <i>canal</i> ?,	311
Karāja, <i>Pallava k</i> ,	148, 150, 151
Kāraikāl (Karikal), <i>vi</i> ,	7
Kārambicheṭtu, <i>vi</i> ,	122, 124
<i>Varana</i> , <i>official</i> ,	293, 295
Kāramchēdu, <i>vi</i> ,	228, 232, 234 & n
<i>karamka</i> , <i>official</i> ,	77, 79, 223, 224 & n, 225, 226
Kardā grant,	241 n
Karhad grant,	241 n
Karhādā Brāhmaṇs,	238, 256 n
Karkāśaśōja-Pallavaraiyan, <i>s a</i> Śēkkulār,	68
Kārigai, <i>work</i> ,	69
Kārigai <i>s a</i> Yāpparungalakkarigai, <i>work</i> ,	69
Kārigai Kulattūr <i>s a</i> Kulattūr,	64, 68, 69
Kārigai-[Yāppu], <i>s a</i> Yāpparungalakkarigai,	69
Karkāla or °Chōla myth <i>k</i> ,	23, 27, 29, 41, 52
Karkāla or °Chōla, <i>s a</i> Vira-Rājendra-dēva,	25, 26, 27, 47, 48, 54, 55
<i>karī-turaga-pattan-ākara-sthāna-gōkul-ādīkārīn</i> , <i>official</i> ,	221
Karkaktai <i>vi</i> ,	162, 163, 165

	PAGE
Karkarāja, <i>ch</i> ,	105 & n
Karkataka, <i>rūsi</i> ,	340, 341, 341, 345
Karkka, or Karkkarāja I, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa l</i> ,	237, 238, 243, 252
Karkka II, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k</i> ,	238
Kārle, <i>vi</i> ,	325
Karma <i>rāshtra</i> , <i>dī</i> ,	228, 231, 234, 257, 258, 259, 260, 314, 315
Karmmakāra tatāka, <i>tanī</i> ,	259, 260
Karna (Karnna), <i>epic hero</i> ,	205 n, 217, 305
Karnasuvarna, <i>s a</i> Karnasuvarnaka,	62
Karnasuvarnaka, <i>vi</i> ,	62, 63
Karnāṭa, <i>family</i> ,	27
Karnnāta, <i>people</i> ,	306
Kartābhajā, <i>sect</i> ,	62
Kārtta, <i>Kalachuri k</i> ,	129
Kārttavīrya, <i>myth k</i> ,	132, 136 & n, 137 n
<i>Varua</i> ,	183, 185, 188
Kārvētinagar, <i>vi</i> ,	65
Kāśākudī plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla,	5 n, 14 n, 15 n, 117, 147, 148, 149
Kāśī (Benares),	220
Kasī, <i>vi</i> ,	18, 19, 128
Kasī copper plate inscription,	18 n
Kāśyapa or Kāśyapa, <i>sage</i> ,	22, 26, 28, 33, 49, 292
Kātāgāngā, <i>canal</i> ,	85
Kāṭakṣa,	233, 235 n
Kāṭāha, <i>co</i> ,	25, 27, 45, 54
Kāthūnāwār, <i>dī</i> ,	273, 339
Kāṭīśarman, <i>m</i> ,	55, 57
Kattiyagēri, <i>vi</i> ,	183, 186, 189, 190, 192, 193, 196, 208, 210, 212, 213, 216, 218
Kāttumannārkkōyī, <i>vi</i> ,	24
Kaumāra, <i>śamaya</i> or <i>school</i> ,	176 n
Kauśāmbī, identified with Kosam,	158
Kauṭilya, <i>author</i> ,	156
<i>Kavachasamānapāṭaka</i> ,	223 n
Kavadiya Mādī Gauda, <i>s a</i> Mādī Gauda,	206
Kavērahanyā or Kavērasutā (Kāvērī), <i>ri</i> ,	39, 163
Kāvērī, <i>ri</i> , 7, 22, 23, 27, 28, 29, 30, 38, 41, 51, 52, 64, 139, 140, 141, 142, 144, 145, 161, 162,	165, 167, 169
Kāvīrppūmpattinam, <i>vi</i> ,	65
Kāvyādarśa, <i>work</i> ,	67
Kāvyāvalōka, <i>work</i> ,	66

° The figures refer to pages, n after a figure, to footnotes, and add to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used — *ch* = chief, *co* = country, *dī* = district or division, *do* = ditto; *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *k* = king, *m* = male, *mo* = mountain, *ri* = river, *s a* = same as, *sur* = surname, *te* = temple, *vi* = village or town, *w* = woman, *W* = Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
kāyastha, community, . . .	74, 75 n, 257	Khēṭaka (Kaira), vi, . . .	238, 243, 252
Kēdāra, tirtha, . . .	180, 186, 305	lhi, form of—, . . .	155
Kendara Kēta, m, . . .	171, 172	Khichung or Kiching, vi, . . .	289, 300, 301
Kendara Marasūnga, m, . . .	171, 172	Khujjunga (=Kiching), vi, . . .	300, 301
Kenwood House, . . .	304	Khujjunggā or Khujjunga, s a Khiching, . . .	289
Keonjhar, s a Khinṇjali, . . .	289, 292	Khujjunga koṭṭa, . . .	303
Keonjhar State, . . .	288, 291, 292, 300	Khujjunga Koṭṭa-Khiching, . . .	300, 303
Kēraja, co, . . .	24, 241, 246, 254, 333, 341, 342	Khumdi, identified with Khimjali, . . .	292
Kēralas, people . . .	116, 121, 123, 336	Khinṇjali or Khinṇjali, di, . . .	285, 289, 292
Kēralōtpatti, work, . . .	343	Khinṇini, misreading for Khimjali, . . .	292
Kere Siddhappa, te, . . .	170, 196	Khinṇjali mandala=Keonjhar State, . . .	300, 303
Kēśava, m, . . .	127	Khinṇjali mandala, di, . . .	300
Kēśava, m, . . .	75, 77, 79, 178, 180, 182, 287, 296	Khipatti, m, . . .	156, 157
Kēśava Bhatta, m, . . .	185, 188	Kidāram, . . .	53 n
Kēśavadēva, m, . . .	285, 287 & n	Kilīnadigal, Kērala princess, . . .	341
Kēśavāditya, god, 175, 177, 185, 188, 192, 195, . . .	197, 198, 203, 204	Kilhi, myth l, . . .	29
Kēśavāditya, m, . . .	184, 187	Kil Paisāram, vi, . . .	9, 12, 15
Kēśava Galuyasahāsa, m, . . .	238, 250, 256	Kilvali-Vāgūr-nādu, di, . . .	8, 11, 14
Kēśavanāshō ?, . . .	157	Kimidi, di, . . .	291
Kēśavāryya, m, . . .	352, 355	Ki pin, di, . . .	275, 278
Kēśavaśarman, m, . . .	59, 60	Kirārī, vi, . . .	152, 153, 154
Kētumūla, myth k, . . .	23, 27, 40, 51	Kirāta, co, . . .	104, 108, 112
Khachara (Sun), . . .	210	Kirātārjunīyam, work, . . .	167
Khaddavali=Kodavali, . . .	317, 318, 319	Kirimāmbākkam, vi, . . .	9
Khaduvāpali, . . .	300	Kirimānpātti, s a Kirimāmbākkam, . . .	9
Khalif Hasham, . . .	93	Kirimānpātti, vi, . . .	12, 15
Khalumpur grant of Dharmmapālaadēva, . . .	79 n, 104 n	Kirti, Sinhalese prince, . . .	332
Khamba or Stambha, m, . . .	287 & n	Kirti° or Kirtivarman I, Chā'ul'ya l, . . .	1, 2, 4, 55, 56, 57, 89 n, 257, 258, 259
Khandadeuli, vi, . . .	291, 303	Kirtinārāyana, epithet of Gōvinda III, . . .	240, 245, 253
Khandadeuli grant of Ranabhañjadēva (Narēn-drabhañjadēva), . . .	291, 303	Kirtivarman-Prithivivallabha, s a Kirtivarman . . .	257, 260
khaṇḍala, territorial division, . . .	78 n	Kurti, ch, . . .	201, 203, 205
khaṇḍapāla, official, . . .	298	Kirtti, meritorious work, . . .	114 n.
Khandapara, state, . . .	288 n	Kirttigiri, s a Luachchhagira (=Deogarh), . . .	125
khaṇḍaraksha, official, . . .	306	Kirtivarman II, Chālukya k, . . .	89 n
Khaṇḍichandra, m, . . .	308, 311	kiśōra vadavā gō mahishy aj-āvil ādhyaksha, offi- . . .	306
Khaṇḍichandra-Bhōgika, m, . . .	308	kiśuvāyara Ravikamayya Nāyaka, m, . . .	178, 179, 181
khaṇḍikā, measure, . . .	60	kkramāgata, used for kramāgata, . . .	125
Khandimalipā, m., . . .	313 & n	Kōdandarāma, s a Ādityavarman, Chōja l, . . .	23, 42, 52
khāri, land measure, . . .	232, 233, 234, 235	Kōdandarāmēśvara, te, . . .	23, 24
Khasa, people, . . .	306	Kodavali, vi, . . .	316
Khātiyā, vi, . . .	300	Kodolibosonto, . . .	303
Khātiyā vishaya, di, . . .	300	Koeti (East Borneo), co, . . .	152 n, 153
khaṭvānga-dhvaja, insignia, . . .	117	Kōkkil, Chālukya l, . . .	229
Khērēshwar Mahādeo, te, . . .	224 & n		

N B —° The figures refer to pages, n after a figure, to footnotes, and add to the additions on pp vii to x The following other abbreviations are used —ch = chief, co = country, di = district or division, do = ditto, dy = dynasty, E = Eastern, l = king, m = man, mo = mountain, r = river, s a = same as, sur = surname, te = temple, vi = village or town, w = woman, W = Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
Kokkuligēri, 190, 192, 193, 196, 208, 210, 212, 213, 216, 218		Koṭayagada, vi,	302
Kōlāla, ii,	201, 205	Kōṭi, di,	225
Kōlālapura, s a Kōlāla (Kolhāpura),	201	Kotiara Metropolis, s a Kōttāru,	21
Kōlālapuravarādhīvara, title of Puṭṭa,	203	Kōṭi-pattal, di,	226
Kolhāpur, ii,	241, 242	Kotrangudi plates of Nandivarman II,	115
Kōllanāryya, m,	352, 355	Kottabhaṇṇa (-ilābhaṇṇa I), Bhaṇṇa k,	286, 291
Komaria Akron, s a Kanyākumārī,	21	Kottagāram (gōshth -grīha),	119, 122
Komar, s a Kanyākumārī,	21	Kottāja-vāvi, well,	208, 209, 211
Kombaru, vi,	122, 124	Kōṭṭapāla, official,	306
Kōmmanāryya, m	352, 355	Kottara, s a Kōttāru,	21
Kōmmara, ii,	58, 59, 60	Kōttāru, vi,	21
Kōmyāna, ii,	285, 299, 302, 303	Kōttāśramatapōvana Kuting,	300
Konālagēri (?),	183, 186, 189	Kōttayam Plates of Sthānu-Ravi,	69, 341, 343
Kōnāvada, vi,	223 n	Kōttayam plates of Vira-Rāghava-Chakravartī,	69
Kondanagūru, ii,	1, 2, 3, 4	Kotwālpārā spurious grant of Samāchāra-Dēva,	74
Kondav[e]rupūr, ii,	258, 259, 260	Kōvai,	65 n.
Kondavīdu identified with Kondav[e]rupūr,	258	Kōyilolugu, work,	31, 139, 140
Kondina, s a Kaundinya,	116, 124	Kramavittanār-Kūja Bhaṭṭa, m,	122, 124
Kondivarman, ch,	2, 3, 4	Krauñcha, mo.,	351, 354
Kōneya-Malla (?) Kṛmīta, m,	186, 188	Kṛmīlā-vishaya, di,	306
Kongarājanellūr,	165, 166, 167, 168, 169	Kṛṣṇa, m,	139
Kōngēda, vi,	290	Kṛṣṇa I, Rāshtrakūṭa I,	239
Kōnkana, di,	29, 321, 323, 324	Kṛṣṇa III, Rāshtrakūṭa I,	24
Konkanas people	116, 123	Kṛṣṇarāja(Kṛṣṇa III), Rāshtrakūṭa I.,	24, 27, 43, 53
Kōnkani, Pallava I	147, 150, 151	Kṛṣṇarāja, Kṛṣṇadēvarāja or Kṛṣṇadēva-mahārāja, Vijayanagara k,	161, 162, 164, 165, 166, 169
Konkanī Ganga k,	7	Kṛṣṇnarāyapuram, s a Ennakudi,	163, 164
Konkanika Pallava I.	7, 10, 13	Kṛṣṇnarāyapuram s a Vadambūr-Ēkāmbarapuram,	165, 167, 168, 169
Konnūr inscription of Amōghavarsha of Śaka 782, 235, 236, 237		Kṛṣṇnēśvara, m,	97, 99
Konomonā, ii,	302	Kṛtavīrya, myth k,	129, 136 n
Koṇṭarāvanga viśhva, di,	285, 299, 302, 303	Kṛvī, family,	232, 234
Kōntinṭhi (Kontinvi) s a Kontuani,	300	Iśa(Ishē)trapa, official,	306
Kontinvi s a Kontuani,	300	Kshatrapa, title,	272, 275, 277, 339
Koṇṭtaya-gaḷa,	303	Kshatrasīmha, epithet of Rīyasīmha II,	149, 151, 152
Kontuani, vi,	300	Kshatṛiyamalla, sur of Nandivarman II,	116
Kopāsīmha,	302	Kshujjīga Kotta, s a Khujjīga,	300
Koppa or Koppam,	25, 28, 29, 30	Kubāra, m,	285, 236
Koppam, vi,	257	Kubja-Vishnuvardhana (I), Chālukya k,	229
Korandiyū, di,	300	Kūdal (Madura),	28
Korūjijyā, ii,	300	Kūdal Kūdal sangamam, or Kūṭal sangama,	25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 46, 54
Kōśāla, co,	240, 245, 253	Kūdalsaravāḷa-Nayinār, m,	139
Kosam, vi,	158 & n, 160	kudavā, s a kulyāvāpa ?,	79 n
Kōśika (Kausika), srgē,	36, 53		
Kotālpādā, vi,	84, 85, 86 & n		

N B.—° The figures refer to pages, n after a figure, to footnotes, and add to the additions on pp vii to x. The following abbreviations are used —ch = chief, co = country, di = district or division, do = ditto, dy = dynasty, E = Eastern, I = king, m = man, mo = Mountain, ri = river, s a = same as, sur = surname, te = temple, vi = village or town, w = woman, W = Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
<i>kuḍipati</i> , headman of village,	342, 343, 344	Kunda, name ending,	75 n
Kujūla Kadphises, or Kujū'a Kara Kadphises,		Kūṇḍi or Kūṇḍi Three thousand,	173, 174, 176
<i>Kushāna l</i> ,	270, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280	Kunṛattūr, <i>v</i> ,	68
Kukṭa, <i>m</i> ,	159	Kunṛattūr nādu, <i>d</i> ,	67, 68
<i>lūlam</i> , parishāra,	122, 124	Kūram plates of Paramē varavaiṁan I,	147
Kulamānikyanallūr alias Nāochikrurchu, <i>v</i> ,	139, 141, 142, 145	Kuravaśūri, <i>v</i> ,	122, 124
Kulaśekhara, author,	342	Kurram, <i>v</i> ,	16, 20
Kulaśekhara-Ālvār, <i>Vaiśṇava saint</i> ,	342	Kuru, myth <i>l</i> ,	7, 10, 11, 13, 14
Kulaśekhara or Kulaśekhara Kōyiladhikāṅga],		Kurukshētra,	179, 180, 181, 186
<i>Chēra l</i> ,	340, 341, 342, 344, 345	Kuśanagara, identified with Kasiā,	128
Kulaśekhara Chakravartiga], <i>s a</i> Kulaśekhara		Kusapāla, <i>m</i> ,	158, 159
Kōyiladhikāṅga],	341	Kushāṇa, <i>dy</i> , 269, 270, 271, 273, 275, 277, 278, 282	
Kulaśekharaḍva, <i>Kēraḷa k</i> ,	341, 342	Kushānas, people,	270
Kulaśekhara pPerumāl <i>s a</i> Kulaśekhara		Kusula Padika, <i>s a</i> Paṭika,	272
Kōyiladhikāṅga],	341	Kutkuṭa grāma, <i>v</i> ,	62, 63, 64
Kulattūr, <i>v</i> ,	64, 67, 69	Kūttap, author,	30
kulavāra (arbitrator ?),	77, 79 n	kuttumbitt,	189, 191, 193
kulavāya, land measure,	79 n	Kuvalālapura, <i>s a</i> Kōlālapura, (<i>s e</i> , Kōlūr),	291 n
Kulika, people,	306	Kuvalāśva, myth <i>k</i> ,	22, 26 35, 49
Kulika, serpent,	215, 218	Kuṇḍa Kapsha,	277
kulī(la)putra, official,	157		
Kuḷitturai, <i>r</i> ,	21		
Kulōttunga, Kulōttunga Chōla (I) or Kulōt-			
tunga Chōladva, <i>Chōla k</i> , 25 n, 29, 64, 67,	69, 332, 333, 334		
Kulōttunga II, <i>Chōla k</i> ,	68		
Kulōttungaśōla-valanādu, <i>d</i> ,	68		
<i>Kulōttunga-śōlan ulā</i> , work,	26, 29, 49 n, 53 n		
Kulūta, <i>co</i> ,	24 & n, 25, 27, 45, 47, 53, 54		
kulyāvāpa, land measure,	76, 77, 79 & n, 86		
Kumārachandra, <i>m</i> ,	285, 298		
Kumāra Gupta, <i>Gupta l</i> ,	79, 81, 84 n		
Kumāra Gupta I, <i>Gupta l</i> ,	81, 83, 242		
Kumāra Gupta II, <i>Gupta k</i> ,	81, 82		
Kumāra Gupta III, <i>Gupta l</i> ,	84		
Kumārakkudi, <i>v</i> ,	139, 142, 145		
Kumāra-krama-Tiruvēdi, <i>m</i> ,	122, 124		
Kumārāsarma Chadaṅgavi, <i>m</i> ,	122, 124		
Kumārāsāmīn, author,	348		
Kumāravishnu, <i>Pallava k</i> ,	147, 148, 149, 150, 151		
Kumari, <i>s a</i> Kanyākumārī,	26		
Kumari, <i>v</i> ,	48		
Kummangi, <i>v</i> ,	122, 124		
Kumurukelā, <i>v</i> ,	303		
Kumurukelā grant of Śatrubhaṣṭjadēva,	291, 303		
Kuṁṭaḷa or Kuntaḷa, <i>co</i> , 183, 184, 186, 201, 202, 204			

L

<i>l</i> , changed into <i>l</i> ,	178, 182
<i>l</i> , replaced by <i>l</i> ,	314
<i>l</i> , replaced by <i>l</i> ,	207
<i>l</i> , replaced by <i>l</i> and <i>r</i> ,	189, 201, 213
<i>l</i> , use of—,	147
<i>l</i> , used in Sanskrit,	1
<i>l</i> , wrong use of—,	189
Laccadive Islands,	152 n
Lachchalādēvi, <i>s a</i> Lachchale,	174, 176
Lachchiyabbarasi, <i>s a</i> Lachchale,	174, 175,
.	176, 177, 178
Lachchiyabbe or Lachchale, <i>w</i> ,	173, 174, 176
Lāhula, <i>m</i> ,	225, 226
Lakhā Mandal <i>prastā</i> ,	125
Lakkarasa, <i>m</i> ,	189, 191, 193
Lakshadvīpa, <i>s a</i> Laccadive Islands,	152 n
Lakshmana, epic hero,	22, 26, 37, 50, 90, 100,
.	110 & n, 111 n
Lakshmana (I), <i>Kalachuri k</i> ,	129, 133, 137 & n
Lakshmana (II), <i>Kalachuri k</i> ,	129, 134, 137
Lakshmana rāja, <i>Kalachuri k</i> ,	129, 137 & n
Lakshmanarāja II <i>s a</i> Lakshmana II,	129, 137 n
Lakshmanarājadēva (III), <i>Kalachuri k</i> ,	134, 137 & n

N B—° The figures refer to pages *n* after a figure, to footnotes, and *add* to the additions on page *vn* to *x*. The following other abbreviations are used —*ch* = chief, *co* = country *di* = district or division, *do* = ditto, *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *k* = king, *m* = man, *mo* = mountain, *r* = river, *s a* = same as; *sur* = surname, *te* = temple, *v* = village or town, *w* = woman, *W* = Western

	PAGE		PAGE
Mahābalipuram, <i>vi</i> ,	145, 146	Mahātāntra, <i>division of Vēlaṅkārā forces</i> , 332,	334, 338
Mahābhārata, <i>epic</i> , 7, 110 <i>n</i> , 113 <i>n</i> , 114 <i>n</i> , 130,	225, 342, 345 & <i>n</i>	Māhāto <i>s a</i> Mahattara,	78 <i>n</i>
Mahābhārata war,	28, 29	Mahattaka,	251, 257
Mahābhāshya, <i>work</i> ,	154	Mahattara kuṭumvin(mbin)	306
mahā dāna,	239	Mahattara, <i>title</i>	78 <i>n</i> , 249
mahā daṇḍanāyaka, <i>official</i> ,	306	Mahāvagga, <i>work</i> ,	19
mahā dauhsādhāsādhaniḥ, <i>official</i> ,	306	Mahāvamsa, <i>work</i> , 72 <i>n</i> , 73, 331, 332, 333, 336	
Mahādēva, <i>s a</i> Mahādēva, . 210, 212 & <i>n</i> , 215, 217		Mahāvihāra, <i>Buddhist ect.</i> ,	331 <i>n</i>
Mahādēva, <i>m</i> ,	183, 187, 208, 213, 294	Mahāvratā, <i>Śaiva school</i> ,	176 <i>n</i>
Mahādēva or °rāja, <i>Kālatīya l</i> , . 347 & <i>n</i> , 351, 354		Mahēndra, <i>mo</i> ,	309, 310, 311, 312
mahā kārtaṅkṛitika, <i>official</i> ,	306	Mahēndragiri, <i>vi</i> ,	24 <i>n</i>
Mahākōśala kings,	289	Mahēndrapāla or° dēva, <i>Kanauj l</i> ,	106 & <i>n</i>
Mahākshatrapa, <i>title</i>	267, 272, 275, 339, 340	Mahēndravarman, <i>Pallava l</i> ,	150, 151
mahā kumār-āmātya, <i>official</i> ,	306	Mahēndravarman I, <i>Pallava l</i> ,	146 <i>n</i> , 150
Mahal,	289	Mahēndravarman III, <i>Pallava k</i> ,	58
mahā-mahattara, <i>official</i> ,	309, 310, 311	Māhēśvara, <i>samaya or school</i> ,	176 <i>n</i> .
Mahāmalla, <i>epithet of Rājāsīmha II</i> , 149, 151, 152		Mahēśvaraśikhāmapūḍiptamaulih, <i>epithet of Rāja-</i>	
Mahamatā, <i>w</i> ,	328	<i>sīmha II</i> ,	149, 151
Mahānadi, <i>ri</i> ,	152, 300, 302, 303	Mahichandra, <i>Gāhadavāla k</i> ,	220
mahānasika, <i>official</i> ,	156, 157	Mahinda V, <i>Ceylon l</i> ,	332
mahānavami, <i>tithi</i> ,	259, 260, 261	Mahipāla I, <i>Pāla l</i> ,	89 <i>n</i> .
Mahāparinirvāna,	128	Mahishmān, <i>Kalachuri k</i> ,	129
Mahā-parinirvāṇa Chaitya,	20	Mahōdaya or Kanauj, <i>vi</i> ,	239
mahā-pratīhāra, <i>official</i> ,	306, 311, 313 & <i>n</i>	Mahōdayapura, <i>vi</i> ,	343 <i>n</i> .
Mahārāja, <i>title</i> , . 1, 231, 234, 278, 282, 309,	310, 311, 312, 314, 315	Mahilaladēvi, <i>w</i> ,	201, 203, 205
Mahārājādhirāja, <i>title</i> , 26, 48, 54, 62, 75, 76,		Maurāvana,	193, 196 & <i>n</i>
78, 81, 90, 174, 175, 179, 183, 191, 197,		maṭara, <i>figure of—</i> ,	207
202, 215, 221, 223, 225, 226, 237, 238, 249,	256, 306, 322	Makara rūsi,	341
mahārāja mahata, <i>title</i> ,	277	Makaradhvaja, <i>sur of Viṣṇuvardhana I</i> , 55, 56, 57	
Maharaja rajatiraja, <i>title</i> ,	277	Malai nādu,	29, 53 <i>n</i>
Mahārājas of Uchchakalpa,	83	Malayālar, <i>sub-sect of Vēlaṅkārās</i> , 335, 336, 337, 338	
Māhīrīya Śarvan or Śarva, <i>title of Amoghavar-</i>		Maḷa-nādu, <i>di</i> ,	139, 141, 145
<i>sha I</i> ,	240, 246, 253	Mālapayya (Mālayya), <i>m</i> ,	213, 214, 217
Maharaja-Śarvan, <i>name of Dantidurga</i> ,	239	Mālapayya, <i>m</i> ,	208, 209, 211, 213, 214, 215, 217
Mahārājāñi,	90, 94, 96	Mālava, Mālava, Malwa or Mālwa, <i>co</i> , 83, 101, 104,	
Māharapura,	302	105, 108, 112, 240, 245, 253, 320, 321	
Mahārāshtra, <i>di</i> ,	256 <i>n</i>	Mālava, <i>dy</i> ,	192, 195
maharayarayarava dēvaputra, <i>title</i> ,	277	Mālavas or Mālavas, <i>people</i> ,	92, 189, 306
maharaya rayatiraya, <i>title</i> ,	277	Malaya, <i>mo</i> ,	37, 50
mahā sāmanta, <i>official</i> ,	306	Mālayya, <i>m</i> ,	208, 210, 212
mahāsēnāñi, <i>official</i> ,	156, 157	Mahivapūṇḍi grant,	227, 233, 234 <i>n</i>
Mahāśramana, (the Buddha),	74	Malkapuram inscription,	347 <i>n</i>
Mahāsthān (Paundravardhana), <i>vi</i> ,	86	Mallaṇūchārya, <i>m</i> ,	162, 164, 165, 166, 169
		Malliga, <i>s a</i> Peruva Malli,	200, 201

N B —° The figures refer to pages *n* after a figure, to footnotes, and *add* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used —*ch.* = chief, *co* = country, *di* = district or division, *do* = ditto, *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *l* = king, *m* = man, *mo* = mountain, *ri* = river, *s a* = same as, *sur* = surname, *te* = temple, *vi* = village or town, *w* = woman, *W* = Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
Māmbākkam, <i>vi</i> ,	12, 15	Managrāmam,	69, 70, 71, 72
Mamchaya, <i>Kālatiya prince</i> ,	348, 351, 354	Managrāmattār,	70, 71 & <i>n</i> , 72
Māndalā, <i>vi</i> ,	219, 221, 223	Mañjratīya mound,	18
Māndara or Mandara, <i>mo</i> ,	214, 217	Manmāpū=Maṇḍāra (?),	301
Māmēnāryya, <i>m</i> ,	352, 355	Maṇḍai,	53 <i>n</i>
Maṇḍalārnnava, Maṇḍalārnnavadēva, Manga- lārnnava or Maṇḍalārnnavadēva, <i>m</i> ,	189, 192, 195	Maṇḍāta, (Karnāta ?), <i>co</i> ,	25
Māmmū (Mahāmūyā), <i>queen</i> ,	285, 295	Maṇḍāta, <i>family</i> (?),	46, 54
Mammānā or Manmānā, <i>vi</i> ,	285, 297, 301, 303 <i>n</i>	Maṇḍratha, <i>myth l</i> ,	23, 27, 41, 52
Maṇḍeyara or Mandeyara, Mākanayya, <i>m</i> ,	192, 195	Maṇḍu, <i>a</i> Maṇḍam,	119
Māna, <i>Ceylon l</i> ,	333	maṇḍupīdu, <i>parihāra</i> ,	119, 122, 124
Mānabhūsha, <i>lord of Madhura</i> ,	161	mantrin, <i>official</i> ,	221, 226, 231
Mānasa, <i>lake</i> ,	134, 137	Manu, <i>myth l</i> , 22, 26, 28, 30, 34, 49, 107, 110, 129, 132, 136, 180, 209, 211, 214, 215, 216, 217, 317, 350, 354	
Mānāvarinallūr, <i>vi</i> ,	165, 166, 167, 168, 169	Manu, <i>quoted</i> ,	78 <i>n</i> , 177 <i>n</i> , 181 <i>n</i> , 234 <i>n</i>
Mānavya, <i>sage</i> ,	353 <i>n</i>	Manumasiddhi, <i>l</i> ,	318 <i>n</i>
Mānavyasagōtrāh, <i>epithet of the Chālukyas</i> , 2, 56, 59, 228, 258, 315		Manusmṛiti, <i>work</i> ,	88 <i>n</i> , 136 <i>n</i>
Mañchin=Bhoi, <i>palancken-bearer</i> ,	308 <i>n</i>	mānya,	228, 233, 235
Mandākūṇi (Gangā),	11, 14, 29	Mānyakūta or Mānyakhūta, <i>vi</i> ,	24, 27, 45, 53, 238, 241 <i>n</i> , 249, 256
Mandal (Mandor ?),	93	Māranāryya, <i>m</i> ,	352, 355
mandala, <i>territorial division</i> ,	78 <i>n</i>	Mārājadaṁṇa, <i>Pāṇḍya l</i> ,	67
Maṇḍalapurusha, <i>author</i> ,	65	Mārāsarva (Mahārāja Sarvaṇ), <i>prince</i> ,	240
māṇḍalīla, <i>official</i> ,	289	Mārāta-Bōl,	4
Māndarā, <i>vi</i> ,	303 <i>n</i>	Mārāta-Bōya, <i>epithet</i> ,	2, 4 <i>n</i>
Māndāra, <i>vi</i> ,	301	Mārāṭṭa,	29
Māndaśarman, <i>m</i> ,	57	Marichi, <i>sage</i> ,	22, 26, 28, 33, 49
Māndavya, <i>sage</i> ,	96, 98	Marmad, (Maru māda), <i>di</i> ,	93
Māndavyapura or Mandor, <i>vi</i> ,	88, 91, 94, 95, 98	Mārtānda or Mārtānda, <i>Vēṣālī ch</i> ,	7, 11, 13
Māndhātṛ, <i>myth l</i> ,	22, 26, 29, 35, 40, 245, 253	Mārttāṇḍa, <i>m</i> ,	207
Mandor, <i>vi</i> ,	87	Mashaka, <i>vi</i> ?,	314, 315
Māṇḍadūr grant,	149	Masharfa, <i>vi</i> ,	158
Maṇḍala, Maṇḍalajanaṣṭhāda or Mangalarāshṭra, <i>di</i> ,	116, 121, 123	Mātantura (Mahātāntura),	337
Maṇḍalam (Mangal), <i>vi</i> ,	119	Mātavāryya (Mādhavārya ?),	352, 355
Mangalanādālvāṇ, <i>m</i> ,	121, 123, 124	Māthū Kūar,	128
Mangala nādu, <i>di</i> ,	119	Mathurā Laon Capital inscriptions,	266, 267, 268, 269, 272
Mangr, <i>Noḷamba k</i> ,	229	Matras,	117
Mangr yuvarāja, <i>Chālukya k</i> ,	58, 229	Mātrikās (Divine Mothers), representations of—, 125, 126	
Mangiyuvarāja, <i>epithet of Sarvalōkārāja</i> ,	314	Mātrikās, <i>goddesses</i> ,	114 & <i>n</i> , 126, 127
Maṇibhadra, <i>yaksha</i> ,	158 & <i>n</i> 159	Mātris,	126, 127
Mānikāla casket,	16	Mātri-Vishnu, <i>ch</i> ,	82 & <i>n</i> , 83
Mānikāla inscription,	267, 268, 269	Matsya, <i>co</i> ,	101, 104, 108, 112
Māpikkavāchakar or °śakar, <i>saint</i> ,	71, 73		
Māpikya tīrtha,	201, 203 <i>n</i>		
Maṇagrāmakkār, <i>a</i> Maṇagrāmattār,	71		

N.B.—° The figures refer to pages *n* after a figure, to footnotes, and *add* to the additions on pp *vi* to *x*. The following other abbreviations are used — *ch* = chief, *co* = country, *di* = district or division, *do* = ditto, *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *k* = king, *m* = man, *mo* = mountain, *vi* = river, *a* = same as, *sur* = surname, *te* = temple; *vi* = village or town, *w* = woman, *W* = Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
<i>Matsya-Purāṇa, work,</i>	317	<i>Gūṭh,</i>	162
<i>mattar, land-measure,</i>	195, 196, 212, 218	<i>Harinī,</i>	31, 107, 349
<i>Maues, Salāka,</i>	273	<i>Indravajrā,</i>	120, 220, 349
<i>Maunada Bhaṭṭāra, m,</i>	201 n	<i>Kanda,</i>	171, 174, 179, 183, 190, 197, 200, 202, 205, 208, 213
<i>Maunidēva, m,</i>	201, 202, 204	<i>Kaṭṭajalākalitturai,</i>	65 n
<i>Maurya, dy,</i>	281	<i>Mahāsrāgḍharā,</i>	183, 190, 202, 207
<i>Mayamata, work,</i>	72	<i>Mālinī,</i>	31, 95, 245 n, 246 n, 247 n, 249 n, 293 n, 295 n, 296 n, 349
<i>Mayilāppil, vi,</i>	122, 124	<i>Mandākrāntā,</i>	31, 130, 349
<i>Mailārāryya, m,</i>	352, 355	<i>Mattēbhavikrīḍita,</i>	171, 174, 179, 183, 197, 202, 205, 207, 208, 213, 236 & n, 245 n, 247 n.
<i>Mayūra, l,</i>	89, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99	<i>Praharṣinī,</i>	6, 31, 120
<i>Mayūrabhaṇja, epithet,</i>	290	<i>Pruthvī,</i>	31, 207, 245 n
<i>Mayūrabhaṇja State, 288, 289, 291, 292, 300, 301, 303</i>		<i>Pushpitāgrā,</i>	120, 245 n, 295 n, 297 n, 299 n, 349
<i>Mayūrabhaṇja, vi,</i>	290	<i>Rathōddhalā,</i>	31, 120, 129
<i>Māyūraka,</i>	291 n	<i>Śalinī,</i>	31, 126, 140, 162, 166, 179, 220, 246 n, 249 n
<i>Māyūrākshaka, m,</i>	126	<i>Śārdūlavikrīḍita,</i>	31, 95, 107, 120, 130, 140, 208, 213, 220, 245 n, 246 n, 247 n, 248 n, 293 n, 295 n, 297 n, 298 n, 299 n, 331, 349
<i>Māyūrī,</i>	291 n	<i>Śīlharinī,</i>	31, 107, 120, 126, 180
<i>Māyūrikā,</i>	291 n	<i>Sragḍharā,</i>	31, 95, 107, 130, 149, 162, 166, 244 n, 245 n, 247 n, 298 n, 349
<i>Māyūrikas, people,</i>	290	<i>Svāgatā,</i>	31, 349
<i>Māyurkī,</i>	290, 291 & n	<i>Upajāti,</i>	31, 107, 202, 330 n, 349
<i>Mēda,</i>	306	<i>Upēndravajrā,</i>	31, 349
<i>Mēdalkonda, vi,</i>	232, 235	<i>Uṭpalamālā,</i>	174, 183, 202, 208
<i>Mēdanāryya, m,</i>	353, 355	<i>Vamśastha,</i>	31, 129, 130
<i>Mēḍantaka, vi,</i>	88, 95, 98	<i>Vamśasthavila,</i>	243 n, 244 n
<i>Mēḍantaka pura, s a Merta,</i>	94	<i>Vasantatilakā,</i>	6, 31, 107, 130, 149, 220, 244 n, 294 n, 296 n.
<i>Mēghadūta, work,</i>	188 n, 346 & n	<i>mēy,</i>	6
<i>Mēghanāda (Indrajit),</i>	107, 110	<i>Meynārayiṭṭa, epithet,</i>	139
<i>Meherauli pillar inscription,</i>	86	<i>Mihira, sur of Pratihāra k Bhōja,</i>	100, 101
<i>Meherpur, dī,</i>	62	<i>Mihira, s a Bhōja,</i>	109, 113
<i>Mēlaikkūḍi, s a Pēlaikkūḍi,</i>		<i>Mihirakula, Hūṇa k,</i>	82 & n, 83, 84, 91
<i>Mēlasāvara, god,</i>	216, 218	<i>Milalai nāḍu, dī,</i>	67, 69
<i>Mārrali,</i>	343	<i>Milalai nāṭṭu, -Vēl, epithet of Kaṇḍaṇ Mādavan,</i>	64, 68
<i>Merta, identified with Mēḍantaka,</i>	88	<i>Milupādi, vi,</i>	300
<i>Mēru, mo,</i>	164, 215, 217, 243, 245, 252, 253	<i>Mimāṇsaka, samaya or school</i>	176 n.
<i>Mēshikā, vi,</i>	306	<i>Mira, m.,</i>	282
<i>metres—</i>		<i>Miraj plates,</i>	321 & n.
<i>Anushṭubh,</i>	6, 31, 95, 107, 126, 140, 162, 166, 174, 179, 183, 190, 197, 202, 208, 213, 220, 243 n, 244 n, 246 n, 249 n, 349		
<i>Āryā,</i>	6, 95, 120, 126, 130, 293 n		
<i>Āryāgūṭi,</i>	140, 202		
<i>Aupachchhandasika,</i>	31		
<i>Champakamālā,</i>	174, 179, 183, 190, 197, 202, 206, 213		
<i>Drutavilambita,</i>	6, 220		
<i>Dvipada,</i>	171		

N B —° The figures refer to pages, n after a figure, to footnotes, and add to the additions on pp vi to x. The following other abbreviations are used —*ch* = chief, *co* = country, *dī* = district or division, *do* = ditto, *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *k* = king, *m* = man, *mo* = mountain, *ri* = river, *s a* = same as; *sur* = surname, *te* = temple, *vi* = village or town, *w* = woman, *W* = Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
Nāgabhaṭa, <i>Pratihāra</i> l ,	88, 90, 93, 95, 98	[Nan]dava(ba)la, m ,	159
Nāgabhaṭa or Nāgabhaṭa II, <i>Gurjar-Pratihāra</i> l , 94, 100, 104, 105, 106 & n , 107, 108, 112 & n , 235, 240, 245, 253		Nanīmāḷīār, <i>saint</i> ,	334
Nāgadatta, <i>monk</i> ,	208	Nānādēśī merchants,	335
Nāgadīva, m ,	85	Nandagrāma, v ,	243, 250, 256
Nāglādīvi, <i>queen of Narasa</i> ,	161	Nandagrāma, s a Nandagaon,	243
Nāgānanda, <i>work</i> ,	120, 130	Nandāvalla,	96, 98
Nāganāryya, m ,	352, 355	Nandi, <i>figure of</i> ,	182 n , 189
Nāgara Bhāvi, <i>well</i> ,	170	Nandīśarma-Bhaṭṭan, m ,	122, 124
Nāgarakhaṇḍa Seventy, d ,	208	Nandīvarman or Nandīvarman I, <i>Pallava</i> k , 116 & n , 149, 150, 151	
Nāgarakhaṇḍi or Nāgarakhaṇḍi, v ,	208, 210, 212, 213, 216, 213	Nandīvarman, Nandīvarman Pallavamalla, Vijaya Nandīvikīrama parumar or Nandīvar- man II, <i>Pallava</i> l ,	7, 116, 117, 118, 121, 123, 147
nagararakhin (nagararakhin), <i>official</i> ,	156, 157	Nandīvarman, Vijaya-Nandīvarman, Vijaya- Nandīvikīramavarman or Nandīvarman III, <i>Pallava</i> l ,	7, 8, 10, 13, 116, 117, 118, 121
Nāgarākī or Nāgarākīdīva, m ,	205, 206	Nānimoya, m ,	83, 184, 187
Nagaratta=Nagarattār,	335	Nānālōḷāda, v ,	300
Nagarattār, d of Vēlavākāra forces 332, 334, 335, 337, 338		Nannarāja, <i>Kalachuri</i> l ,	129, 133, 136, 137 & n
Nāgas,	182	Narabhata, <i>Pratihāra</i> l ,	88, 95, 98
Nāgavarma or Nāhaga, <i>author</i> ,	66	Naraka, <i>demon</i> ,	110
Nāga vāvi, <i>well</i> ,	213, 215	Narasa, <i>Vijayanagara</i> l ,	161
Nāgāvalōḷa, identified with Nāgabhaṭa I,	103	Narasigha, wrong form of Narasimha,	249
Nāgāvalōḷa, identified with Nāgabhaṭa II,	101	Narasimha, m ,	222, 224
Nāgaya, m ,	9, 11, 14	Narasimha-Dīkshita, m ,	238, 249 & n , 256
Naghumeṣa, wrong form of Nahusha,	132	Narasimha Ghaissa, m ,	185, 188
Nāgikavve, v ,	183, 184, 187	Narasimha Gupta, <i>Gupta</i> k ,	81
Nāhār collections,	81	Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya, <i>Gupta</i> l , 82, 83, 84 & n .	
Nahusha, <i>myth</i> k ,	76, 78, 136, 161	Narasimhāryya, m ,	352, 355
naimitika, <i>official</i> ,	221, 226	Narasimha-Sōmayājī, m ,	185, 188
Nākarāea, Nākimayya, Nālumayya-Nāyaka, or Nākīyanṇa, m ,	183, 184, 185, 186, 187 & n , 189	Narasimhavarman, <i>Pallava</i> k ,	150, 151
nakshatras—		Nārūyana, <i>sage</i> ,	110, 111 n
Bharaṇī,	161, 163, 164	Nārāyanabhadra, ch ,	61, 62, 63
Sadayam or Sadāyam,	28, 53 n	Nārāyanan Āchchan, m ,	70 & n , 71
Nālandā monastery,	82	Nārāyanap-Nārāyanan, m ,	342, 344, 345
Nālandā plate,	304 & n , 305 n , 306 n	Narēndrabhaṭṭa or Narēndrabhaṭṭadēva, Bhaṭṭa k ,	28 , 291, 292, 293
Nālandā, site at—,	19 n	Narēndradītya, <i>legend on coin</i> ,	79, 80
Nālataḍāga (Nār or Nāl), v ,	321, 322 & add , 324	Narēndramṭīgarāja, <i>sur. of Vijayāditya II</i> , 227, 228, 229, 234 n , 235 n , 315	
nalgūr-narpāppār or nalgur nalppāppār,	119, 122	Narēndrasimha, <i>epithet of Rājāsīmha II</i> ,	152
nall-ā, <i>parihāra</i> ,	122, 124	Narēndra Vinata, <i>legend on coin</i> ,	79, 80
nall-erūdu, <i>parihāra</i> ,	122, 124	Narmadā, v ,	73, 240, 245, 253
Nalōḍaya, <i>work</i> ,	342	Narṇī° or Narṇārakkudī, v ,	48, 55
namakkāram,	345 n	Narsīnghpur, <i>state</i> ,	288 n
Nāmanāryya, m ,	351, 355		
Narādanāryya, m ,	352, 355		

N.B.—The figures refer to pages n after a figure, to footnotes, and add to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used —ch = chief; co = country, d = district or division, do = ditto, dy = dynasty; E = Eastern, k = king, m = man, mo = mountain, r = river, s a = same as, sur = surname, t = temple, v = village or town, w = woman, W = Western.

	PAGE
Nāsik or Nāsik cave inscriptions, . . .	155, 157, 207
Nāthamuugal, <i>Śrīvaishnava āchārya</i> , . . .	24
Nāṭṭāvākkāl, canal, . . .	103, 105
Nāṭṭāvākkāl, s a Nāṭṭār, canal, . . .	102
Nausārī plates or grant of the Gujarāt Chālukya	
Pulakēśārāja, . . .	92 n, 93, 102, 103
Navakammika or Nauakarmika, monastery of—	
. . .	17, 18
Navaśākha, . . .	75 n.
Navyāvākāśikā, vi, . . .	75, 76, 78 & n, 85
Nayāgarh, state, . . .	288 n
Nayanāga, m, . . .	75, 77, 79
Nediyatali, assembly hall, . . .	342, 343, 344, 345
Nēlagunṭa or Nēlagunta	353, 356
nela variti, . . .	192, 195
Nellūru (Nellore), vi, . . .	348 n
Nelvāyippākkam, vi, . . .	12, 15
Nōma, Nēmana or Nēmāyā, m, . . .	173, 175,
. . .	176, 177, 178
Nēminādam, work, . . .	70
Nepmalippākkam, vi, . . .	12, 15
Nēriyāṇ, title of Chōla kings, . . .	68, 69
Nepkunram, vi, . . .	122, 124
Neruñjukurumbu, vi, . . .	12, 15
nēr vāyam, parihāra, . . .	122, 124
Nētrībhaṇja or Nētrībhaṇjadēva, Bhaṇja k, 284,	
. . .	286, 287, 291, 292, 293, 295
Nidamaru, s a Niduparu or Nidubaru, . . .	56
Nidhanpur grant of Bhāskaravarman, . . .	62
nidhi, . . .	163, 165
Nidugaṭṭa tatāka, tank, . . .	314, 315
Niduparu or Nidubaru, vi, . . .	55, 56, 57
Niduparu grant of Jayasimha, I, . . .	1 n
Nidūr, vi, . . .	64, 67, 68, 69
nīkāya=fraternity of Buddhist monks, . . .	331 & n,
. . .	333, 336, 338
nīlshēpa, . . .	163, 165
Nilatāngi, sur of Mārtānda, . . .	7, 11, 14
Nilgiri, state, . . .	288 n.
Nilgund inscription, . . .	105 n.
Ninety-eight sub sects of the Idangai, . . .	335
Niravadya Sakalalōkāśraya śrī-Prithvīgāmunda-	
m, m, . . .	314, 316
Nirupama, sur of Dhruva, . . .	239, 244, 252
Nirvaṇa temple, . . .	19
Nisumbhasūdani, form of Durgā, . . .	23

	PAGE
nivartana, land measure, . . .	257, 260
Ni[y]no, vi, . . .	311, 312 & n.
niyukta or niyuktaka, official, . . .	219, 256
ñ, used for jñ, . . .	1
Nrīga, myth l, . . .	76, 78, 162, 164, 166
Nrīmpada, myth l, . . .	23, 27, 40, 52
Nripatunga, m, . . .	9, 12, 15
Nripatunga or °dōva or °varman, Pallara l, 6, 7,	
. . .	8 & n, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15
Nrīsimha, epithet of Bāula, . . .	90
numerals—	
Telugu-Kannada, . . .	160
numerial symbols—	
128, . . .	308
100, . . .	307, 308
20, . . .	308
8, . . .	308
ñy, used for jñ, . . .	58 n
Nūrruvar Kannar 'the hundred cared,' (=Śat-	
akarṇa), . . .	318 & n
Nuvaragal Dēvasenavirattar, . . .	338
Nyāyapadra, dī, . . .	321, 322
Nyāyapadra sapṭadaśā (seventeen), . . .	322, 324
O	
Ōdraka, co, . . .	240, 245, 253
Ōlajale, w, . . .	208, 209, 211, 213
Ōm, denoted by a symbol, . . .	200 n
Orissa grant of Vidyādharaḥaṇjadēva, . . .	283, 284, 301
P	
p initial, retention of—, . . .	178, 189
p initial, changed to h, . . .	208, 213
pādamūlika, temple attendant, . . .	156 & n, 157
Pādrīppuliyūr (Cuddalore), vi, . . .	68
Padmā, ri, . . .	62
Padmī, queen of Kakla, . . .	88, 90, 96, 98
Paganūru, vi, . . .	4
Pahlavas, people, . . .	271
Pāja inscription of Sam . . .	111, 262, 264, 279, 280, 281
pakshas—	
Śukla, . . .	221, 299
second, . . .	318, 319

N B—The figures refer to pages n after a figure, to footnotes, and add to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used —ch=chief, co=country, dī=district or division, dc=ditto, dy=dynasty, E=Eastern, l=king, m=man, mo=mountain, r=river, s a=same as, sur=surname, t.e.=temple, vi=village or town, w=woman, W=Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
Pāla, <i>dy</i> ,	80 n., 104, 105, 106, 239, 240	paramasaugata, <i>title</i> ,	306
Palakkada branch of the Pallava dynasty,	149	paramēśvara, <i>title</i> , 82, 174, 175, 179, 183, 197,	
Pālār, <i>ri</i> ,	145	202, 215, 221, 223, 225, 226, 237, 238, 249,	
Pālarāvāyar, <i>m</i> ,	68	256, 306, 322	
palavilūda(<i>ka</i> ?)vā-(<i>pā</i>)lika, <i>official</i> ,	156, 157	Paramēśvaravarman, <i>Pallava k</i> ,	150, 151
Pāldhvaṇa,	244, 252	Paramēśvaravarman II, <i>Pallava k</i> ,	117
Pālita, <i>name ending</i> ,	75 n.	Pārāṅga, <i>wrongly written for Pāṇḍarāṅga</i> ,	231
Pāl Lahrā, <i>state</i> ,	288	Parāntaka I, <i>Chōḷa k</i> ,	3, 24, 27, 42, 52, 67
Pallava, <i>myth k</i> , 6, 10, 13, 116, 120, 123, 147,		Parāntaka (II), <i>Chōḷa k</i> ,	24, 44, 53
150, 151		Parabrājaka Mahārājās,	83
Pallava, <i>dy</i> ., 7, 9, 12, 15, 23, 42, 52, 58, 59, 116,		Parava (<i>ba</i>) la, <i>Rāṣṭrakūṭa k</i> ,	305
145, 147, 148, 149, 150, 152 & n., 241, 246,		Pāravūr, <i>vi</i> ,	343 n.
254, 331 n.		parihāras (exemptions),	124
Pallavaḍi-Araiyar, <i>m</i> ,	117	Parivārakkondam, <i>sub sect of Vēṭaikkāras</i> , 335, 337, 338	
Pallavamalla, <i>sur of Nandivarman II</i> ,	116, 118	paruvūṭi,	248, 254 n.
Pallavamalla, <i>prince</i> ,	117	Parlā Kimeḍi plates of Indravarman,	308
Paganūgāvu, <i>palace</i> ,	342	Paru° or Perunathali, °kāl or °kīl, <i>myth. k</i> , 23,	
Pañcha or Pañchapa, <i>myth L</i> ,	23, 27, 40, 51	27, 41, 52	
Pañchalunga, <i>te</i> ,	170, 201, 205, 208	paruvūṭi,	235 n.
pañcha-mahāpātaka, <i>sine</i> ,	337	Pasannā(=Pasanā), <i>vi</i> ,	300
pañcha-mahā yajñas,	78 n.	pasuge,	195
Pāñcharātra, <i>samaya or school</i> ,	176 n.	Pāsupata, <i>school of religion or philosophy</i> ,	176 n.
Pāṇḍarāṅga, <i>m</i> ,	228, 234 & n.	Pātālamalla, <i>Raṭṭa ch</i> ,	241
Pāṇḍya, <i>co</i> ,	25, 27, 28, 54, 246	Pātāṇjala, <i>samaya or school</i> ,	176 n.
Pāṇḍya, <i>dy</i> , 10, 13, 21, 23, 24, 27, 43, 44, 52, 53, 254		Patañjali, <i>author</i> ,	154
Pāṇḍyas, <i>people</i> ,	29, 116, 121, 123	Pāt Ganēśvara Pāl, <i>m</i> .,	288
Pāṇḍyakulāntaka, <i>title of Vīra-Rājendra</i> ,	54	pati, <i>a kuḍipati</i>	
Pānu, <i>author</i> ,	6 n., 95 n., 178	Paṭika, <i>Makāḷshatrpa</i> ,	271, 272, 275
Panjtar inscription of the 1st Śrāvana 122, 275,		Patika plate or inscription,	262, 273, 275, 280, 281
276, 277, 278, 279, 280		Pāt Munī Pāl, <i>m</i> ,	288
Pappasarma Chāṇḍaṅavi, <i>m</i> .,	122, 124	Patna Museum grant of Raghavajadēva,	291, 303
Parachakrarāma, <i>another name of Vijayāditya</i>		paṭṭa, <i>piece of land</i> ,	61 n.
III,	229 n.	paṭṭalā, <i>district</i> ,	219
Parāchakrarāma, <i>wrong form of Parachakrarāma</i> , 229		Paṭṭapāḍa vāḷaka or Paṭṭavāḍapātaka, =Paṭṭu-	
Parakāsa, <i>myth k</i> ,	26, 28, 89, 51	pur (Paṭṭapuram, or Paṭṭupuram), <i>vi</i> , 285,	
Parakāsa, <i>Chōḷa title</i> ,	22	299, 302, 303 n.	
Parākramabāhu I, <i>Ceylon k</i> ,	66, 333, 336	Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam, <i>vi</i> ,	116, 119, 122, 124
Parala or Parahyārd, <i>ri</i> ,	21	Paṭṭinappālai, <i>poem</i> ,	23
parama aṣṭa-kula sīmha, <i>title of Vīra-Rājendra</i> , 48		Paṭṭupūṭṭu, <i>work</i> ,	119
paramabhattachāraka, <i>title</i> , 90, 174, 175, 179, 183,		Paulastya (Rāvaṇa),	107, 131
191, 197, 202, 221, 223, 225, 226, 231, 237,		Pauḍravardhana, <i>di</i> ,	83
238, 249, 256, 306, 322		Pavittuka, <i>m</i> ,	75, 76, 78
Paramamāhēśvara, <i>title</i> , 221, 223, 225, 226, 231,		pavūṭa, <i>wrong form of pautra</i> ,	53 n.
293, 295, 297		Pāyima or Pāyimarasa, <i>ch</i> ,	173, 174, 176, 178
Paramāra, <i>dy</i> ,	320, 321	Pāyimpūṭṭa,	353, 356
		Payyanūr paṭṭola, <i>work</i> ,	69, 71

N B —The figures refer to pages n. after a figure, to footnotes, and add to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used —*ch* = chief, *co* = country, *di* = district or division, *do* = ditto; *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *k* = king, *m* = man, *mo* = mountain, *ri* = river, *s. a.* = same as; *sur.* = surname, *te* = temple, *vi* = village or town, *w.* = woman, *W.* = Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
Pehevā grant of Mahēndra-Pāla,	100	Prabhākara- <i>leshētra</i> ,	59
Pēlaikuḍi (Mēlaikkūḍi), <i>v</i> ,	162, 163, 165	Prabhākaravardhana, <i>Thānēsar I</i> ,	90, 91, 92
Pēllāpēlli, name of <i>Narabhata</i> ,	83, 95, 98	<i>Prabhāvaka-charita</i> , work,	101, 274 n.
Peṇukuparu, <i>v</i> ,	314, 315	Prabhūtavarsha (Gōvinda II), <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k</i> ,	237, 239, 244, 252
Perggummi, <i>v</i> ,	201, 203, 205	Prabhūtavarsha, <i>sur</i> of Gōvinda III,	248, 253
<i>Periplus</i> , work,	21	Prabhūtavarsha, <i>sur</i> of <i>Kṛṣṇa II</i> ,	244
Periyakrishnarāya-Uttamanambi, <i>m</i> ,	139	Prakāśāditya, <i>I</i> ,	81
<i>Periyazurāṇam</i> , work,	67 & n., 68 & n	<i>prahatvā</i> , used for <i>prahatya</i> ,	87
Periyavāchchapillai, <i>commentator</i> ,	334	Prākṛit used in official documents,	87
Perma or Permma, <i>ch</i> ,	201, 203, 205	<i>pramātyi</i> , official,	306
Permmādirāya,	203 n	<i>prāntapāla</i> , official,	306
Perth Museum,	60	<i>prāptāns-tridaśa</i> , used for <i>prāptāns-tridaśa</i> ,	125
<i>perudanam</i> ,	336	<i>prafati</i> ,	6, 9, 11, 14
Perumāl-Uttamanambi, <i>m</i> ,	139, 143, 145	<i>Prakṣōttararatnamālikā</i> , work,	242
Perumbadappu Gangādhara Vīra-Kērala Tiruk- kōyiladhikāriṅal, title of <i>Cochin Kings</i> ,	342	Pratāparudra, <i>Kālatiya k</i> ,	346
<i>perundaram</i> or <i>perundaram</i> , title,	78 n.	<i>Pratāparudriya</i> , work,	348
Peruneydal, <i>v</i> ,	342, 343, 344, 345	<i>prathi</i> , used for <i>pathi</i> ?,	126
Peruneyil, <i>v</i> ,	340, 341, 343	Pratihāra, <i>insignia</i> ,	110
Peruneyil inscription,	341	<i>pratihāra</i> , official,	156, 157, 221, 226
Perungudi-Kiḷkombu, <i>v</i> ,	48, 55	Pratihāra, <i>Pratthihāra</i> or <i>Pratihāra</i> , <i>dy</i> ,	87, 90,
Peruva Malli, <i>m</i> ,	200	92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 103, 105, 107, 111 n, 239	
Peshāwar, <i>v</i> ,	19, 282	Pratihāra Brāhmanas,	88, 98
Pikra grant,	149	<i>Pratitya-samutpāṣa</i> or <i>Nidāna Sūtra</i> , <i>Buddhist</i> <i>formula</i> ,	16, 18
Pilavāyal (Vāyalūr) <i>v</i> ,	146	<i>pravani-lara</i> ,	222, 224, 226
Pillaiṅgal-danam, sub-sect of <i>Vēlaikkāras</i> ,	335,	<i>pravaras</i> —	
	337, 338	Aghamarshana,	294
Pīḷḷi (Tamil),	30	Aghamarshana, Viśvāmitra and Kauśika,	321, 323, 324
Pi lo mo lo, s a Bhīllamāla,	92 n	Angrasa,	295
Pingala, author,	66, 67, 236	Āngurasa, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja,	226, 299
<i>Piṅgalam</i> , work,	67	Bharadvāja, Agnivēśya, Āngurasa, and Bārhaspatya,	249, 256
<i>piram adēyam</i> (<i>brahmadēya</i>),	12	Bhārgava, Chyavana, Aurva, Jāmadagnya and Āpnavāna,	222, 224
Piṭhāpuram, <i>v</i> ,	316, 317 n	Rōhita, Ashtaka and Viśvāmitra,	297
Pitṭa, <i>Gaṅga ch</i> ,	201, 203, 205	Prāyāga, <i>tirtha</i> ,	179, 181
Pḷakī, <i>di</i> ,	2	prayāsaka,	254 n
Pḷōlnāndu, Prōlnāṇḍu or Prōlanāndu, <i>di</i> ,	58, 59, 60	Prichchhakarāja, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k</i> ,	237, 238, 243, 251
<i>podutāl</i> , officers superintending charitable endowments,	342, 345 & n	Prithāgrasuta (Yudhishṭhira), <i>epic hero</i> ,	3 & n
Polonnaruwa, <i>v</i> ,	330, 332 n, 333, 335	Prithivīduvarāja, s a Prithivīyuvārāja,	258, 259, 260
<i>pon</i> , coin,	30	Prithivī Mahārāja, <i>Kālatiya k</i> ,	347 n
<i>pū'a</i> ,	58		
Pōtanāryya, <i>m</i> ,	352, 355		
pūli,	58		
Poygai, <i>poet</i> ,	28, 29		
Prabhāchandra Siddhāntadēva, <i>m</i> ,	170		
Prabhākara,	60		

N.B.—The figures refer to pages n after a figure, to footnotes, and add to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used —*ch* = chief, *co* = country, *di* = district or division, *do* = ditto, *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *k* = king, *m* = man, *mo* = mountain, *ri* = river, *s a* = same as, *sur* = surname, *te* = temple, *v* = village or town, *w* = woman, *W* = Western

	PAGE
Prithivīpōthī, daughter of Maghīndurārāja,	58, 60
Prithvivallabha, epithet of Kīrtivarman I and Pulakēśin II,	258
Prithivīyuvārāja, title,	258, 259, 260
Prithu, myth k ,	22, 26, 35, 49, 110 & n , 132, 136, 243, 252, 304
Prithuvardhana, Śaṣṭa k ,	103
Prithvivāhaṇja, Bhaṇja k ,	286, 291
Prithvivallabha, title,	174, 175, 179, 183, 191, 197, 202, 209, 215, 237, 249, 256, 258, 259
Priya Datta, m ,	76 & n , 78
Prōḷa (Pōla),	355 n
Prōḷa (II) or Prōlarāja, Kālātīya I ,	347 & n , 351, 354
Prōlanāryya, m ,	352, 355 & n
pudā nāḷi, parihāra,	122, 124
Pūḷakkudī ppati, ch ,	343
Pulakēśi II, Pulakēśin II or Pulakēśi Pr thivivallabha, Chālukya k ,	92, 93, 257, 258, 259, 260 & n
Pulanarī (Polonnaruwa), vi ,	336, 337, 338
Pulastī, eage,	336, 337
Pulastipura (= Polonnaruwa), vi ,	336
Pūḷi, vi ,	171, 173, 174, 175, 178, 179, 180, 181, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 218
Puḷgere or Puḷgere three hundred, dī ,	189, 193 n
Pūḷiyadēva, m ,	191, 194
Pūḷiyūr kōṭṭam, dī ,	68
pulḷi(=vīrāma sign),	115, 331
punḷya, used for punya,	198
Punnāgavriksha Mūla Gaḇa,	175, 177
Puṇṇattalai ppati, ch	343
Pūnta, m ,	222, 223
Pura or Pura-Gupta, Gupta k ,	81, 83
Puram, work,	119
Purandara, m ,	285
Parandara, myth k ,	28
Purañjaya (=Kakutstha), myth k ,	22, 26, 34, 49
Purattāya-nādu, dī ,	48, 55
Purle plates of Indravarman,	308
purōga,	306
Puru, myth k ,	133 n
Purūravas, myth k ,	132, 136, 140, 144, 161
Pūsa-Bōja-kshētra,	314, 315
Pushkalāvātī, vi ,	282

	PAGE
Pushkarana, <i>v</i> ,	86
Pushpakṛtu, <i>myth</i> <i>l</i> ,	23, 27, 40, 51
P'u ta, <i>co</i> ?,	278

Q.

Quilon, *u*, 340, 341, 342
Quilon epigraph, 341, 342

R

<i>r</i> , doubling of consonants after—, 1, 6, 87, 147,	320, 346
<i>r</i> , form of—,	320
<i>r</i> , superscribed form of—,	6
<i>r</i> , Telugu letter, use of—,	1, 314
Rāchamalla, <i>Ganga</i> l,	68
Rādhannur plates of Gōvinda III, 104 n, 105 n,	113 n, 341
Rāghava (Rāma), <i>epic hero</i> ,	202
Raghōli plates of Jayavardhana II,	103, 290
Raghu, <i>myth</i> l,	204
Raghuvamśa, <i>work</i> ,	120 n, 196, 198 n
Rāhara moradī or Rāha's Hill,	186, 189
Rājabhāṣja, <i>Bhāṣja</i> l,	286
Rājabhīma (II), <i>Chātukya</i> l,	230
Rājādhirāja I, <i>Chōla</i> l, 25 & n, 27, 46, 54, 119,	332 n
Rājāditya, <i>Chōla</i> l,	24 & n
Rājagambhīra-vaṇanādu, <i>dt</i> ,	139, 141, 145
rājahansī, used for rājahamsī,	128
Rājākṣari, <i>myth</i> l,	26, 28, 39, 51
Rājākṣari, <i>Chōla</i> title,	22, 31
Rājākṣarivarman, <i>k</i> ,	70
Rājākṣarivarman, <i>sur</i> of Vīra-Rājendra,	26, 48, 55
Rājākṣarivarman (Āditya I), <i>Chōla</i> l,	118
Rājakula (?), <i>title</i> of Vīra Rājendra,	54
Rājakulabhūvaka, <i>do do</i>	48
Rājajilā, <i>com type</i> ?	79, 80, 81
Rājamahendra, <i>Chōla</i> l,	30, 31
Rājamārttanda, <i>Chātukya</i> l,	230
Rājānaka, <i>official</i> ,	293, 295
Rājanārāyaṇanallūr, <i>vr</i> ,	139, 142, 145
Rājaputra, <i>title</i> ,	129, 134, 293, 295, 306
Rājar (Hashtnagar),	281

NB—The figures refer to pages *n* after a figure, to footnotes, and *add* to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used —*ch* = chief, *co* = country, *d* = district or division, *do* = ditto, *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *k* = king, *m* = man, *mo* = mountain, *r* = river, *s, a* = same as, *sur* = surname, *tz* = temple, *v* = village or town, *w* = woman, *W* = Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
Rājarāja or Rājarāja I, <i>Chōla k</i> , 24, 27, 44, 53, 332 & n, 334, 336		Rāmanārāyaṇanallūr, vi, ' .	139, 141, 142, 145
Rājarāja-Pāṇḍi-nādu, <i>dī</i> ,	48, 55	Rāmañña or Rāmaññadēsa = Lower Burma, 331 n, 336	
Rāja rājendra, <i>biruda of Vira-Rājendra</i> ,	26, 48, 55	Rāman Tāyan, <i>m</i> ,	342, 315
Rājāsēkhara, <i>m</i> ,	140, 145	Rāmānuja, school of—,	176 n
Rājāsēkhara, <i>title of Vira-Rājendra</i> ,	48, 55	Rāmānujamandapa inscription,	146
Rājasimha, Rājasimha II or Rājasimha- Narasimhavarman II, <i>Pallava k</i> ,	148, 149, 150	Rāmar-Tiruvadi, <i>Kīraḷa l</i> ,	341, 342
Rājasimha, <i>Pallava k</i> ,	9, 152 n	Rāmāyana, <i>epic</i> ,	110 n, 111 n, 154 & n, 214, 216, 317 n
Rājasimha, <i>Pallava title</i> ,	149, 152	Rāmāvara, <i>god</i> (at Quilon temple),	342
Rājasimha, <i>sur of Hastivarman</i> ,	308	Ranajaya, <i>Pallava title</i> ,	151, 152
Rājasimha, <i>sur of Indravarman</i> ,	308	Ranabhañja, Ranabhañja I or Ranabhañjadēva, <i>Bhañja k</i> , 284, 285, 286, 287, 291, 292, 293, 295, 297	
Rājasimha III, <i>Pāṇḍya k</i> ,	67	Ranabhañja II, <i>Bhañja l</i>	286, 291, 292, 293
Rājāśraya, <i>biruda of Vira-Rājendra</i> ,	26, 48, 55	Ranabhīta, <i>sur of Hastivarman</i> ,	308
rājasthānīya, <i>official</i> ,	306	Rana durjaya, <i>epithet of Durjaya</i> , 347 & n, 351, 354	
Rājasūya, <i>sacrifice</i> ,	155	Ranajaya, <i>epithet of Rājasimha II</i> ,	151, 152
rājātīrāja, <i>title</i> ,	275, 278	rānaka, <i>official</i> ,	306
rājavishayādhyaksha, <i>official</i> ,	232, 234	Ranamalla, <i>prince</i> ,	117
Rājendra, Rājendra-Chōla or Rājendra-Chōla I, <i>Chōla k</i> , 25 & n, 27, 46, 54, 332 n, 334, 336		Ranāvalōka Khambadēva, <i>s a Stambha</i> ,	240
Rājendra-Chōla-Pallavarayan Rājarājamārā- yan, <i>general</i> ,	24 n	Rāngamāti, identified with Karnnasuvarnaka,	62
Rājendra dēva, <i>Chōla k</i> , 25 & n, 27, 30, 31, 46, 54, 332 n		Ranganātha, <i>god</i> ,	29, 30, 31, 139, 140, 162
Rājendravarman, <i>Gaṅga k</i> ,	311, 312	Ranganāthasvāmun, <i>te</i> ,	160, 162
Rājum stone inscription of Jagapālādēva	290	Rangir, <i>state</i> ,	288 n
Rajula, <i>Pratīhāra k</i> ,	88, 91 95, 98	Rannādēvi, <i>queen of Dēvapālādēva</i> ,	305
Rājputāna, <i>co</i> ,	104, 290, 292	rasēshurāmachandrā° = 1356,	143
Rajula, <i>Mahākshatrapa</i> ,	267, 272	rāshtra,	256
Rājyapāla, <i>Pāla prince</i> ,	307	rāshtra, written as <i>raṣṭra</i> and <i>rāṣṭra</i> ,	227
Rakkasa-Ganga, <i>Ganga l</i> ,	66	Rāshṭrakūṭa, <i>dy</i> , 7, 10, 13, 89 n, 91, 104, 105 & n, 106, 231, 234, 237, 238, 239, 242, 243, 245, 248, 251, 253, 255, 305	
Rakshāditya Kramavid, <i>m</i> ,	238, 249, 256	rāshṭrapati, <i>official</i> ,	249
Rākshasa form of marriage,	238, 243, 252	Rātanga, <i>vi</i> ,	285 & n, 294, 301
Rāma, <i>commentator</i> ,	154 n	Rātanga = Rottongo,	301
Rāma, Rāmabhadra or Rāmachandra, <i>epic</i> <i>hero</i> , . 10, 13, 22, 26, 37, 56, 90, 95, 97, 100, 107, 108, 109, 110 & n, 112 n, 113, 144, 214, 217, 222, 232, 233, 235, 254, 307		Ratanpur, <i>vi</i> ,	289
Rāma, <i>m</i> ,	139	rathādhyalsha, <i>official</i> ,	156
Rāma, <i>Kākatīya prince</i>	348, 351, 354	rathika, <i>official</i> ,	156, 157
Rāma or Rāmabhadra, <i>Gurjar-Pratīhāra l</i> , 94, 100, 106, 108, 112 & n		Ratnas (Three), <i>Buddhist Trinity</i> ,	337
Rāmachandradēva, <i>m</i> ,	173, 175, 178	Raṭṭa, <i>dy</i> ,	255
Rāmadēva, <i>m</i> ,	183, 184, 187	Raṭṭa inscription,	202 n
Rāmaka, <i>m</i> ,	339, 340	Rāvaṇa, <i>demon</i> , 100, 110, 135, 196 n, 215, 218, 219, 317 n, 336 n.	
Ramalavva, <i>dī</i> ,	301	Rāvana, <i>statues of</i> ,	241 & n.
		Ravikamayya or Ravikamayya-Nāyaka, <i>m</i> , 178, 179, 181, 182	
		Ravikulāsēkhara, <i>title of Vira-Rājendra</i> ,	54

N.B.—The figures refer to pages *n* after a figure, to footnotes, and *add* to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used —*ch* = chief, *co* = country, *dī* = district or division, *do* = ditto, *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *k* = king, *m* = man, *mo* = mountain, *ri* = river, *s a* = same as, *sur* = surname, *te* = temple, *vi* = village or town, *w* = woman, *W* = Western.

	PAGE
Raviyanagēri, <i>vi</i> , 178, 179, 180, 181, 183, 185, 188 & <i>n</i> , 190, 193, 196	
Raviyāni, <i>vi</i> , . . . 186, 189, 190, 192, 196	
Ravulabādo, <i>vi</i> , 301	
Rāyabhañja I, <i>Bhañja k</i> , . . . 285, 286, 298	
Rāyabhañja II, <i>Bhañja k</i> , . . . 285, 286, 298	
regal duty, ten principles of, . . . 338 & <i>n</i>	
Rehrakhol, 288 <i>n</i>	
Rēvā, <i>ri</i> , 245, 253	
Rēvakānirmadi, or 'mmadi, <i>w</i> , . . . 201, 203, 205	
Rēviyakka, <i>w</i> , . . . 208, 209, 211, 213, 215, 217	
<i>ri</i> , used for <i>ri</i> and vice versa, . . . 1, 236	
'Right hand' castes, 335	
Ripumalla, <i>Pallava k</i> , . . . 147 & <i>n</i> , 150, 151	
Ritasiddhi, <i>sur</i> of <i>Bhīma I</i> , . . . 227, 233 <i>n</i>	
Rituparna, <i>myth k</i> , 22, 26, 36, 50	
Rōhamita, <i>m</i> , 326, 327	
Rōhana, <i>co</i> , 331 <i>n</i> , 333, 336	
Rōhulladdhi, <i>sur</i> of <i>Harichandra</i> , . . . 97 & <i>n</i>	
Rottango, <i>vi</i> , 301, 303 <i>n</i>	
Rōyarā, <i>vi</i> , 300	
Rōyarā <i>viśhaya</i> , <i>dī</i> , 300	
<i>runa</i> , used for <i>runa</i> , 306	
Rudradāman I, <i>Kshatrapa k</i> , 339	
Rudradēva or Rudra, <i>Kākatya k</i> , . . . 347, 351, 354	
Rudrasimha I, <i>Kshatrapa k</i> , 339	
Rudrasimha II, <i>Kshatrapa k</i> , 339	
Rudragero, <i>vi</i> ?, 197, 198, 199	
[Rū]pavarttani, <i>dī</i> , 311	
Rūpāvalāra, <i>work</i> , 66	
Rūpyavati <i>viśhaya</i> =[Rū]pavarttani- <i>viśhaya</i> , . . . 309, 310	
Rushī, <i>ri</i> , 166, 167, 169	
Ruubhūmi, 17, 20 & <i>n</i>	

S

<i>s</i> , doubling of—, 138	
<i>s</i> , doubling of—, in place of <i>visarga</i> , . . . 87	
<i>s</i> , elision of—, before <i>sth</i> , 1	
<i>sa</i> , used for <i>śa</i> , 320	
<i>śa</i> , used for <i>sa</i> , 320	
Sābhāpati, <i>m</i> , 162, 164, 165, 166, 169	
Sābhāpati, <i>Śiva</i> enshrined at <i>Chidambaram</i> , . . . 26	
Sābhār, Imitation Gupta coins found at, . . . 85	

Sābhār, ruins at, identified with <i>Navyāvakaśikā</i> , . . . 85	
Śadanṅgavi Tāyāsarman, <i>m</i> , 122, 124	
Śadayam, or Śadayam, <i>nakshatra</i> , . . . 28, 53 <i>n</i>	
Sagakūṭa, <i>co</i> , 274	
<i>sagandhaka</i> , <i>saugandha</i> ° or ° <i>dhaka</i> , official, . . . 156, 157	
Sagara, <i>myth k</i> , 22, 26, 36, 50, 222, 251, 294, 296, 299, 304, 307, 313, 323	
Sāgar Tūl, 99	
Sahadēva, <i>m</i> , 223, 224	
Sāhañja, <i>Kalachuri k</i> , 129	
Sahasrada, <i>myth k</i> , 132, 136	
Sāhulaśarman, <i>m</i> , 225, 226	
Śaila, <i>dy</i> , 103	
Śailōdbhava, <i>dy</i> , 290	
Sandhava, <i>co</i> , 103	
Śaiva, school of religion or philosophy, . . . 176 <i>n</i>	
Śaivaya, <i>dī</i> , 129 & <i>n</i> , 133, 137	
Śaivadi, <i>vi</i> , 66	
Śaka, <i>tribe</i> , 271, 273, 274, 275	
Śaka dvish (Vikramāditya), 305	
Śākala, <i>vi</i> , 83	
kalabhuvanāśraya, epithet of <i>Vira Rājendra</i> , . . . 48	
Sakalalōkāśraya, epithet of <i>Jayasimha II</i> , . . . 314, 315	
Sakalamahēnta (dra), epithet of <i>Vira Rājendra</i> , . . . 48	
Śaka muni or Śākya-muni (the Buddha), 16, 17, 18, 19	
Śākta, <i>śamaya</i> or school, 176 <i>n</i>	
Śākya-muni, <i>śa</i> the Buddha, . . . 16, 17, 18, 19	
Sālai, 29	
Sālanki=Śālka, <i>ri</i> , 300	
Sālmā, <i>ri</i> , 290	
Samāchūra or Samāchūra-dēva, <i>l</i> , . . . 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 81, 84, 86	
Sāmangaḍh charter, 238	
Sāmantavoḍḍi, <i>family</i> , 348	
Samara, <i>m</i> , 160	
Samastabhuvanāśraya, epithet, 174, 175, 179, 183, 191, 197, 202, 209, 216	
Samastakhvīgalidādhipati, title, 298	
śamayas, schools of religion or philosophy, . . . 176 <i>n</i>	
Sāmbapurōpādhyāya, <i>m</i> , 303, 311	
<i>saṁdhivigrahika</i> , official, 287 <i>n</i>	
Saṁdhyā, 130, 135	
Sārngama, <i>Vijayanagara k</i> , 138, 140, 144	
Saṁjāna, 242, 250, 256	

N B—The figures refer to pages *n*. after a figure, to footnotes, and add to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used —*ch*=chief, *co*=country, *dī*=district or division, *do*=ditto; *dy*=dynasty, *E*=Eastern, *l*=king, *m*=man, *mo*=mountain, *ri*=river, *śa*=same as, *sur*=surname; *te*=temple, *vi*=village or town, *w*=woman, *W*=Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
Saṁjāna Twenty-four, village group, . . .	242, 256	Sasa (Saśa), m,	317, 318, 319
Saṁjāna, s a Saṁjān, m,	238, 242	Sāsaṁmau, m,	225, 226
Saṁkaragaṇa, Guhilot prince,	106 & n, 107	Saśāṅka, k,	79, 81, 84
Sa[m]karava(ba)la, m,	153	Saśāṅka, Saśōdbhava l,	290
Saṁ° or Sankarayya-Nāyaka, m,	216, 218	śata, land measure, 186, 189, 192, 193, 196, 213,	216, 218
sāmmarāṇya, used for sāmrāṇya,	138	Sa° or Sātakaṛṇ,	318 & n
Saṁrila, s. a Saṁkaragaṇa,	229	Salapatha Brūhmana, work,	153, 154 & n
Samudraghōsha, conch,	117	Sātāra plates of Viṣṇuvardhana I,	258
Samndra-Gupta, Gupta l,	81, 86, 148, 153	Saṭha or Śrī Saṭha, m,	74 & n
Samndrajit, myth k,	23, 27, 40, 51	Satrubhaṇja I or Satrubhaṇjadēva, Bhaṇja l,	284, 286, 293, 295
Saṁyū, sage,	6, 10, 13, 116, 120, 123, 150, 151	Satrubhaṇja II, Bhaṇja k,	286, 291
sandhi rules, violation of,	6, 116, 147, 225, 250 n, 331	Satrughna, epic hero,	22, 26, 37, 50
sāṁdhivigrahika, official,	287, 295, 296, 298	sattrā,	70, 73 & n.
Sangabōdhi or Sangabōdhivarman=Vijayabā-		Satyāśraya, sur of Ohāṇjuka kings, 24, 27, 44, 53,	176, 177, 181, 186, 193, 198, 204,
hudeva,	331, 336, 337		257, 258, 259, 260 & n
Saṅghamitra, m,	73	Satyāśrayakulatilaka, sur. of Ohāṇjuka kings	174, 175, 179, 183, 191, 197, 202
Saṅgrāmaṁalla, prince,	117	Satyāśraya Vallabhendra, Chāṇjuka l,	229
Saṁjān, m,	235, 242	Satyavākya Būtuga II, Gaṅga l,	201
Saṁjān copper plate,	102 n, 105 n	śaulikā, official,	306
Saṅkaṭa, school of—,	176 n	Saamuttri, s a Lakshmana, epic hero,	107, 110
Saṅkaragaṇa, Kaṇachuri l,	129, 132, 136	Saura, samaya or school,	176 n.
Saṅkara-Rāja,	30	Śaurikathōdaya, work,	342
Saṅkara-Śōlan-ulā, work,	26, 30, 31 n	etupi,	189, 193, 196
saṅkēlam,	343 n	Savarāja, m,	265, 295
Saṅkhā, queen of Nandivarman,	7, 10, 13	Sāvikūvāra, or Sāvikūvāra-Kramavid, m, 238, 249, 256	
śapāṭaka-kōṇā,	219, 221	seasons —	
śarabhaṅga, official,	306	Grishma,	249, 255
śarira, bodily relics,	16	Hēmana,	255
Saṅkaravāṭaka,	310, 311	Hima,	249
Sārnāth, m,	130, 204	Rainy,	160
Sārnāth inscription of Budha-Gupta,	82	Sarat,	249, 255
Saṅgha-pa-yānaka,	62, 63	Śāra,	249, 255
Śarvan, feudatory k,	240, 241, 246, 253	Varahā,	249, 255
Sarvachandra, m,	308	Vasanta,	249, 255
śarvādhikṛita, official,	308, 310, 311	Winter (hēmana),	319
Sarvajanaśraya (?), m,	58 n	Sēdirāyanallūr, m,	166, 168, 169
śarva-namasya, tenure, 179, 181, 185, 188, 192,	193, 195, 196, 210, 212, 216, 218	Śēga, m,	329
Sarvasiddhi, sur of Jayasinha I,	55, 313 n	Seistān, co.,	273
Sarvasiddhi, sur of Jayasinha II,	313 n	Śēkkilān Ammayappan Parāntakadēvan, s a.	
Sarvāstivādin, school,	16, 17, 18	Śēkkilār,	68
Sarvva[chandra], m.,	313	Śēkkilān Pālarāvāyan Kaṇappālarāyan, m,	68
Sarvalōkāśraya, Chāṇjuka l.,	314, 315		
Śarvavarman, Maṇkhari k,	82		

N.B.—The figures refer to pages *n* after a figure, to footnotes, and add to the additions on pp vii to

x The following other abbreviations are used —*ch.* = chief, *co.* = country, *di.* = district or division, *do* = ditto, *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *k.* = king, *m.* = man, *mo.* = mountain, *ri* = river, *s a* = same as, *sur.* = surname, *te.* = temple, *v.* = village or town, *w.* = woman; *W.* = Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
Śēkalār, <i>author</i> ,	67, 68	Śilāvamśa, <i>dy</i> ,	290
Śēlyā,	159	Śilōdbbhava, <i>s a</i> Śadōdbbhava,	
Sellāda, <i>vi</i> ,	309	Śiluka or Silluka, <i>Pratihāra k</i> , 88, 93, 94, 96, 98, 103	
śēnahhōgika, <i>official</i> ,	251, 257	Śilparatna, <i>work</i> ,	155
Śēnāmukha,	72	Simgarasa or Singarasa, <i>m</i> ,	189, 191, 193, 194
Śēnāmukhattār,	70, 72	Simhaḷa, <i>co</i> ,	24, 27, 43, 53
śēnāpati, <i>official</i> ,	156, 157, 221, 226	Simhalāntaka, <i>sur of Parantaka</i> ,	24, 27, 43, 53
Śēndaśarma-Chadangavi, <i>m</i> ,	122, 124	Simhavarman, <i>Paenlāra k</i> ,	86
Śēndaśarman, <i>m</i> ,	122, 124	Simhavarman, I, <i>Pallava k</i> , 116 & <i>n</i> , 148, 149,	
Śēnigagere,	185		150, 151
Śērmānperumāḷ Nāyanār, <i>Śaiva Saint</i> ,	68 & <i>n</i>	Simhavarman II, <i>Pallava k</i> ,	116, 148, 150, 151
Śētu,	163, 164, 210, 212, 243, 246, 252, 305	Simhavishnu, <i>Pallava k</i> ,	116, 148, 149, 150, 151
Śēttuppākkam=Chēttuppākkam,	11	Simhipura, <i>vi</i> ,	
Śēttuppākkam, <i>vi</i> ,	8 & <i>n</i> , 14, 15	Sindhu, <i>co</i> ,	104, 112
śēvaka,	306	Sindhu, <i>ri</i> ,	35, 49, 274 <i>n</i>
Seven Pagōdas (Mahābalipuram),	145	Sindhurājadēva, <i>Paramāra k</i> ,	322, 324
Śēvuna,	347, 354	Śinnamanūr copper plates	67
Śēvyana (Śēvuna),	351	Siriyādēvi, <i>w</i> ,	201, 203, 205
Shadaksharī dēva, <i>poet</i> ,	194 <i>n</i>	Sirkap, <i>sic</i> ,	277, 278
Shāhbāzgarhī, <i>vi</i> ,	261, 273, 282	Siriyārrūr, <i>vi</i> ,	23
Shāhbāzgarhī inscriptions of Aśōka,	264, 265, 279	Sirudanam, <i>sub division of Vēlailūras</i> ,	335,
Shankardar, <i>vi</i> ,	20		336, 337, 338
Shērmādēvi, <i>vi</i>	334	Sīru-Kunra nādu, <i>di</i> ,	64, 68
Shorkot inscription of the year 83,	130	Sirukunra-nadu, possibly <i>s a</i> Kunrattūr nādu,	
Shore Temple Balipīṭha inscription,	146	<i>di</i>	67, 69
Shrine of the Tooth Relic of Buddha,	332, 333, 336	Sirupulugil, <i>vi</i> ,	122, 124
shy, changed into ś,	263	Sisimau, <i>vi</i> ,	225
Siam, <i>co</i> ,	70, 71	Śisupālavadha, <i>work</i> ,	135 <i>n</i>
Śibi, <i>myth k</i> ,	28, 129, 255	Sitā, <i>epic heroine</i> ,	37, 50, 174, 176, 209, 211
Śibi, <i>tribe</i> ,	129, 130, 133 <i>n</i>	Sitha(dha)rāja, <i>m</i> ,	156, 157
Śibi Auśinara, <i>s a</i> Śibi,	133, 137	Sittamallī, <i>vi</i> ,	166
Śibipura, <i>s a</i> Shorkot,	130	Śivachūdāmani, <i>title of Rājasiṃha II</i> ,	149
Siboi, <i>s a</i> Śibi ?,	130	Śivadēvayya, <i>m</i> ,	348 <i>n</i>
Siddhāntakaumudī, <i>work</i> ,	178	Śivamēgha, <i>l</i> ,	159, 160
Siddhāntam plates of Dēvāndravarmān,	308	Śiva rāja (I), <i>Ka'achuri k</i> ,	129, 133, 137
Siddhānta=the Buddha,	304	Śivarāja II, <i>Ka'achuri k</i> ,	134, 137
Siddhēśvara, <i>saint</i> ,	196, 197, 198	Śivarudraśarman, <i>m</i> ,	57
Siddhēśvara Mahādēva,	96, 98	Śivavachanabhūshanam, <i>work</i> ,	334
Siddhābhāṣa vishaya, <i>di</i> ,	303	Śiveyagēri, <i>di</i> ,	190, 192, 195
Śihadhaya, <i>m</i> ,	327	Śivēyagēri,	174, 175, 177, 178, 190, 192, 195,
Śilābhaṣṭa I or Śilābhaṣṭajadēva, <i>Bhaṣṭa k</i> ,	284, 286, 293, 295		208, 209, 211, 213, 214, 216
Śilābhaṣṭa II or Śilābhaṣṭajadēva, <i>Bhaṣṭa k</i> ,	285,	Śivakadēva, <i>Paramāra k</i> ,	322, 324
	286, 287, 288, 297	Skanda Gupta, <i>Gupta k</i> ,	79, 81, 83, 86, 242
Śilāhāra, <i>family</i> ,	242	Skandamūla, <i>Pallava k</i> ,	150, 161
Śilappadikāram, <i>work</i> ,	318 <i>n</i> , 343 <i>n</i>	Skandaśarman, <i>m</i> ,	309, 310
		Skandaśishya, <i>Pallava k</i> ,	147, 148, 149

N B—The figures refer to pages *n* after a figure, to footnotes, and add to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used —*ch* = chief, *co* = country, *di* = district or division, *do* = duto, *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *k* = king, *m* = man, *mo* = mountain, *ri* = river, *s a* = same as, *sur* = surname, *te* = temple, *vi* = village or town, *w* = woman; *W* = Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
<i>Sukasandśa, work,</i>	343 n	Takht-i-Bāhi inscription,	206, 272, 273, 275
Sun, progenitor of race,	290	Takṣhaśilā (Taxila),	271, 278
Sun, emblem on seal,	160	Tālārāja or °nnpa, Chāḷukya k ,	229, 230
Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāndya, Chōḷa prince,	25 n	Tāna-tatākā,	314, 316
Sundaramūrti-Nāyāṇār, Śaiva saint,	64, 68	Taleher, state,	288 n
Suśāṅgadvirttōn,	29	Tālchūr plates of Gayāda Tungadēva,	61
Sunya-vādīn, samaya or school	176 n	Tāṃsarman, m ,	59, 60
Supratika Svāmī, m ,	75, 76, 77, 78, 79	taliyādīrī,	343
Sūra-Datta, m ,	76, 78	Taliyādīmār or Taliyāvāns,	343 & n ,
Sūranīryya, m ,	352, 355	Tamanī, dī ,	94
Surath, m ,	91	Tambada Kōta, m ,	171, 172
Surjja (Sūrya) = Sun,	330	Tamin, general,	93
Sūrvasana, m ,	62, 63	Tandantōṭṭam plates of Nandi-varman, 7, 117, 119, 120	
Sūrya Siddhanta, work,	280	Tañjāpurī or Tanjore, vī ,	23, 27, 42, 52, 65, 132 n , 334, 336
Sūrya° or Sūryavarman, Pallava k ,	147, 150, 151	Tanjore temple,	332 n
Susumā Hill inscription,	86	Tapatīsamarana, work,	342
sūtradhāra, official,	223, 224	Tārī, Buddhist goddess,	74, 130, 131, 135
sūtras—		taragu, parihāra,	122, 124
Āpastamba,	161, 163, 164, 257, 259, 260, 314, 415	Tārakācvara, te ,	199
Āśvalāyana,	139, 143, 145, 306	tara pati, official,	306
Āvattamba (Āpastamba),	122, 124	Tāsasingī, vī ,	303 n
Hiranyakēśin,	59, 60, 122, 124	tarīla, official,	306
Suttarajichōda valanādu, dī ,	165, 166, 167, 169	Tāsapaikcrā, vī ,	302
Suvarṇavalīthyādhit-tila, title ,	76, 78 n	Tasapaikcrā grant of Ranabhañjadēva,	291, 302
Svāmibhaṭa, ch ī ,	126, 127	Tāta, Pratihāra k ,	88, 90, 92, 95, 96, 98
Svāmī Jivadāman (II), Kehatrappa k.,	339	Tatpurusha, m ,	189, 191, 194
Svastika, mark on seal ,	236	taxes, several forms of,	139
Swat, rī ,	20	Taxila, vī ,	19, 270, 272, 273, 278, 282
		Taxila copper plate of Patika,	264, 269, 271, 272
		Taxila silver scroll inscription of the year 136, 16, 17 n , 271, 275, 277, 279, 280	
		Tējadika,	287 n
		Tekkali, vī ,	307, 309, 311
		Tekkali plates of Indravarmān,	308
		Telanadi = Tel, rī ,	302
		Telugu Mahābhārata, work,	348 n
		Temple of Bowl Relic,	338
		Temple of Tooth Relic,	338
		Tonkari Arvala kūrram, dī ,	116, 119, 121, 123
		Tōvadi kramavittan, m ,	122, 124
		Tezpur, vī ,	329
		Thal kura, title,	223, 224, 225, 226
		Thāncswar, s a Thāncsar, vī ,	92, 93
		Thatṭhasuka, m ,	321, 323, 324
		Thihārā = Tikkarapada,	303 n.
		Thihāra viśhaya, dī ,	285, 299, 302, 303 n

NB—The figures refer to pages *n* after a figure, to footnotes, and *add* to the additions on pp. vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used—*ch*=chief, *co*=country, *di*=district or division, *do*=ditto, *dy*=dynasty, *E*=Eastern, *L*=king, *m*=man, *mo*=mountain, *r*=river, *s* *a*=same as, *sur*=surname, *te*=temple, *vi*=village or town, *w*=woman, *W*=Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
tiger banner, crest,	23, 28, 51	Tiruvāṇḍūr temple,	343
Tigaria, state,	228 n	[Tiruv]ārūr-chāṇḍi, dī,	162
Tīkanārya, m,	178, 180, 182	Tiruvēdi-Pottā ⁴ arman, m,	122, 124
Tikka, Kākatīya prince,	348 & n, 351, 354	Tiruvejjarai inscription,	70, 71
Tikkana, poet,	348 n	Tiruvejjarai, vī,	70 & n, 71, 118
Tilakwādā plates of V S 1103,	320 n	Tiruvindalūr nādu, dī,	67, 68, 69
Tillai (Chidambaram), vī,	64, 67, 68, 69	Tiruvorriyūr epigraph of 936 A D,	341
Timandirā(=Tendrā), vī?,	300	tithus—	
Timma, Vijayanagara k,	161	9th,	258, 260
Timmaṇārya, m,	139	bakula prathamā,	318
Timmapuram plates,	258	full moon,	314
Tippāji, queen of Narasa,	161	gō dvādasi,	161, 163, 164
Tirthas= Tirthankaras,	203, 205 & n	paurṇamāsī,	314
Tiruchchirambala-klōvai, work,	73	uchchayanaklōdasi,	299
Tirukalambūr or 'būdūr, vī,	165, 166, 167, 168, 169	utthānadu-dasi,	165, 167, 169
Tirukkadayār, vī,	68	Tollāppiyam, work,	70 & n
Tirumalādhīśa, m,	139	Tondai, dī,	69
Tiruvālūr sīma, dī,	165, 167, 169	Tondaikāvalan, epithet,	64, 68
Tiru Jñānasambandha, Śānta saint,	102	Tondaimānārrūr or Tondaimānpērārrūr, pro-	
Tirukkākkarai temple,	343	bably & a Tondaimānād,	23
Tirukkākkarai, vī,	343 & n	Tondaimānārrūr-tuṭṭima-Uḍaiyār,	23
Tiruk kalatti, vī,	348 n	Tondai mandalam or Tonda-mandalam, dī,	65, 149
Tirukkalukkuṇṇam, vī,	333	Tondaimandalasādagam, work,	67 n
Tirukkunrappōlai or Tirukkunrappuḷa, vī,	342, 343 & n, 344	Tōramāṇa, Hūṇa l,	82 & n, 83
Tirumalainātha-Uttamanambi, m,	139	Torapara Būtayya, m,	200
Tirumālṇṇam, vī,	23	Torapas, family of landāts,	200
Tirumihachchūr, & a Tirumiyachchūr,	162	trailōkyasāra, ruby,	25, 27, 47, 54
Tirumihachchūr-paṭṭu, dī,	162, 163, 165	Trētā or Trētātīrtha,	95, 96, 98
Tirumolī, work,	334	Tribhanga, pose,	80
tirumugam=(Sanskrit śrīmūḷha),	119	Tribhuvanadēva, m,	288
Tirumurugārruppadai, work,	119	Tribhuvanadēva (Kulōttunga-Chōla III),	70
tirunakshatram,	332 & n, 336	Tribhuvanadhavala, epithet of Gōvinda III, 240, 245, 253	
Tiruppādirippuliyūr Kalambagam, work,	68	Tribhuvanamalla or ° dēva (Vikramāditya VI),	
Tirupperundurai (Āvadayārkōyil), vī,	73	Chāḷuḷya l, 178, 179, 181, 183, 184, 186, 189,	
Tiruppalavāyal or Tiruppalavāyil, ancient name		191, 192, 193, 195, 196, 197, 198, 201, 202, 204	
of Vāyalūr,	145	Tribhuvanamalladēva (Bijjala), Kalachuri l,	
Tiruppalavāyil-udaiya-Nāyaṇār, god,	145	208, 209, 211, 215, 218	
Tirupaḍi, honorific title,	342	Tribhuvanaviradēva, & a Kulōttunga-Chōla III, 70 n	
Tiruvālangādu grant or plates, 15 n, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26		tridandā,	202, 204 & n
Tiruvalla plates,	343	Trikalīngādhipati, title,	289
Tiruvallam inscriptions of Nandivikramavarman,	7, 8, 14 n	Trikalunga-Mahādēvi, title,	285
Tiruvālūr, vī,	166, 340, 341	Tri kalungamāhādēvi, wrong form of Trikalīnga-	
Tiruvālūr sīma, dī,	165, 169	māhādēvi,	297
Tiruvāpaikkal,	70 n	Triakūṭēśvara, god,	193, 196
Tiruvārganallūr, vī,	139, 141, 142, 145	Trilōchanapāla, Pratihāra l,	89 n
		Triphane inscription of Dantivarman,	118

N B—The figures refer to pages *n* after a figure, to footnotes, and add to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used —*ch* = chief, *co* = country, *dī* = district or division, *do* = ditto, *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *l* = king, *m* = man, *mo* = mountain, *ri* = river, *s* = same as, *sur* = surname, *te* = temple, *vī* = village or town, *w* = woman, *W.* = Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
<i>Triṣpurādahaan, work,</i>	342	<i>Ummarakantḥi-Bōl,</i>	2
<i>Trisirāppalli-rājya, dī,</i>	139, 141, 145	<i>Uṇṇunīṣandēsam, work,</i>	343 n.
<i>Trivikrama Shaḍangavid, m,</i>	238, 249, 256	<i>upadhṁāniya, represented by symbol for p,</i>	227
<i>ts, changed into tś,</i>	263	<i>upadhṁāniya, represented by symbol r,</i>	227
<i>tsh > lsh,</i>	6	<i>upadhṁāniya, use of,</i>	87, 208, 236, 307
<i>Tśutra (kshudra-)Varmayaśas (?), m,</i>	17, 18	<i>upadhṁāniya, wrong use of,</i>	182
<i>trī, used for trī,</i>	87	<i>uparīka, official,</i>	306
<i>tulābhāra,</i>	338 & n	<i>Upāsikā,</i>	268
<i>Tulāicha Śarman, m,</i>	219, 222 & n, 223	<i>Uplāt, vī,</i>	243
<i>Tuḷus, people,</i>	110, 121, 123	<i>Uppalahatthaka, vī,</i>	250, 256
<i>Tumiyapūṇḍi,</i>	234 n	<i>Uppalahatthaka, s a Uplāt,</i>	243
<i>Tumiyaveniyapūṇḍi,</i>	232, 234 & n	<i>uppu-lkōchcheyga, parihāra,</i>	422, 124
<i>Tuṇḍira, co,</i>	25, 27, 47, 54	<i>ūr, members of village assembly,</i>	342
<i>Tuṇḍurāva, vī,</i>	301	<i>Uraiyr, vī,</i>	65, 70 & n, 71
<i>Tuṇḍurāva=Tundurā,</i>	301	<i>ūrāchī, parihāra,</i>	122, 124
<i>Tungabhadrā, rī,</i>	161, 163, 164, 167, 241	<i>Urattūr, vī,</i>	12, 15
<i>Tuṅgana, tanī,</i>	310, 311	<i>Uṛlam plates of Hastivarman,</i>	308
<i>Tuṅgana or Tungannā, vī,</i>	309, 310	<i>Uruputtūr, vī,</i>	122, 124
<i>Tungavarman, s a Nripatungavarman,</i>	11, 14	<i>Uruvupalli plates,</i>	149
<i>Turushka, co,</i>	101, 104	<i>Ūrvaśī, nymph,</i>	132, 136
<i>Turushka, people,</i>	108, 112, 161	<i>Ūśinara, legendary k,</i>	129, 133 n.
<i>Turvasu, myth k,</i>	161	<i>Utkala, co,</i>	24, 27, 45, 53
<i>Tyāgadhēnu, sur of Indravarman,</i>	3, 4	<i>utakṛitam, used for utkīṛṇam or utkāritam,</i>	219
<i>tyajya, used for tyaktvā,</i>	87	<i>Uttama Chakrarāya, m,</i>	139
U		<i>Uttamanambī, m,</i>	139, 143, 145
<i>Ubbarada Bammayya, m,</i>	192, 195	<i>Uttamarāya, m,</i>	139, 140
<i>ubhaiya-gana,</i>	117	<i>Uttamaśīla, m,</i>	7, 8, 11, 14
<i>Ubhaya Khūṇjala or °Khūṇjali-maṇḍala (=Upper and Lower Keoñhar,) dī,</i>	285, 300, 302, 303	<i>Uttamaśōlan, field,</i>	67
<i>Ucharīana (Uttarasāna ?),</i>	17, 20 & n	<i>Uttama Sōla-vaḷanāḍu, dī,</i>	48, 55
<i>Udagai fort,</i>	29, 53 n	<i>Uttara Kōśala, co,</i>	220
<i>Udaya or Udayagiri, mo,</i>	108, 111	<i>Uttarapalli, dī,</i>	302, 303
<i>Udayāndiram plates or copper plate grant,</i> 116, 147, 148, 149		<i>Uttarapalli=Uttaratīra,</i>	302
<i>Uditōdaya-perundattāp, m,</i>	9, 12, 15	<i>Uttarāpatha=Uttarasāli,</i>	303 n
<i>Uditōdita, m,</i>	12, 15	<i>Uttaratīra=tract north of the Mahānadī,</i>	302
<i>Uditōdita, biruda of Pallava Rājāsīṁha,</i>	9	<i>uttarāyana,</i>	232, 234, 250, 257
<i>udugrāha'aru (udgrāha'ar),</i>	183	<i>uttarāyana samkrānti,</i>	175, 177, 180, 191, 193, 194, 196, 197, 198, 199, 208, 210, 212, 215, 218
<i>Ūḍḍagulakuṇṭa or Ūḍḍagala kuṇṭa,</i>	353, 356	<i>Uttora|mūla or Uturulmūla monastery,</i>	332, 333, 337, 338
<i>ūḍupōlku, parihāra,</i>	122, 124	<i>Uttora|mo|a=Uttarōja,</i>	333
<i>Udyāna, ancient kingdom,</i>	20	<i>Uyyagondachōḷendra vaḷanāḍu, dī,</i>	162, 163, 165
<i>Ujjan (Ujjayini), vī,</i>	102, 103, 238, 239, 243, 252, 320	V	
<i>Ujjayini, kingdom,</i>	274	<i>v, changed into b,</i>	263
<i>ulā,</i>	30	<i>v, sursivo form of—,</i>	182, 189
<i>Umāhanākata,</i>	325, 326		

N B—The figures refer to pages n after a figure, to footnotes, and add to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used —ch=chief, co=country, dī=district or division, do=ditto; dy=dynasty, E=Eastern, k=king, m=man, mo=mountain, rī=river, s a=same as, sur=surname, te=temple, vī=village or town, w=woman, W=Western

	PAGE		PAGE
<i>v</i> , used for <i>b</i> ,	182	Valla, Valla dēśa or Valla mandala, <i>dt</i> ,	93, 94, 96, 98
<i>v</i> , used for final <i>m</i> ,	182	Vallabha, <i>god</i> ,	318 n, 353, 355
<i>va</i> , used for <i>pa</i> ,	16	Vallabha, <i>epithet of Chāṣṭulka kings</i> ,	54n, 259, 260
Va(Ba)li, <i>myth l</i> ,	305	Vallabha, <i>sur of Rāshtrakūṣa kings</i> ,	227, 231, 233, 247, 254, 257
Vachcha, <i>s a Vatsa</i> ,	204, 205	Vallabhanarīndradēva, <i>epithet of Amoghavarsha I</i> ,	237, 249, 256
Vadagavā, <i>s a Chandrāvati</i> ,	219 n	Vallabhas, <i>people</i> ,	116, 121, 123
Vadagrāma, <i>vi</i> ,	219 & n, 220, 221, 223	Vallabhavallabha, <i>title of Vīra-Rājīndradēva</i> ,	25, 47, 54
Vaḍambūr or Vēdambūr, <i>vi</i> ,	166, 168	Vallabhāṣa mīlā,	30
Vadambūr-Ēkāmbārapuram, <i>vi</i> ,	165, 167, 168, 169	Vallāṣṭringā (Bālāṣṭringā), <i>vi</i> ,	300
Vadugar, <i>subdivision of Vēṣaikkāras</i> ,	335, 336, 337, 338	Vālmīki, <i>author</i> ,	154
Vāgnārī (Sarasvatī),	210	Vāma, <i>Sāṅga school</i> ,	176 n
Vāgūr nādu, <i>dt</i> ,	7	Vāmana mudrā,	169
Vāgūr or Bāhūr, <i>vi</i> ,	7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15	Vāmanāryya, <i>m</i> ,	351, 355
Vāgūr vidyāsthāna,	11, 12	Vāmaśakti or Vāmaśaktidēva, <i>m</i> ,	190, 193, 196
Vāgvanitā (Sarasvatī),	210	Vanga, <i>co</i> ,	27, 84, 86, 94, 104, 108, 112, 240, 253
Vāhuvāda, <i>vi</i> ,	303	Vangakūti, <i>vi</i> ,	303
Vāhukadhavala, <i>Surāshṭra ch</i> ,	106 & n	Vangēndra,	25 n
vāhyālī,	246, 254 n	Vangipparu, <i>vi</i> ,	122, 124, 228, 233, 235 & n, 314, 315
Vaikunṭha-Perūmāl temple inscriptions,	117	Vangīya Sāhitya Parishat,	81
Vaipeen, <i>island</i> ,	343 n	Vanagrāmattār, <i>mislection of Manigrāmattār</i> ,	70
Vairāgyas (?),	67	Vāṁya gāma (Community of Traders),	326
Vairāgyasāṭaka, <i>work</i> ,	135 n	Vaṣṭulvaka, <i>vi</i> ,	284, 285, 289, 293, 295, 297, 301, 302
Vaiṣṇava, <i>samaya or school</i> ,	176 n	Vannāru, <i>vi</i> ,	56, 57
Vaiyāsa, <i>samaya or school</i> ,	176 n	vāśa, <i>used for vama</i> ,	128
Vājapēya, <i>sacrifice</i> ,	154, 155	Vāpabhūmi or Vapabhūmigrāma, <i>vi</i> ,	285, 299, 302, 303 n
Vājṣadēva, <i>m</i> ,	241	Vapabhūmi=Boppangi,	303 n
Vājāsānīya, <i>charana</i> ,	294, 295, 297, 309, 310	Vapabhūmigrāma=Boppangi,	302
Vajra, <i>son of Bālāditya</i> ,	84 n	Vappaghōshavāta, <i>vi</i> ,	61, 62, 63
Vakhaṭa Sūmālikā, <i>pool</i> ,	62, 63, 64	Varadarājārya, <i>m</i> ,	161, 163, 164
Vakhā(ikkhā)nidēva, <i>m</i> ,	191, 194	Varaguna, Varaguna-Mahārāja or Varaguna-Pāndya, <i>k</i> ,	73
Vākpati-Muñja, <i>Paramāra prince</i> ,	321	Varāhamihira, <i>author</i> ,	66 n
Vākpatirājadēva, <i>Paramāra k</i> ,	322, 324	Varāharāta, <i>m</i> ,	306
Vala, <i>demon</i> ,	13	Vāraka-maṇḍala, <i>dt</i> ,	75, 76, 78 & n, 84
Vaḷabha, <i>myth l</i> ,	23, 27, 41, 52	Vārāṇasī (Benares),	228
Vālabha Kāyastha, <i>family</i> ,	251, 257	Vārāṇasī, <i>s a</i> , Benares	315, 316
Valabhī, <i>vi</i> ,	91, 92 & n	Vārāṇasī <i>do</i>	215
V(B)ālāditya, <i>m</i> ,	110 & n, 114	Vārāṇasī, <i>do</i>	179
Valaṅgai, <i>sub division of Vēṣaikkāras</i> ,	335, 367, 338	Varābhī, <i>dt</i> ,	285, 297, 301
Vaḷaṣṭiyar, <i>division of Vēṣaikkāra forces</i> ,	332, 334, 337, 338	vārguṣaka, <i>official?</i>	285 & n, 287 n, 297
Vaḷaṣṭiyār, <i>corporation of merchants</i> ,	335	Vāri, <i>m</i> ,	158, 159
Vaḷaṣṭiyār,	71	Varmasāśas, <i>m</i> ,	17, 20
Vaḷavan, <i>title of Chōla kings</i> ,	23 n		
Valhalla,	200 n		
Vaḷiyadimamalaiyitta, <i>epithet of Perumāl-Uttamanambi</i> ,	139, 143, 145		

N, B.—The figures refer to pages *p* after a figure, to footnotes, and *add* to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used: *ch* = chief, *co* = country, *dt* = distinct or division, *do* = ditto. *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *k* = king, *m* = man, *mo* = mountain, *ri* = river, *s a* = same as, *sur* = surname; *te* = temple, *vi* = village or town, *w* = woman, *W* = Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
<i>Vāsavadattā</i> , work,	242	<i>Vīśālī</i> , family,	10, 13
<i>Vaśiṣṭhamuni</i> , sage,	286	<i>Vīśālī</i> pṛerariyan, epithet of <i>Mārtāṇḍa</i>	11, 14
<i>Vāsiṭhīputa</i> , epithet of <i>Chavinda sātī</i> ,	318, 319	<i>Vīśālīppādi</i> , <i>di</i> ,	7
(<i>Va</i>)stradatta, <i>m</i> ,	339, 340	<i>Vīśālī</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>Vīśālīppādi</i> ,	7
<i>Vāstunamdika</i> , <i>m</i> ,	339, 340	<i>vibhanga</i> , Sanskrit commentary on the <i>Pratītya</i>	
<i>Vastusarmmaka</i> , <i>m</i> ,	339, 340	<i>sanutpāda</i> ,	19 n
<i>Vāsudēvakhandā</i> <i>uśhaya</i> , <i>di</i> ,	285, 293, 301, 303 n	<i>Vibhishana</i> , demon,	219
<i>Vāsudēvapur</i> or <i>Vāsudēvapura</i> , <i>ti</i> ,	301, 303 n	<i>Vidarbhā</i> , <i>co</i> ,	104, 105, 108, 112
<i>Vātātṭa</i> (?), <i>m</i> ,	60	<i>Vidīlvadugu</i> , <i>sur</i> ,	7
<i>Vatsa</i> , <i>co</i> ,	101, 104, 108, 112	<i>Vidīlvadugu</i> , <i>sur</i> of <i>Nandivarman II</i> ,	7, 117
<i>Vatsadēvī</i> , mother of <i>Bālāditya</i> ,	84	<i>Vidīlvadugu</i> <i>Kādupaṭṭi</i> <i>Tamiṣa</i> pērarariyan,	
<i>Vatsa Kunda</i> , <i>m</i> ,	76, 78	<i>title</i> of <i>Uttamasīla</i> ,	7, 11, 14
<i>Vatsarāja</i> , <i>m</i> ,	251, 257	<i>Vidīlvadugu-Vikīramāditta</i> <i>chaturvēdi-manga</i>	
<i>Vatsarāja</i> , <i>Pratīhāra</i> <i>k</i> , 89 n, 93, 94, 100, 101, 102,		<i>lam</i> , <i>vi</i> ,	7
103, 104, 105 n, 106, 108, 111, 239, 240		<i>Vidīlvadugu</i> <i>Pallava</i> <i>perundachohan</i> of <i>Aimpr-</i>	
<i>vaṭṭi nāṭi</i> , <i>parihāra</i> ,	122, 124	<i>naichebēri</i> , <i>ti</i> ,	116, 118, 122, 124
<i>Vāyalūr</i> , <i>vi</i> ,	145, 146	<i>vidyā bhōga</i> , educational endowments,	8, 11, 12, 14
<i>Vāyalūr</i> inscription,	147, 148, 149	<i>Vidyādhara</i> , <i>m</i> ,	86
<i>V(B)rahman</i> <i>ottarān</i> ,	306	<i>Vidyādhara</i> , <i>Vidyādhara</i> <i>bhaṭṭa</i> or <i>Vidyādhara</i>	
<i>Vīdambūr</i> <i>Yīkāmbarapuram</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>Vadambūr</i>		<i>bhaṭṭadēva</i> , <i>Bhūja</i> <i>k</i> ,	285, 286, 287, 288, 297, 303
<i>Ekāmbarapuram</i> ,	166	<i>Vidyādhara</i> <i>Jōtikā</i> ,	77, 79, 86
<i>Vēdas</i> and <i>Saṭhās</i> —		<i>Vidyās</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>Mātrikās</i> ,	114 n
<i>Ātharvāna</i> ,	209, 211, 214, 216	<i>Vidyā-sthāna</i> , college,	8, 11, 12
<i>Bahuricha</i> ,	238, 250, 256	<i>Vidyāśāna</i> , <i>m</i> ,	191, 194
<i>Chhāndōga</i> ,	222, 224	<i>Vidyudgangā</i> ,	310, 311
<i>Kanva</i> ,	294	<i>Vihēkarāta</i> <i>mīśra</i> , <i>m</i> ,	306
<i>Mādhyaṇḍina</i> or <i>Mādhyaṇḍinīya</i> ,	299, 321, 323, 324	<i>Vihita</i> <i>Ghōshā</i> , <i>m</i> ,	76, 78
<i>Rūk</i> ,	209, 211, 214, 216	<i>Vijaya</i> (<i>Arjuna</i>), epic hero,	45, 53
<i>Sāman</i> ,	209, 211, 214, 216	<i>Vijaya</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>Vijayarāja</i> ,	143, 144
<i>Yajus</i> ,	209, 211, 214, 216, 299	<i>Vijayādibāhu</i> , <i>Vijayabāhu</i> or <i>°dēva</i> <i>I</i> , <i>Ceylon</i>	
<i>Vēdaśarman</i> , <i>m</i> ,	259, 260	<i>k</i> ,	331 & n, 332, 333, 336
<i>Vēgi</i> or <i>Vēmgī</i> , <i>co</i> ,	229, 245, 246, 253 n, 254	<i>Vijayāditya</i> (I) <i>bhāttāraka</i> , <i>Chālukya</i> <i>k</i> ,	229
<i>Vēl</i> ,	69	<i>Vijayāditya</i> (II), <i>Chālukya</i> <i>k</i> ,	227, 229
<i>Vēlagakunṭa</i> ,	353, 356	<i>Vijayāditya</i> (III), <i>Chālukya</i> <i>k</i> ,	229
<i>Vēlakṭāra</i> ,	333, 334, 336, 337, 338	<i>Vijayāditya</i> (IV), <i>Chālukya</i> <i>k</i> ,	229, 223 n
<i>Vēlakṭāra</i> forces,	332, 336	<i>Vijayālaya</i> , <i>Chōḷa</i> <i>k</i> ,	23, 27, 42, 52
<i>Vēlakṭāra</i> <i>padaiya</i> ,	334	<i>Vijayanagara</i> , <i>dy</i> ,	138
<i>Vēlāngudi</i> , <i>vi</i> ,	165, 166, 167, 169	<i>Vijayanagara</i> (<i>Hampi</i>), <i>vi</i> ,	161, 164, 166
<i>Vēlāpura</i> (= <i>Bēlūr</i>), <i>vi</i> ,	241	<i>Vijayanallūlān</i> , <i>m</i> ,	116, 118, 121, 123, 124
<i>Vēlūrpālayam</i> plates of <i>Vijaya</i> <i>Nandivarman</i> , 7,		<i>Vijayanallūlān</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>Ālapākka</i> <i>Vijayanallūlān</i> ,	118
15 n, 116, 147, 148, 149		<i>Vijaya</i> - <i>Nandivikkrama</i> <i>parumar</i> (<i>Vijaya</i> - <i>Nan-</i>	
<i>Vēmalūrpāḍu</i> , <i>vi</i> ,	227	<i>divikkramavarman</i>),	121
<i>Vēna</i> ,	110 n	<i>Vijaya</i> <i>Nripatungavarman</i> , <i>s a</i> <i>Nripatungavar-</i>	
<i>Vēngī</i> , <i>co</i> ,	25, 27, 47, 54, 66, 241, 246	<i>man</i> ,	6, 14
<i>Vēṇiyapūndi</i> ,	234 n	<i>Vijayarāja</i> , <i>Vijayanagara</i> <i>k</i> ,	138, 141, 144
<i>Vēṇṇaya</i> <i>Chadāṅgavi</i> (<i>Shadāṅgavi</i>), <i>m</i> ,	122, 124	<i>Vijayarājapura</i> (<i>Polonnaruwa</i>),	337, 338
<i>Vēṇṇīśarman</i> , <i>m</i> ,	2	<i>Vijayarājapura</i> , another name of <i>Polonnaruwa</i> ,	33
		<i>Vijayasiddhi</i> , <i>sur</i> of <i>Maṅgi</i> <i>Ywarāja</i> ,	58, 59, 60

N.B—The figures refer to pages *n* after a figure, to footnotes, and *all* to the additions on pp *vu* to *x*. The following other abbreviations are used —*ch* = chief, *co* = country, *di* = district or division, *do* = ditto; *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *k* = king, *m* = man, *mo* = mountain, *ri* = river, *s. a* = same as, *sur* = surname, *te* = temple, *vi* = village or town, *w* = woman, *W* = Western.

	PAGE		PAGE
Vikrama, epithet of Amoghavarsha I,	244, 251	Vīranārāyaṇa or Vīranārāyaṇam, agraḥāra,	41, 53
Vikrama, epithet of Govinda III,	241, 247, 253	Vīra Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu),	243, 251
Vikrama Chōla, Chōla I,	29, 30, 140	Vīranārāyaṇa ri, tank,	67
Vikramāditya, Bāna ch,	7, 8	Vīranārāyaṇapurn, agraḥāra,	24, 27
Vikramāditya, I,	242	Vīra Nṛsiṃha, Iṣyanagara I,	161
Vikramāditya, Ujjayinī I,	274	Vīrāntarīṣu (Vīraśilānaga), ri,	162, 163, 165
Vikramāditya I, Chālukya I,	220, 233 n	Vīrapūta, m,	156, 157
Vikramāditya II, Chālukya I,	240	Vīrarājamaṅgalam, agraḥāra,	26
Vikramāditya V, Chālukya k,	321	Vīra Rājendra or Vīra Rājendra-dīva, Chōla I,	22, 25, 30, 31, 46, 47, 48, 54
Vikramāditya or °dīva VI, Chālukya I,	196, 200, 201, 202	Vīra Rājendra (Raja Rājendra),	27
Vikramāditya Varaguna, Aṇ ch,	161	Vīra Saiva, cult,	150
Vikramāṅka, s a Vikramāditya I,	227, 204, 231, 233	Vīrasīna, riyā I,	23, 27, 39, 61
Vikrama° or Vikrama Śōlan ulā, work,	26, 28, 29, 30, 31 n, 49 n, 53 n, 54 n	Vīrasūhā, Pallava I,	147
Vikuksharava, myth I,	22, 20, 31, 40	Vīravarma, Pallava I,	145, 149, 150, 151
Vijāṅgātṭangaduvaṇūr, v,	8, 9, 11, 12, 14 & n, 15	Vīrapuru, ri,	253, 259, 260
Vima Kadphises, Kushāṇa I,	273, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279	Vīrudarājabhayānilāra vaḷaṇṇāḍi, di	67
Vimala, Pallava I,	7, 10, 13, 150, 151	Vīrūpākha, god,	161, 163, 164, 165, 167, 169
Vimalāditya, Kulūta I,	24 n	Vīrāya Nṛpatōḷgavarman = Nṛpatunga-	
Vimēa, co,	15 & n	varman,	11
vimēaṭi rir varshē, used for trayō vimēa varshē,	60 & n	Vijayarāḡadīva, Chēra ch,	341 & n
Vimēendra	25 & n, 45, 54	Vīśālagrāma, ri,	321, 323, 324
Vinayachandra, m,	308	vīśarga,	6, 13 n, 47 n
Vinaya-pīṭaka, work,	19	vīśarga, changed into s,	100
Vindafarna,	262	vīśarga, changed into the consonant following it,	236
Vindhaya or Vindhya, mo,	104, 109, 113 & n, 240, 241, 245, 253, 260	vīśarga, omission of —,	6, 138
Vindhyātavī, forest,	251, 316	vīśarga, wrong use of —,	216
Vinītapura (Binka),	289	Vīshamaśuddhi, sur of Vīśhnuvardhana,	58
vinīyuktaka, official,	306	vīśhaya, affaire,	78 n
Vipparla, vi,	258	vīśhaya = district,	314
Vīra or Vīranātha, m,	202, 204	vīśhaya, territorial division,	78 n, 256
Vīrabhadra, figure of,	125	vīśhaya mahallara, title,	75, 76, 78 n
Vīrabhadra (Gaṇaḍaṇḍa), Bhañja k,	286, 289, 291, 293	vīśhayapati, official,	76, 249, 293, 295, 297, 306
Vīrabhadra, te,	170, 172, 178, 182	Vīshṇu, figure of,	178, 182, 329
Vīrabhañja, Bhañja k,	285, 286, 298	Vīshnu Bhaṭṭa, m,	238, 249, 256
vir-ābhīśhaka,	28	Vīshṇudāsa, Pallava I,	150, 151
Vīra Chōla, biruda of Vīrarājendra,	25, 26, 27, 47, 48, 54, 55	Vīshṇudharmōḷḷarīyam, work,	158 n
Vīra Chōla, epithet of Parāntaka I,	27, 43, 53	Vīshṇu (Gupta ?) Chandrāditya, I,	84
Vīrachōlapuram, agraḥāra,	26	Vīshṇugōpa, Pallava k,	147, 148, 150, 151
Vīrakta mātṭha,	170, 171, 208	Vīshnuravi, m,	97, 99
Vīrahūrcha, Pallava k,	116, 121, 123, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151	Vīshnuśarma, m,	3, 4
Vīrañachārya, m,	162, 164, 165, 166, 169	Vīshnusūhā, Pallava I,	147
Vīra-Nārāyaṇa, epithet of Amoghavarsha I,	238, 241, 243, 248, 251, 255	Vīshnuvardhana, I,	84
		Vīshnuvardhana (I), Chālukya I,	1, 2, 3, 4, 55, 56, 57, 58, 258
		Vīshnuvardhana (II), Chālukya I,	2, 4 n, 55 n, 58, 59, 60, 229, 314, 315

N.B.—The figures refer to pages, *n* after a figure, to footnotes, and *add* to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used — *ch* = chief, *co* = country, *di* = district or division, *do* = ditto, *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *k* = king, *m* = man, *mo* = mountain, *ri* = river, *s a* = same as, *sur* = surname, *te* = temple, *vi* = village or town, *w* = woman, *W* = Western.

	PAGE
Vaishnavardhana (III), <i>Chālukya k.</i> , .	58, 59, 60, 229
Vaishnavardhana (IV), <i>Chālukya k.</i> , .	229
Viśvādhinātha,	26, 82
Viśvarāta, <i>m</i> ,	306
Viśnavarman, <i>Mālava ch</i> ,	126
Viśvōśvara-Siva-Dōśika, <i>m.</i> ,	348 n
Vijāla (Jupiter),	341, 344
Vōdaḍ, <i>m</i> ,	294
Vōḍā-vishaya, <i>di.</i> ,	285, 298, 302
Vonones (I), <i>Parthian k</i> ,	274
Vṛishabha-lālichana,	117
<i>Vṛttaratnākara, work</i> ,	236
Vyāghra, <i>ri</i> ,	56, 57
Vyāghrachōraka, <i>vi</i> ,	76, 77, 79, 86
Vyāghrapuri=Vāyalūr,	145
Vyāghrapuriśvara, <i>te</i> ,	145, 146 & n
Vyāja° or Vairibhayaṅkara, <i>myth. k.</i> , .	23, 27, 42, 52
Vyānṇi Mugalan, <i>m</i> ,	332, 337, 338 & n
Vyāsa or Vēda-Vyāsa, <i>sage</i> ,	57, 58, 251, 257, 310, 311, 313
vyatipāta, <i>yōga</i> ,	183, 184, 187, 198, 199, 215, 218

W

Wardak vase inscription,	268
Woma Kadphuses, <i>Kushāṇa k.</i> ,	18
Western Chālukya dynasty,	290 n.
Western Gaṅga dynasty,	7, 149, 241
White Huns, <i>tribe</i> ,	82 n.

Y

<i>y</i> , doubling of consonants before ~,	1
<i>yī</i> , used for initial <i>ā</i> ,	182
Yādava, <i>dy</i> ,	243, 347 n.
Yādava Mīśra, school of--,	176 n.
Yadu, <i>myth k</i> ,	132, 136, 140, 144, 238, 251
Yakkaṇ Kunrappōlan, <i>m</i> ,	343 n
Yakshadatta, <i>m</i> ,	126, 127
Yamadha ? <i>legend on coin</i> ,	79
Yamunā, <i>ri</i> ,	244
Yamunārya <i>alias</i> Ālavaudār, <i>Śrivaishṇava</i> <i>Āchārya</i> ,	24
yāna[ś]yāyudhaghārika, <i>official</i> ,	156, 157
yāna vāsa, <i>camp residence</i> ,	219, 221

	PAGE
Yāpaniya Saṅgha,	175, 177, 201, 202, 204
Yāpparūṅgalakkāraṅga, <i>work</i> ,	64, 65 & n., 66, 67, 69
Yasabhañja, Yasabhañjadēva <i>Bhañja k</i> ,	285, 286, 288, 290, 298
Yasayadhana, <i>m</i> ,	328
[Ya]sava[ba]la, <i>m</i> ,	159
Yasōdharman, <i>k</i> ,	84, 91
Yasōvardhana, <i>Pratikhāra k</i> ,	88, 96, 98
Yasōvighraha, <i>Gāhaḍavāla k.</i> ,	220
Yayāti, <i>myth. k.</i> ,	76, 78, 182, 186, 161

years—

Chālukya-Vikrama era .

7,	178, 179, 181
29,	190, 191, 194
32,	200

Chōla-Gaṅga era

288,	292 n
----------------	-------

of the cycle :

Ānanda,	139, 143, 145, 347
Bhāva,	161, 163, 164
Chitrabhānu,	190, 192, 195, 208, 210, 212, 215, 218

Dandabhū,	178, 179, 181
Īsvara,	183, 184, 187
Krōdhana,	174, 175, 177
Krōdhun,	190, 193, 196
Nandana,	250, 257
Pārthiva,	171, 172
Raudra,	348, 351, 354
Sarvajit,	165, 167, 169, 197, 198, 199, 200
Tārana,	173, 176, 177, 190, 191, 193, 194, 196
Vikrama,	170

Gaṅga era .

80,	308
87,	308
91,	308
128,	308
137,	308
138,	308
154,	307, 308, 310, 311
183,	308
195,	308
310,	312, 313

Gupta era :

88,	160
510,	329

N.B.—The figures refer to pages, *n* after a figure, to footnotes, and *add* to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used: *ch.*=chief; *co*=country, *di.*=district or divisions, *do*=ditto, *dy*=dynasty, *E*=Eastern, *k*=king, *m*=man, *mo*=mountain, *ri*=river, *s a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te*=temple, *vi*=village or town, *w*=woman, *W.*=Western.

Kanihka era :		PAGE	[Vol XVII]	
21,		16, 17, 18, 20	1350,	PAGE
Kollam era			1430,	145
265,			1450,	161, 164
278,			Samvat :	165, 166, 167
regnal -		341, 342	1091,	
2nd,		341, 342	Vikrama-Samvat	
3rd,	100, 103, 106, 318, 319		894,	97, 99
7th,	285, 299		1076,	320, 321, 324, 325
8th,	48, 54, 100, 192, 195		1078,	320, 321
10th,	6, 11, 14		1176,	210, 221, 223
14th,	340, 344, 345		1177,	225, 226
21st,	75, 77, 79		Unknown era	
23rd,	258, 259, 260		103,	
26th,	58, 60		Yeramdagiri, Erandagiri or Erandagiri, n ,	282
33rd,	263, 282		Yen Kao chen (Vima Kadphises),	213, 216, 218
34th,	306		nagam, council or corporation,	276
88th,	23		Ysamotika, k ,	312, 343
46th,	64, 68, 69		Yuan Chwang, pilgrim,	82, 83, 84 n
59th,	64, 68, 69		yabha, used for yuddha,	147
61st,	116, 121, 123		Yuddhamalla, Chilukya k ,	229, 230
66th,	116, 118, 121, 123		Yuddhārjuna, epithet of Rājāsīrṣha II,	149, 151, 152
Saka	118		Yudhishṭhira, epic hero,	57, 260
100 to 118 or 119,			Yudhishṭhira, work,	342
793,			yuktaka, official,	240, 250
907,			yūpa,	153, 154 & n , 155
941,			Yūpa inscriptions of Mūlavarmān,	153
966,			Yūsufzai, d ,	232
1019,			Yavamahārāja Viśakugōpa, Pallava prince,	149
1029,				
1067,				
1084,				
112,				
113,				
114,				
115,				
116,				
117,				
118,				
119,				
120,				
121,				
122,				
123,				
124,				
125,				
126,				
127,				
128,				
129,				
130,				
131,				
132,				
133,				
134,				
135,				
136,				
137,				
138,				
139,				
140,				
141,				
142,				
143,				
144,				
145,				
146,				
147,				
148,				
149,				
150,				
151,				
152,				
153,				
154,				
155,				
156,				
157,				
158,				
159,				

N.B.—The figures refer to pages, *z* after a figure, to footnotes, and *add* to the additions on pp vii to x. The following other abbreviations are used — *ch* = chief, *co* = country, *d* = district or division, *do* = ditto, *dy* = dynasty, *E* = Eastern, *k* = king, *m* = man, *mo* = mountain, *r* = river, *s a* = same as, *sur* = surname, *ts* = temple, *v* = village or town, *w* = woman, *W* = Western.

Zaroh, <i>v</i> ,	216, 218	Z	209, 281
Zeda inscription,	170		269, 276, 281
Zelouises, <i>Lshatrapa</i> ,	190, 193, 196		269
Zoulos, <i>k</i> ,	348, 351, 354		

